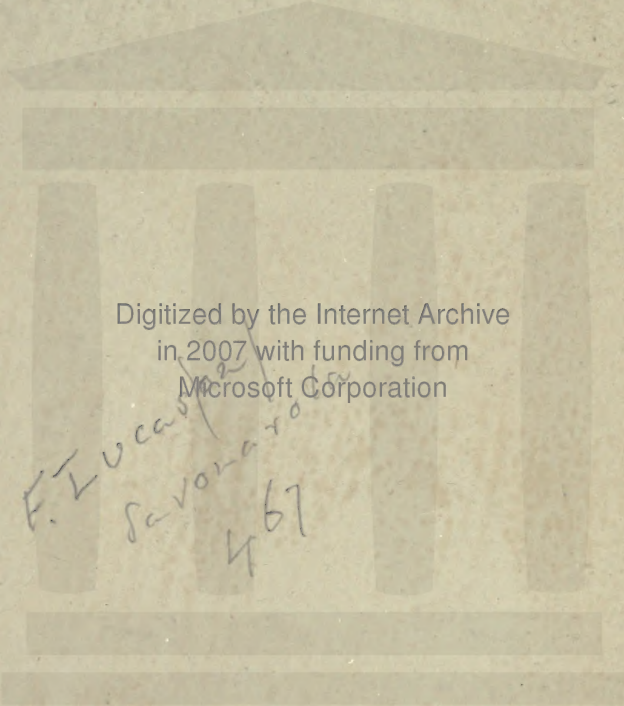


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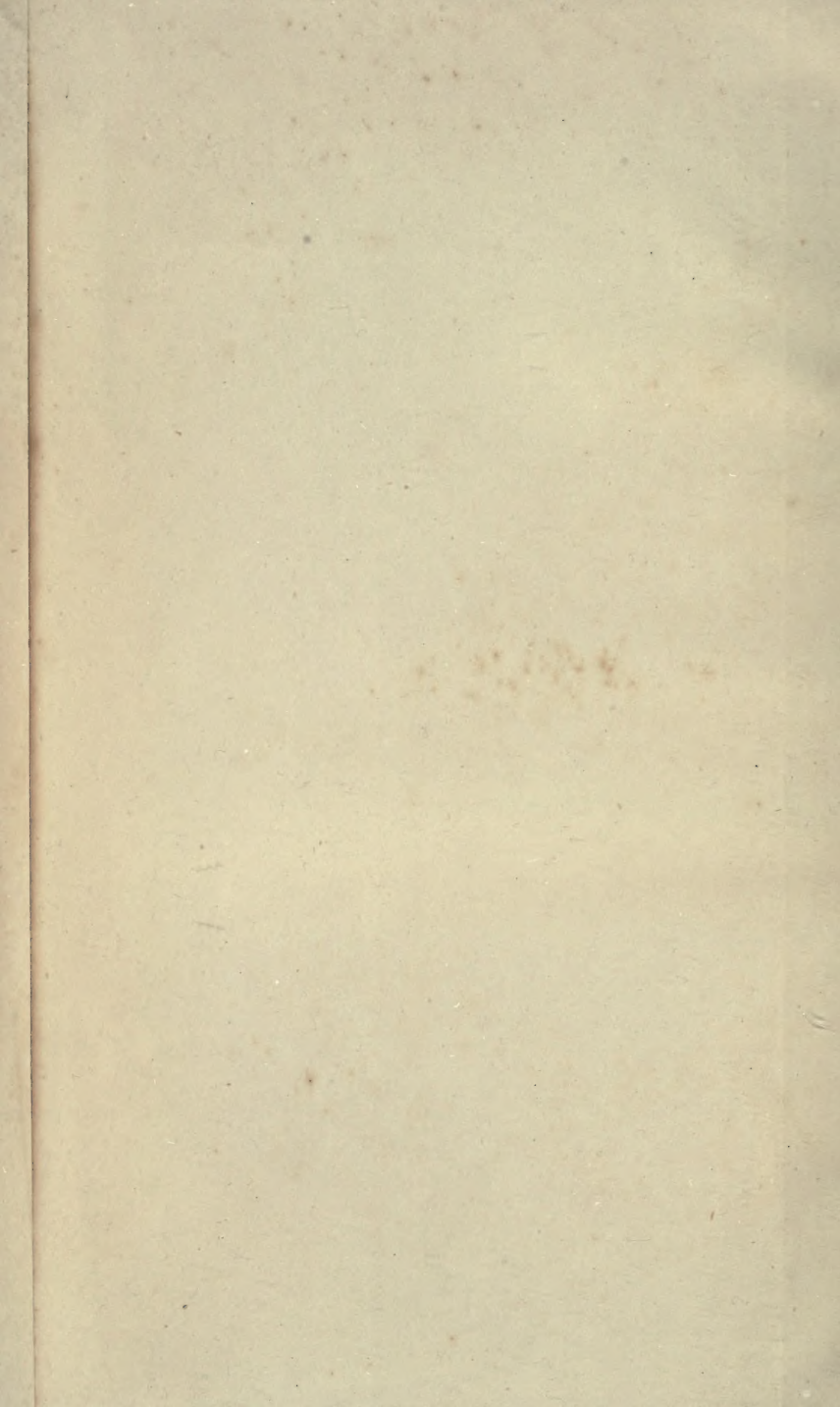


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THE IRISH
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1900
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THE IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD

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THE VALUE OF A SCRUPLE

‘Magna vis est conscientiae, et magna in utramque partem: ut neque timeant, qui nihil commiserint, et poenam semper ante oculos versari putent, qui peccarint.’—CICERO, *Pro Milone*, xxiii. 61.

THERE is no one but admits that this is a reading age. Free libraries are yearly multiplying in number; lending libraries are increasing their stock of books; and the press of the country, from week to week, is unceasingly pouring forth upon the world a seemingly endless supply of printed matter, the degrees of excellence of which are as multi-coloured as Joseph's coat. That most of this stuff is read, somewhere or another, is undeniable; but equally certain it is that a vast portion of it is calculated to do a large amount of mischief. Writers who have established for themselves a name can always count upon a host of readers, whose applause and appreciation add very materially to the market value of the writer's output. Milton would raise his hands in astonishment could he but learn the net earnings of an ordinary mediocre scribe of to-day, who, with the business instinct of the man of the world, carefully gauges the wants of the public, and then sets himself to supply them.

Like the rest of their neighbours, our Catholic people are engaged in the perusal of current literature. Works of fiction are most in demand, and the fiction of to-day is a widely different thing to what it was fifty years since, when

the works of Lever, Charlotte Brontë, Thackeray, Dickens, and Lytton amused and improved our fathers. The world, however, has advanced with giant strides since those days. Questions then unheard, perhaps undreamt of, are now occupying our thoughts, and pressing for solution with a persistency which cannot be ignored. Some of these questions have been taken up by our novelists, and have been set forth with considerable skill and power. Thus the novel whose theme is the eternal question of sex, man's inhumanity to woman, the clashing of human love with sacred obligations, and the drowning of the voice of conscience in the maelstrom of passion, is sufficiently well known to most of us.

It has frequently struck me as being not a little strange how few first-rate Catholic writers of fiction we have had during the last decade. There certainly have been writers who were more or less generally known to be Catholics; but in so far as their published works are concerned, they might just as well have been Parsees. They have shown no disposition to write about or to put before the world types of character which must have been familiar to them, and about which the world knows all too little. Latterly there would seem to be an improvement in this respect. In fact, during the last few years we have had works from the pens of some of our leading and most popular novelists in which the Catholic faith and Catholic principle have been fairly, and even sympathetically, treated. Amongst other works, I may mention *Helbeck of Bannisdale*, by Mrs. Humphrey Ward, and *The School for Saints*, by John Oliver Hobbs (Mrs. Craigie), who is generally known to be a Catholic. In the pages of these and similar works Catholics will find much to admire, and little, if anything, to censure. Still the general run of writers leave us severely alone. The patronage of such authors as Mr. Hewlett, evidenced by such works as his *Little Novels of Italy*—a book of singular fascination—is but a very qualified advantage.

What is there, I often ask myself, in the priestly character which prevents its being pourtrayed with some show of truth and accuracy? Has any writer ever done for

the Catholic priesthood what Barrie and MacLaren have accomplished on behalf of the Presbyterian ministers of Scotland? If such a one there be, I confess with shame that I know him not; in fact, a highly interesting and amusing article might be written under the heading of the 'Catholic Priest in Fiction.' The vulgar Protestant prejudice of a certain class of writers, who love to pander to the bigotry of a section of our population, need not be taken into serious account. With such we are the living embodiment of all that is deceitful, dishonest, and salacious. Grossly ignorant ourselves, we fatten on the still more abysmal nescience of the creatures to whom we minister. Of gentlemanly conduct we have no concept; personal cleanliness has no attraction for us. In a word, there is no limit to our moral turpitude. The smiling, slippery, unctuous Jesuit, sketched for us by Thackeray, is but a slight remove from the more commonly received type. He may not be deficient in culture, he may even speak in the language of a gentleman; but *au fond* he is a most despicable cad. Lever, and certain other less widely-known Irish writers, have put before the world types of Irish and foreign priests, richly endowed in the matter of animal instincts and earthly inclinations, jovial, punch-drinking fellows, with red faces and bloated stomachs, the living antithesis of all that is spiritual and ghostly. Even writers who may be regarded as more or less favourably disposed towards us fail utterly when they come to depict the clerical character. There would seem to be no golden mean between the extreme of boisterous good nature, speaking in the language of the peasantry, and showing no trace of culture or refinement, and a bloodless, heartless asceticism which can never fail to repel and to disgust. Surely, the vast majority of us do not come under either of these two headings; and is no one to be found to describe for us the priest we all know so well—the man of education and gentle breeding, who has renounced the world, and devoted himself, not unfrequently in the midst of the most depressing surroundings, to ministering to the poor; a man of simple habits, and kind-hearted, large-minded, and tolerant, undemonstrative

in his piety, and ever ready to overlook the faults and the failings of others. Such men—and there are thousands of them—prove to the world, by their example, the living power of the Catholic faith. They are held in reverence and esteem by our bitterest opponents, who must admit that their lives are fully in square with their doctrines. Tennyson wrote of

The snowy-banded, dilettante
Delicate-handed priest.

But for such an one there is no place in our system: we know him not.

When Mr. Robert Buchanan sat down to write his *Father Anthony*, no doubt he intended to be very kind and complimentary in his references to the Irish priesthood. He chose two specimens for action in the book. Of these the older, Father John, is more or less drawn after the Lever model; the second, who gives his name to the work, Father Anthony, is one of those spineless, lymphatic individuals who seems too good by far for human nature's daily food. He goes over the hills and moors in his cassock and biretta, till he is mud all over; and is described for us as wearing a chasuble, nothing less, when administering the last Sacraments to a dying peasant in his cabin. And this crazy creature is put before us as an ideal priest by the writer of the story.

Readers of Dr. Barry's recent work, *The Two Standards*, will remember a few glimpses the book furnishes of a white-robed monk, who appears thus attired in the drawing-rooms of the great, and converses very learnedly. However, after a few spasmodic appearances, he disappears altogether.

What I have said concerning the feebleness of Catholic influence in modern literature comes home to one all the more forcibly when he is requested to write out a list of books fit to be read, say by Catholic girls of eighteen or nineteen, who have just left school, and taken their first step, so to speak, out into that great world, successful resistance to whose spirit and allurements demands careful grounding in the principles of solid virtue. Where is one

to draw the line? A too sudden acquaintance with the seamy side of life, with its unspeakable debaucheries and insincerities, is bad; but a complete ignorance of them is still worse, and may place a young girl at a serious disadvantage in the early stages of her journey through life. Our people must read something, and if that something is represented by the majority of the works of fiction given to the world, they gradually come to imbibe the un-Catholic spirit, which only too frequently pervades such publications. Unheeded at first, the subtle poison works its way, until, sooner or later, we feel astounded at the extent to which it has coloured our thoughts and views.

Conscious of these dangers, we should be all the more ready to welcome and to peruse any work coming from a Catholic source, and, more especially, one that claims our attention in virtue of its intrinsic merits, not merely from the fact that its author holds the same religious views as ourselves. Such a book, in my estimation, is Mrs. Wilfrid Ward's *One Poor Scruple*, which, since its publication a few months ago, has attracted a considerable amount of attention in literary circles, and amongst the reading public in general.

The book brings before us the daily life, the habits of mind and thought, the prejudices, likes and dislikes, of that most conservative and exclusive of those venerable institutions which have survived to us from the past, an old English Catholic family. Such were the Riversdales, whose family seat is at Skipton-le-Grange. In the sixteenth century (we read) one Riversdale had been hanged, drawn, and quartered, and a second imprisoned for life in a jail where life could only be of the shortest, for the criminal offences of harbouring priests and having Mass celebrated at Skipton-le-Grange. In the seventeenth century the family had gone through all the ups and downs, all the hopes and disappointments that befell the Catholics of England. They had fought for Charles I., stood by Charles II. But after the *débâcle* in the case of James II., 'the darkness thickened; and the Riversdales, and many other Catholic families with them, became as those who

have no hope in this world.' When the Relief Act of 1778 was passed, it found a young squire, William Riversdale, at Skipton, a high-spirited fellow, who, like most Catholics of those days, had been educated in France, where he had been received at court by Louis XVI., and had moved in the best society. We can imagine the feelings of this young squire when, on the first occasion he attended quarter sessions, he heard the official announce that he had 'made diligent search for Papists.' At a dinner party he attended, the Lord Lieutenant of the county almost left the company when he heard there was a Papist present. But Riversdale's cup of mortification did not quite overflow until he had had a quarrel with an acquaintance on the hunting-field, when the latter reminded him that the magnificent horse he rode was only his on sufferance, and that, as a Catholic, he was bound by law to give the animal to anyone who offered him £5 in exchange. Matters continued thus till Catholic Emancipation was won, when the Catholics of this country took 'their position socially, and in the professions, and were on good terms with their immediate neighbours.'

But the memory of past wrongs is not soon obliterated, and so the Catholics of England were inclined to revert too much to the past. As Mrs. Ward puts it:—

Their traditions and their way of life bore many traces of their past history. The persecuted had come, in many cases, to idealize the enforced seclusions and inaction of penal days. Politics were too dangerous, and the army and navy soul-imperilling professions. A curious, hardly expressed tradition, regarded idleness even in the younger sons as both virtuous and aristocratic.

George Riversdale, the squire in possession at the time the story opens, is a very noble character. It does not demand much discernment to see the regard Mrs. Ward entertains for his good qualities. Tall, upright, broad-chested, George Riversdale was 'a strong man, strong in will, large in affections, just in personal judgments; a fox-hunter, who made an hour's meditation every morning, and a powerful landlord, who carried soup to bed-ridden old women.' He found it hard to forgive the man that shot a

fox. Then only did he succeed in doing so when he had to prepare for confession : ' and it was felt in the family to be a serious matter if a fox had been shot near the eve of the eight great feast days.'

Mrs. Riversdale, the squire's partner, also came of an old Catholic family. She had all the defects of the good qualities of her class. Confined in her mental outlook she was on several subjects prejudiced, and a trifle contemptuous. A lady to her finger tips, she made no effort to conceal her dislike for people of a lower social scale who would fain consider themselves her equals. Exactng in the regard of others, she was yet strict upon herself. Her heart was in the right place, but the austerity of her manner checked the outward manifestation of her affections. She lectured the wife of her brother-in-law upon the importance of making her morning meditation in the chapel before mass. 'No one,' she declared, 'could do it quite so well after breakfast;' and urged her strongly not to go to confession to Father Newman. 'You know he was a Protestant clergyman, and he can't quite know'

For this couple, devotedly attached to one another, life held many bitter trials and sorrows. The angel of death was most persistent in his visits to the nursery at Skipton. Yet it seemed to the parents that the little ones had not gone far away.

In moments after communion, moments when they knelt together alone before the Blessed Sacrament, they felt that those four boys and girls, and one tiny baby were about them still. Under the chapel in the vault below lay those short coffins, and our Blessed Lady kept their spotless souls ever in her sight.

One son, George, was spared to them. But he came to be a source of anxiety, and, finally, of shame to his parents. The whole story turns, as on a pivot, upon this poor fellow's marriage. When on a visit to Scotland, he met the O'Reillys, a wealthy Liverpool mercantile family of Irish extraction. The second daughter of the family, Madge, was singularly beautiful, *petite* in stature, and had received her education in a high-class French convent, where her gifts of beauty and refinement had been carefully developed.

‘Her French education,’ we read, ‘and her Celtic descent combined in perfection, and produced a strange variation in the Liverpool merchant’s family.’ The charms of Madge O’Reilly proved too overpowering even for the Saxon temperament of George Riversdale, who proposes, and is accepted. His parents are totally opposed to the match, Madge’s good looks and large fortune notwithstanding. ‘In their eyes the girl was not only without antecedents, but was weak and frivolous.’ Mrs. Riversdale, especially, was quite averse to this *mésalliance*, as it seemed to her; and, probably, with the best intentions in the world, made up her mind that ‘this unfortunate little O’Reilly girl should live with them as soon as she became Mrs. George, and then she could teach her new daughter-in-law how to be a fervent Catholic and a lady.’ This plan, however, was foredoomed to prove a ridiculous failure; for two women more diametrically opposed in mind and character than Madge and her mother-in-law can be imagined only with difficulty. The marriage was a ghastly mis-success. ‘Hot love soon colde,’ says Heywood; and poor Madge soon discovered that her husband was a brute, and wanting in all the finer instincts to be expected from one of his class. Someone has said, that—

Love is a burden, which two hearts,
When equally they bear their parts,
With pleasure carry; but no one,
Alas! can bear it long alone.

But Madge had to bear the load as well as her nature would permit whilst she witnessed her husband’s ill-conduct; saw him desert her; and, finally, heard of his death in scandalous surroundings without the sacraments, without even one word expressive of sorrow for his misdeeds. The child born of this union died shortly after its birth. Its widowed mother soon severs her connection with Skipton-le-Grange, and takes up her abode in London.

At the time the story opens we find Madge in her town residence, in conversation with Mrs. Hurstmonceaux, a woman of the world, and thorough mistress of all the moods and tenses of that most unsatisfying inheritance.

Mr. and Mrs. Riversdale have sent their daughter-in-law an invitation to come and see them at Skipton, which she feels constrained to accept, not out of any regard she entertains for them, but because her presence is necessary for the settling up of certain business matters. Amongst the other invited guests are Marmaduke Lemarchant, a young and promising officer; Hilda Riversdale, a niece of the squire; and Mark Fieldes, a man of literary instincts, but a suist to the backbone. We now meet for the first time Mary Riversdale, the squire's only surviving child, and a girl of rare beauty, sweetness, and charm of manner.

Madge arrives at Skipton, with her French maid and several trunks filled with the most modish costumes in shades the most aggressive permissible to a widow in half mourning. She feels anything but at home. The sight of the austere face of her mother-in-law brings to the front all the worst elements in her character. She feels she cannot fall lower than she has already in the old lady's estimation, so she takes a sort of pleasure in violating all the rules and customs which every member of the Skipton household, visitors included, are expected to observe. As Mrs. Ward puts it, 'to Mrs. Riversdale, Madge was a reminder of facts in the life of the dead son whom she had idolized—facts which she angrily refused to face. For her George's widow was the undying witness to the family tragedy. How, then, could Madge be anything but odious to Mrs. Riversdale?' But, then, how could Madge be other than anathema to her mother-in-law, considering the dresses in which she appeared at dinner, the number of cigarettes she smoked, the French novels she read. Could any woman, the squire's wife asked herself, be either respectable or moral who smoked cigarettes and read those scandalous French novels?

There was something more, however, in Madge than appeared on the surface. The strongest attraction that brought her to Skipton was the hunger of her mother's heart to gaze upon her child's coffin in the vault. She remembered the hour when that sacred deposit had been given into her keeping 'a great secret, clothed in her own flesh. She had looked on her child's face with an immense

surprise. This was not a baby such as her friends had had; this was a human being. This was her best friend, this wise soul in its tiny coverings.' Mary Riversdale, suspecting Madge's desire, had arranged to leave the door of the vault open. Probably there is no finer page in this charming book than that which describes for us the scene outside the vault. Madge 'drew nearer and listened. Not a sound anywhere. She came close to the top of the steps that led down to the heavy oak door.' Then she paused, her heart all a flutter, the tears welling into her eyes, and looks round again to see if anyone is watching her. Horror of horrors! there is the grim countenance of Mrs. Riversdale gazing down upon her from the sacristy window. That was enough for Madge. In an instant all that there was of hatred and *diablerie* in her nature asserted itself.

She did not move forward or go away. She put her hand in her pocket, drew out her cigarette case, and felt for a match in the pocket of her coat. She tried to strike a match, and failed. She threw it down. Then she raised her foot on to the green stone kerb above the steps and struck again, lit her cigarette, threw away the second match blindly, and it fell down the steps. She walked slowly—very slowly—away, puffing delicate wreaths of smoke in front of her.

After this she attends Benediction, and feels the tranquillizing influence of that 'atmosphere of peace and adoration; that indescribable atmosphere made up of the traditions of ages, of the recollections of childhood, the experience of life that clusters round the belief in the Divine Presence.' She feels a longing to go to confession, sets about examining her conscience, and at the last moment fails to kneel before the priest. Early the following morning she quits Skipton. The old squire is waiting to see her off.

'My child,' he says to her, 'wherever you go, whomever you trust, be very sure that you don't deceive yourself. If you choose a life for yourself, make very sure that it is a safe one. If you won't listen to me, go to somebody better, stronger, than I am. But, little Madge (and he put his hand softly on her shoulder), don't go to the world, mind that, child, mind that.'

To the world, howbeit, she flies; to that world where,

in the words of St. Augustine, you can watch 'the unbridled wickedness of pride, the indolent voluptuousness of luxury,' Amongst her friends she numbered a Lord Bellasis, who is described for us as the centre of a clique, 'unmarried, not too young, and uncommonly rich.' As a young man he had a passion, like most Englishmen, for travel. In his wanderings he went through Mexico, and met a beauty of that country in a theatre at Florida, whom he married. This creature proving false to him he divorced her after 'three years of untold misery.' She is still living; and Bellasis is known in fashionable society as an innocent *divorcee*. Round him cluster a group of beautiful, fascinating women, all more or less in love with him. But Bellasis, after a short acquaintance with Madge, seems drawn towards her in preference to all others. In fact, when unbosoming himself to an intimate friend he candidly confesses that he cannot live without her. Yet he feels convinced that Madge as a Catholic cannot marry him.

'Now, do you think I must give up all hope?' he asks the lady friend to whom he has given his confidence. 'For she would have to abandon her religious prejudices for my sake.'

'Oh, no, don't say that,' exclaims the friend; 'surely, surely, something might be arranged. The priests——'

'Impossible, my dear lady,' answered Bellasis, 'they can't do it. History would have been different if they could.'

And so Madge is drawn more and more closely into the circle of Bellasis' immediate friends. She caught the spirit of the *grandes dames* of the clique. 'They told each other, and they told Lord Bellasis, that she was quite charming.' But even noble ladies to all seeming are not destitute of the ignoble vice of hypocrisy. For, as we read:—

In their rooms at night they told each other how her (*i.e.*, Madge's) hands and her feet betrayed the vulgarity of her origin, and that if Lord Bellasis persisted in his new fancy she must be taught a great many things, but that she might eventually become presentable.'

In due course the mutual lady-friend of Bellasis and

Madge came to the latter to make known to her my lord's *status quo*.

'He married,' she says, 'somebody who loved him even as savages love, and no deeper. It seemed to him an idyll in the wilderness. Nobody knew of this marriage in his own land. It was the love of a summer's day, brief as it was fiery. Then came disillusion, disloyalty, a low story.'

Madge is almost petrified as she hears the tale. She knew now that Bellasis loved her; that 'the ideal vision which had haunted her could be realized, and she was, in an instant, brought face to face with the cost which must be counted.' What Browning calls the great beacon light, conscience, which God has set in the bosom of us all, is still a living influence in her regard. 'Oh! Laura!' she exclaims, 'if I didn't believe too much, if I hadn't been brought up by those nuns, if they weren't praying for me now, what a glorious life I could have.'

Madge has only one possible rival in Bellasis' affections, and that is Cecilia Rupert, a hoydenish creature, sensuous and seductive, with the physical grace and development of a statue by Phidias. Must she efface herself, and rest content to see Cecilia carry off the prize? And such a prize! 'Seventy thousand a year, Bellasis castle, an angelic yacht, and a sublime shooting-box, besides the title—older than the deluge, and hardly a relative living nearer than a cousin.' Truly, the temptation is great. Lytton says somewhere that conscience is the most elastic material in the world. To-day you cannot stretch it over a mole-hill, to-morrow it hides a mountain. At all events, it is a decidedly unwelcome guest when you wish to do a wrongful act.

Poor Madge succumbed to the temptation. Bellasis asks her on his knees to be his wife, and she consents. From this moment the thought of her religion seems to irritate her. She complains almost querulously to her suitor that they are sure to be 'worried and teased by the priests' as soon as they find he is not a Catholic. She goes to Farm-street the Sunday following her engagement with the intention of hearing the ten o'clock Mass, but turns

away from the very door of the church without entering with a hard pained look upon her face. She casts her Rosary on the table of her dining-room, telling her French maid to never put them in her pocket again, 'they spoil the set of the skirts.' Then taking up the Rosary, she says:— 'Keep it, Celestine; it is made of real garnets,' adding significantly, 'though garnets are of no value compared to rubies.'

'*Mais pourquoi, madame, n'aurait-elle pas tous les deux ?*' asks Celestine. But her mistress vouchsafed no response.

Bellasis wished the marriage to take place on March 25; but Madge, in a revulsion of feeling, remembered that that was the anniversary of the making of her first communion; and insisted on the fixing of Monday, March 27. She is in the midst of her preparations, feverishly anxious that every moment of her time should be taken up so that her mind and her thoughts might be diverted from a certain jarring, irritating anxiety as to the future which dominates her.

In the midst of her pre-occupations Mary Riversdale, her sister-in-law, is announced. This is decidedly awkward at the present junction of her affairs. Mary seems radiantly happy. The wells of light and tenderness in her soft blue eyes never shone more brilliantly than when she informed Madge that, in answer to God's call, she had made up her mind to become a Sister of Charity, and hoped to go to China as the sphere of her activity. Madge plied her with trying, unsympathetic questions, and reluctantly draws from Mary the story of her call to the higher life:—

'It was like dying,' she says. 'It took a week to die.'

'And then?' persisted Madge.

'I suppose one doesn't know what heaven is,' said Mary. 'But one may say it has been heavenly—not that I care one bit less for mother or father, only I seem to be always on the point of meeting all I love in heaven for ever.'

This simple, direct confession of feeling proves too much for Madge. The scales seem to be rudely torn from her eyes; she is shaken with suppressed sobs. She tries to

drive Mary away from her; then calls her back with the request that she will put her arm around her.

‘I can’t be good,’ she cries. ‘It is of no use. I can’t avoid doing something very wrong. I shall repent some day. I’ve not lost the faith; I never shall lose it. Mary, I sometimes wish I *could*. O Mary, Mary, go away; I am going mad. Oh, why, why didn’t God leave me that baby?’

Awed by these alternate fits of passion and remorse, Mary falls upon her knees, and begins to recite the Rosary aloud. Madge, without knowing why, goes and kneels by her side, answering almost mechanically. In a sort of dream she continued the responses; and, as she uttered the words

She thought she was in the convent chapel at the Sacré Cœur. The girls were singing a *cantique*, and the warm air was scented with lilies and with incense. Then the *cantique* grew fainter, but she was holding up her Rosary to show the others that she was praying too. ‘Sainte Marie, mère de Dieu, priez pour nous pauvres pecheurs maintenant et a l’heure de notre mort, ainsi soit-il.’

By the time that Rosary was finished grace had gained the victory in the heart of Madge. Very quietly she but said, ‘Will you take me to Skipton for a little while, Mary?’

The scene in which Madge, sustained by the moral influence of Mary’s presence, makes known to the society woman, Laura Hurstmonceaux, her determination to break off her engagement with Lord Bellasis is very finely done.

‘If you break your word,’ says Laura, ‘you will rue it o your dying day.’

‘But on my dying day itself,’ Madge rejoins, ‘what of that?’ And (pointedly, and not, perhaps, without some suspicion of malice), ‘you will have a dying day too, you know, Laura.’

By a curious synchronism Madge’s decision to terminate her engagement coincides with the tragic suicide of Cecilia Rupert, who felt that Bellasis was lost to her for ever. This event afforded Bellasis himself an excuse for leaving town after he had heard of the turn of affairs in Madge’s regard: and the delights of a yachting tour gradually helped him to forget his disappointment.

And so the book draws to an end—a happy ending. For as Robert Louis Stevenson says in one of his letters, which has just been published, to Mr. J. M. Barrie, the author of that inimitable work, *The Little Minister* :—

If you are going to make a book end badly, it must end badly from the beginning. Now, your book began to end well ; you let yourself fall in love with, and fondle, and smile at your puppets. Once you had done that your honour was committed—at the cost of truth to life you were bound to save them.

Leaving all question of supernatural influences out of sight, 'truth to life' might, perhaps, in the case of Mrs. Ward's book, demand the sacrifice of Madge. Her love for Bellasis, quickened by her ambition, ought naturally (I use this word advisedly) to have carried her to the point of marriage with him. Then we should behold not an unusual spectacle in her sin bringing its own Nemesis in the form of her subsequent sorrow and misery. However, Mrs. Ward evidently loved her creation, and so saved her from the effects of her own folly.

This is a work which we should all not merely read, but welcome. The author of *Robert Elsmere* has just reminded the public, in her excellent introduction to the new and elaborate edition of the works of Charlotte Brontë, that the writing of fiction has grown to the dimensions of a great modern art—an art 'that has commanded the knowledge of a Tolstoy and the mind of a Turginieff, which is the subtle interpreter, and not the vulgar stage manager of nature.' As in the case of every other art, it is right and fitting that we, as Catholics, should have our own representatives, who will act as the official exponents of Catholic feeling and of Catholic principle. This is a matter of vast importance at the present time ; for we can influence thousands by means of our works of fiction who might never hear of our existence otherwise. And naturally the Catholic writer who enjoys the advantage of seeing our system from within will be in a better position than the author who is constrained to view us from the standpoint of an outsider.

I had a few words to say, at the commencement of this paper, as to the rôle played by the Catholic priest in fiction.

In Mrs. Ward's book we meet with two clergymen—the Friar, Father Clement, and the Oratorian, Father Gabriel. Both are eminently satisfactory. The picture of Father Gabriel in his confessional, drawing, in his spare moments, a pair of pincers and a roll of wire out of his pocket, on the eve of the Annunciation, that he may complete a nearly-finished Rosary for a little girl who is to make her first communion on the morrow, is very touching. He is perfectly human in every particular, and is evidently drawn from the life. Mrs. Ward tells us that he 'spoke fiercely to himself, and was fond of strong words, and used to say he was sorry "he couldn't help swearing;" yet he was very patient with wrongdoers, and he was noted among the younger fathers for his love of any real big sinner.' For forty years he had sat in the same confessional, and had gained a varied experience. 'He knew of things stranger than any fiction has imagined; he knew of the secret sins of the respectable; he knew the secret remorse of the speculator haunted by his victims; he knew the secrets of women of every kind and sort.' Yet we are told that 'every year of his life he had grown in that confessional to think better, more highly, of human nature.' Who could help loving such a man?

No competent critic can utter an adverse judgment on any portion of this delightful work. We owe our grateful thanks to Mrs. Ward for having given it to us. I am sure there is room for it in every priest's library, in every Catholic home, and in the library of every Catholic guild and confraternity. It leaves behind it a pleasant taste in the mouth, which, I fear, is more than can be said of most other works of fiction one has to review from day to day.

RICHARD A. O'GORMAN.

THE NEW VARIATIONS

I. NEW TESTAMENT CRITICISM

THE principle of private judgment in matters of religion, if it found more thorough and perfect expression in the Reformation than in any previous instance of spiritual revolt, found also in that same movement the supreme test of its validity. Enunciated at a time when the representative of the antagonistic principle of authority had long lost the sympathy, if not the obedience, of large sections of its nominal subjects; insisted on with the utmost determination by men whose conspicuous abilities were exclusively devoted to its development and defence; enforced on whole nations by the strong arm of civil power, it to all appearance possessed every element of success. If anything could, it should have restored to the world that pure religion wherein men enjoy the peace that passeth understanding, and dwell together in the loving unity of Christian brotherhood. But far otherwise is the tale that history tells. The operation of this principle directly resulted in introducing among men a new and permanent source of alienation, entailing 'national hatreds of whole generations and pigmy spites of the village spire.' Within one hundred years the Protestant body, far from being a homogeneous unit, was rent asunder by schism after schism into factions, whose mutual hatred was exceeded only by their common hatred of Rome. The leading Reformers quarrelled unappeasably amongst themselves on such vital points as the nature of the Eucharist, the Canon of Scripture, and the form of Church government. Such a principle forfeits all claims to recognition as an infallible rule of Christian faith and as a trustworthy guide to Christian practice. Immutability is the test of truth; instability is the note of error. And Bossuet showed with deep erudition and invincible logic that the Protestant Reformation was doomed by the Protestant variations.

Rationalism, the great religious revolt of our own day,

has remarkable resemblance to that of the sixteenth century. Both are animated by the same formal principle, the denial of authority and the absolute supremacy of individual reason. Both were affirmed during periods of acute mental unrest, when old ideals had been discredited, and old methods weakened, by the great changes induced in the one case by the Renaissance and the discovery of America, and in the other by the philosophy and the industrial revolution of the eighteenth century. Both addressed themselves to the same task, to bring Christianity up to date, to bring it into harmony with the grander conceptions of a higher civilization, to strip it of the excrescences that had gathered round it during ages of inferior culture, but of gross superstition. Indeed, so much akin are they that one of its most eloquent, effective, and popular advocates, Mrs. Humphrey Ward, has baptized the modern movement as the New Reformation.¹ But if there are points of contact, there are also points of difference. The Reformation stopped short at the Papacy, but Rationalism applied with merciless logic the common principle to the entire body of Christian teaching, destroyed the distinctive tenets of Protestantism, and left no half-way house between unbelief and Catholicism.

Identity of principle leads us to expect identity in result. The history of rationalism fully justifies this expectation; in its evolution the older phenomena reproduce themselves. It shows that its leaders have quarrelled, or are quarrelling, over what they themselves regard as essential, and that there is no definite, organized coherent body of scientific result which can be substituted for the Creed. It shows that *a priori* speculation has usurped the place of history, and that, under the exigencies of debate, positions have been assumed and abandoned, not for intrinsic worth, but for controversial convenience. It shows that theory and conjecture have been put forward with a dogmatism that would neither brook dissent nor tolerate denial, and that when wider research or more accurate investigation had exposed

¹ *Nineteenth Century*, March, 1889, and October, 1899.

the untenability of these, other conjectures equally hollow were manufactured with the same unblushing effrontery and proclaimed with the same oracular assurance. The tests of Bossuet are emphatically applicable to-day. Error discloses itself in the same way as of old; uncertainty, vacillation, and contradiction again betray its presence. If we have the new Reformation, then, assuredly, we have also the new Variations.

In the two great departments of knowledge in which the spirit of rationalism has pre-eminently manifested itself, and in which it hoped for its most signal victories, in science and criticism these variations are strikingly evident. The recklessness with which the uniformitarian school rolled out its hundreds of millions of years was, of course, warranted by the unquestionable accuracy of the geological calculus, and by the confirmations of astronomy, which assigns twenty millions as the maximum age of the world. The arms of that interesting moneron, the *Bathybius Haeckelii*, which Professor Huxley offered as a substitute for a superfluous Creator, had only seven years pith when, alas! it sank from the summit of the organic hierarchy to the humble condition of precipitate of lime. In criticism, theories of Old Testament composition succeed one another like the airy phantoms of philosophical construction which are the stuff of the introductory lectures of the German professor. Astruc suggests, and Eichorn, quite independently develops, the documentary theory. Geddes, a Scottish priest, and Vater advocate the fragmentary theory. In due time Reuss and Wellhausen come along with theory of development. In the New Testament the movement has gone on parallel lines. When the scepticism of the eighteenth century had failed, when the sneer of Voltaire and the fatuity of Paulus were alike contemptuously scouted by a world grown serious under the chastening discipline of the vicissitudes of the French Revolution, there arose to meet the demands of a new age a similar series of discordant hypotheses. Each fantastic speculator analyses the problem, and offers his—the only possible—solution. Each takes us behind the scenes, and, like the good cicerone that he is,

explains all the mysteries, shows us the machinery of the illusions which in the drama of Christianity had pleased us by their beauty, or, mayhap, purified us by pity and by terror. Each declares—and his intellectual dependants, the servile, half-educated, unthinking Freethinkers loudly repeat—that he has spoken the last word, and that of the labours of higher criticism we may now say *consummatum est*. Strauss proposes the mythical theory, and with religious earnestness pursues it through fifteen hundred mortal pages of solid German lore. Baur improves on his old pupil with his theory of tendency and his accusations of forgery. Renan will not accept history made in Tübingen, and tells how the origin of Christianity shaped itself in his romantic fancy as he meditated among the ruins of Capernaum. And thus a parallel series of mutually destructive hypotheses is the main result of all the perverse energy expended in the service of Science and Criticism—the great Twin Brethren to whom the Agnostics pray.

The study of all these variations, though probably an acquired taste, is very interesting, and, properly conducted, most beneficial. Passing by the others, let us follow those which regard the authenticity of the New Testament.

As the Reformers, despite all their differences, had a great bond of union in common opposition to the Papacy, so have the Rationalists in their common rejection of the supernatural. This is the shibboleth which all repeat; this is the formula to which all subscribe. Starting out with this principle their object is to discredit the New Testament, in so far, at least, as it has a supernatural implication.¹ But, as has already been indicated, they are by no means at one as to tactics. Each has his peculiar method. That which commended itself to Strauss was to resolve the Gospel story into myths. David Strauss was born in the kingdom of Würtemberg, in 1808. His early education finished, he entered the seminary at Blaubeuren, where he had his subsequent rival, Baur, as one of his masters. He

¹ Renan, *Life of Jesus*, Eng. Trans., Introduction, viii.

then went to Tübingen University, where he graduated. He underwent a post-graduate course at Berlin, under Hegel and Schleiermacher, both of whom largely contributed to the formation of his opinions. A little while afterwards he was appointed to one of the chairs in his old university. All this time the air was full of mythological theories. By their aid Wolf had decomposed Homer, and Niebuhr had illuminated the dark places of early Roman story.¹ Strauss fell in with the spirit of the age, all the more readily because of the utter absurdity in the current naturalistic explanation as set forth by Paulus of Heidelberg. Paulus admitted the authenticity of the Gospels, but endeavoured to explain away the miraculous element: *e.g.*, our Lord's walking on the sea he explains by saying that He seemed to do so, or that He walked on the shore; and, again, that in the Annunciation the Blessed Mother saw not the Angel Gabriel, but an impostor. The absurdity and inconsistency of such a position was plain to Strauss; so plain, indeed, that he distinctly recognised the impossibility of excluding miracle from the Gospels if we admit that they are the work of contemporaries.² He then, in his *Life of Jesus*, published in 1835, boldly denied the historical character of the Gospels, asserting that they were not the work of eye-witnesses, but were merely a collection made in the second or third decades of the second century of the myths and legends then floating about concerning our Lord. Myth, which he made the basis of his theory, is one of the classic terms like poetry and beauty that lend themselves to universal circulation by eluding satisfactory definition. From its prominence in Pagan religions many Christians look upon it as anathema, as something intrinsically evil. But a high degree of natural goodness is not incompatible with the accident of evil associations; one may be in bad company through no fault of his own. It may be defined as the pictorial presentation of early conceptions in ethics, history, and physics. It need scarcely be

¹ Fairbairn, *The Place of Christ in Modern Theology*, p. 241.

² See Salmon, *Introduction to New Testament*, p. 10.

said that this definition has no pretensions to finality, and is merely provisional. The different schools of mythologists have their special definitions determined by their peculiar views on the origin of myth. Max Müller, the leader of the etymological school, regards it as a disease of language, due to the influence of language upon thought, so that many of the legends about the gods would be rendered intelligible if we could only find out the original meaning of proper names.¹ That is to say, 'that men at some period spoke in a singular style of coloured and concrete language, and that their children retained the phrases of this language after losing hold of the original meaning.'²

Another school founded by the old Sicilian philosopher, Euhemeros, revived in 1739 by Abbé Banier, and which numbers Herbert Spencer among its modern representatives, goes in for naturalistic explanation, and sees in the gods merely heroes raised to a higher power. Another, which finds its instrument in comparative folk-lore, holds 'that myth is a product of the early human fancy working on the most rudimentary knowledge of the outer world ;'³ that is, that men at a time when imagination was active and judgment languid, having busied themselves with certain classes of phenomena, embodied the result of this mental operation in that form of expression which was congenial to their intellectual status, and which was no other than vivid and picturesque narrative. Myth, then, is the inevitable result of certain modes of thought ; as in some mental states men see ghosts, in others they build myths. Apart from the local colouring it consists of two elements—the fact which serves as basis, and the super-structure erected by the unconscious elaboration of popular fancy.⁴

These elements enter into every definition of myth ; how they are verified in the case of our Saviour is part of the task of Strauss. He tells us that by the term evangelical

¹ *Nineteenth Century*, January, 1882.

² Andrew Lang, *Custom and Myth*, 1.

³ Lang., *l. c.* 23.

⁴ Briggs, *Study of Holy Scripture*, 333.

myth we are to understand a narrative relating directly or indirectly to our Lord, which must be considered not as a plain unvarnished tale or literal description of fact, but as the expression of that fact as understood by His disciples; that is to say, that in it we have moral but not logical truth. Nay, he would seem to go further when he asserts that, in some instances at least, the narrative is a purely subjective creation, called into being to minister to minds diseased. The imaginative element in the Gospel myths comes from two sources, which have contributed in varying proportion to form the story. One source is the Messianic idea as it existed in the Jewish mind, and which is supposed to have operated somewhat after this fashion. The Messiah is to do so and so. Now, Jesus is the Messiah. Out of this were evolved incidents in which our Lord is made to embody various Messianic attributes. The Transfiguration is adduced as an example of this method. The other source is the impression which the personality, actions, and fate of our Lord made on the minds of the disciples. Religious enthusiasm appropriated some individual fact, and so embroidered it with its own fond fancies that it is hidden away like meaner tissues by cloth of gold. In this transmutation of fact imagination is greatly impeded by memory. Clear and distinct recollection destroys even the possibility of fable. Eye-witnesses must pass away, and another generation must arise before the final term of the process is reached. Be the environment ever so favourable, the germ must undergo many different influences, and assume many different forms. Many an æon moulded earth before the descendants of the eohippus were harnessed to the chariots of Pharaoh. Many civilising centuries had rolled away before the rude traditions of wandering herdsmen were shaped into the tragedies of Æschylus. In mythology, as in biology, time is a postulate of evolution. Led by these principles, Strauss, in defiance of all tradition, in defiance of the most convincing historical testimony, was compelled to conclude that the Gospels were not the work of the contemporaries of our Saviour, but a collection of myths made about 120 or 130 A.D.

This grotesque patchwork is one of the most celebrated of those theories of destructive criticism which are supposed to have dissolved the foundations of Christian belief. When first issued, its immediate effect was as if a gage of battle had been thrown between opposing armies. 'To your tents, O Israel,' was the cry on all sides; and with passions roused, men began to gird themselves for the most tremendous conflict which has agitated Europe since Paul thundered from the Areopagus. The issues involved were the most mighty that it can enter into the mind of man to conceive; around it were centered the most sacred interests; upon it hung the highest destinies of humanity. It was to decide whether the chalice would continue to be raised, or whether He, whose saving Name for eighteen hundred years has been lisped with the feeble tongue of infancy, and murmured with the feebler tongue of death, would be dethroned from the Cross and fall far beneath the conception of Arian and Nestorian, to the common level of Confucius, Buddha, or Socrates. To a theory fraught with such momentous consequences, opposition was inevitable. Against its author the University of Zurich closed its gates, and Lacordaire lectured in Notre Dame. And in a little while, when the first heat of the conflict had subsided, criticism equally effective came from his own camp. These criticisms were mainly directed against its historical weakness. It was a typical German theory; it was one of that class which if facts will not square with them—well, so much the worse for facts. The whole method was speculative, *a priori*. There was in it a minimum of history; a minimum, indeed, of literary criticism, says Mrs. Ward.¹ It was, said Baur, a criticism of the Gospel without being the criticism of the Gospels.

The philosophical theories which dominated him rendered it imperative for Strauss to postpone the composition of the Gospels for one hundred years after the events which they narrate had occurred. But long before this date the same story was told in the four greater and unquestionably

¹ *Nineteenth Century*, March, 1889, 471.

authentic epistles of St. Paul. That it was also told in the Gospel is attested either in quotation or in direct reference by the early fathers ; by Clemens Romanus, who occupied the see of Rome during the lifetime of St. John ; by Papias, Justin Martyr, Polycarp, and Irenæus. In view of Baur's theories it will be well to bear in mind that, even apart from internal evidence, the testimony of these fathers leaves no doubt as to the existence of at least all the more important books of the New Testament at the end of the first, or very early in the second century ; and that their authors were either men who had their information from eye-witnesses or else themselves had been ministers of the Word from the beginning.

'But,' says Mrs. Ward, against Strauss, 'not only orthodoxy, but the spirit of history took alarm, and from the revolt of history against hypothesis began the Tübingen school.' This revolt took the very curious shape of the still more fantastic and baseless tendency-theory of Baur. Ferdinand Christian Baur, founder of the Tübingen school, was born near Stuttgart, in 1792. He received his early education from his father, who was a clergyman, and in due time entered the University of Tübingen, where he graduated in 1814. For a little time he taught at Blaubeuren, where, as already said, he counted Strauss among his pupils. In 1826 he was called to the chair of historical theology in his old university, and filled that post till his death, in 1860.¹ On the appearance of Strauss's book he welcomed it for destroying traditional belief in historical accuracy of the Christian records, and so facilitating thorough-going inquiry into what had been more or less untouched, that is, the genesis of the writings. His view is, that most of the New Testament books must be regarded as deliberate forgeries, concocted to induce subsequent generations to believe that the early Church was indeed the temple of the Holy Ghost, built up like the old temple on Mount Sion in silence and peace ; whereas, in reality, it was simply a cockpit of contending factions, headed by Peter and Paul ; that the

¹ Rev. A. B. Bruce, D.D. ; F. C. Baur and his Theory, *vide passim*.

respective opinions of these factions were ventilated in a series of party pamphlets of appropriate bitterness; that out of these pamphlets, by judicious editing, refining here, expanding there, were evolved these documents which are now the objects of such unreasonable veneration. The question Baur put to himself was this:—‘How did the Catholic Church, as we find it at the end of the second century, perfect as to-day in its organization, come into existence? The answer was suggested by the Hegelian philosophy of which he was a devoted student. Among the first principles of this philosophy is the law of development by antagonism, which looks for the genesis of institutions in the conflict of opposing tendencies. Applying this principle he imagined that he saw in the Catholic Church of the end of the second century, the result of a compromise between the great parties whose fierce strife in the early days, when men’s souls were yet thrilled by the living memory of the Master’s voice, had almost wrecked the religion He had founded. The point of contention round which this internecine war had raged was whether the Mosaic Law was still of obligation; and, if so, how far did this obligation extend. Some there were who, claiming Peter and James as their chiefs, maintained in the most absolute manner the obligation of the Law, and denied that its force had been attenuated or its circuit diminished in the slightest degree by the events of Good Friday and of Pentecost. To them the Law was still the source of righteousness; the temple still the sanctuary of Jehovah. Differing from the dominant party among the Jews merely in the belief that the Messiah had come, they would jealously restrict the blessings of the Redemption to the seed of Abraham. Emphatically they believed, and everywhere they taught, that unless the brethren were circumcised after the manner of Moses, they could not be saved.¹

The opposition led by St. Paul fought for the universality of the Church. To the Conservative party, both to those who seemed to be pillars and to their followers, such

¹ Acts xvi.

as certain from James, they stoutly denied the right of imposing burdens which neither the Jews themselves nor their fathers could bear. Nay, not content with claiming for the Gentile converts immunity from legal observances, they went so far as to declare with all solemnity, that if anyone become circumcised, Christ would profit him nothing.¹ In all the Christian societies scattered throughout the Graeco-Roman world, the debate was marked by that almost fiendish hatred, which, unhappily, appears to be a property of acute religious controversy. But the more violent tones of dissension were gradually hushed. When the protagonists had passed away, the lines of demarcation which were wont to be so broad and black, insensibly diminished and assumed a lighter colouring. With the conquests of Titus, and the conversion of numerous pagans, the centre of power in the Church shifted, ever westward, from Jerusalem to Antioch, from Antioch to Rome. When the empire declared inexorable war against them, the Christians felt the necessity of united action; they ceased to trouble themselves over questions which, in the perspective of history, were dwindling into insignificance. They began to think more of their points of contact; of the Saviour whom they passionately loved, and whose records they dearly cherished; of their community in the great tradition; of all their tender memories, and of all their glorious hopes. And thus the epoch of conciliation set in. When domestic differences had been settled, the united Christians addressed themselves to combat the Gnostic heresies which had become exceedingly virulent. With the disappearance of dissension, the different elements combined to form another and a better organism; a nobler spirit began to animate the entire body, raising it to levels higher than Paul ever reached, inspiring it with visions grander than Peter ever saw.

This is Baur's account of the process by which the Catholic Church was evolved out of the Petrine and Pauline sections. In proof of its accuracy he refers us to the New

¹ Gal. v. 2.

Testament, in which, if we look aright, we can see the various stages of the conflict faithfully reflected. In his revolt against the arbitrary organism of Strauss he invented this standard of authenticity. 'Any document of the New Testament wherein is found no trace of division among the Apostles certainly belongs to the second century, and not to the apostolic times.'¹ In justification of this curious confession we are reminded that the most effective instrument of propaganda is the Press. True, our great modern organs of public opinion existed under the Cæsars only in embryo; but the early Christians, none the less, made the most of these rudimentary news-agencies, and the spirit which animated them, in the varying phases of the schism, found utterance in Epistle and Apocalypse, in the Gospels and in the Acts. And, as every wise Hegelian knows the progress of the struggle as well as—aye, much better than—any contemporary, he can determine with unimpeachable accuracy the date of any particular document by the spirit it embodies, and the tendency it promotes. The law of development by antagonism, about which there can be no question, prescribes the order of events—first, the split, and the wild passions it unchains; then, attempts at reconciliation; next, unity and peace; finally, common action and common purpose. The characteristic tendency, the tone of any document, bespeaks at once its age and origin. Consequently, if any document bearing the impress of one stage of the conflict purports to belong to another stage, it must be set down as a deliberate forgery. The different periods of conflict, reunion, and reconstruction entered in the case of the Church to about one hundred and twenty years, and as they fall into one or other of the periods the books of the New Testament are classified. To the first period belong, on the one side, the Epistles to the Romans, Corinthians, and Galatians, and on the other the Apocalypse, which owes this dignity to its assumed anti-Paulinism. The next period embraces, amongst others, the Synoptic Gospels and the Acts. The Fourth Gospel is the outcome of the great

¹ Abbé Picard, *Christianity and Agnosticism*, Eng. Trans., p. 374.

tendencies which unity had developed, and which could have been written only about A.D. 160 or 170.

The genesis of the Synoptics is certainly interesting. The first and third were written in the interests of conciliation by men of opposite parties. Matthew was a Judaist, but wrote our Lord's life in a sense not unacceptable to the Paulinists. Luke was a Paulinist who wrote for an analogous purpose, basing his work on the heretical Gospel used by Marcion. Now, instead of Luke following Marcion, Tertullian distinctly charges Marcion with having corrupted Luke's Gospel, which is identical with the Third Gospel of to-day, which the Church has always attributed to St. Luke, the companion of St. Paul. But, of course, the testimony of such men as Tertullian, Irenæus, and Polycarp, on matters of personal observation, must be swept aside by the *ipse dixit* of a German who lived nearly two thousand years afterwards.

If, as we are told, this theory were introduced as a protest against the historical weakness and undisciplined fancy of Strauss, it looks as if the gift of divination, on which higher critics pride themselves, had crushed out in Baur his sense of the ridiculous. Of the two the tendency theory is undoubtedly the worse, for it is less intrinsically probable, and comes into more flagrant contradiction with historical fact. It is more incredible that the deliberate forgeries of individuals should wear such a striking air of sincerity, and appeal, in the cause of truth, to the most sacred motives and to the most venerable names, than that the halo of irresponsible legends should gather round a great personality. It exemplifies also, in a marked degree, the besetting and apparently incurable vice of the German pedants. Having constructed a system mainly, if not exclusively, out of their own sense of the fitness of things, they offer their handiwork an idolatrous homage which is proof against every method of conviction. With this Procrustean bed everything must be fitted, to this Moloch everything must be sacrificed. The destructive analyses of philosophy are contemptuously ignored, while historical arguments are lost in the deafening roar that 'Great is Diana of the

Ephesians.' Great movements, spiritual or political, particular or universal, do not proceed on hard and fast lines; inflexible determination towards a definite end does not exclude opportunism in tactics. But from these iron paths along which Hegelianism directs the development of humanity, no matter who may falter or who may fall, there must be no deviation. Along these iron paths, though the burden be crushing and the bearer weak, humanity must march; the Destinies, whose oracles are at Tübingen, are as inexorable as Jewish hate or Roman justice on another memorable journey. And for ever the cry is on, and on, and on, and each division of the grand army of humanity swings into its allotted place with precision infinitely more marvellous than that of Moltke's legions as they crossed the Rhine. Though we may lay the flattering unction to our souls that we are free, we are but pawns on the board, moved by a hand unseen; and even if we can shape our petty personal ends, we can no more affect the predetermined and inevitable advance of the race than the tiniest bubble can arrest the onward rush of the tide.

Were we to look for examples of euphemism, we could scarcely find one more perfect than that in which Mrs. Ward² pronounces her verdict on this revolt from hypothesis. It is that 'history protested.' Yes, when a theory, antecedently improbable, is demonstrated to be utterly destitute of historical foundation; when its positions, once proudly proclaimed impregnable, are abandoned as untenable; when it has forfeited every title to assent and every claim to submission, we must not condemn it as false, impudent, and audacious; we must only gently whisper 'history protests.' This new protest took many a shape, as the erudition, imagination, or humour of the protestant determined. In Germany it went one way with Volkmar, another with Hilgenfeld; in France yet another and more celebrated with Renan. Were we so far under the influence of the new learning as to give, regardless of metre, for the accurate reading of one of Shakespeare's best-known lines,

¹ *L. c.*, p. 472.

'The poet, the philosopher, and the historian are of imagination all compact,' we should be giving only due prominence to the most conspicuous element in many a latter-day sage. Were the wanton exercise of imagination the chief criterion of historical eminence, the ex-student of St. Sulpice would be a very Saul among his brethren. The oft-quoted opinion of Strauss, that it is impossible to admit the authenticity of the Gospel and at the same time exclude miracle, was never better exemplified than in the case of Renan. When he first conceived the idea of a history of Christian origins, he wished to write a history of doctrines in which men and their actions would scarcely have a place; he would show how the ideas which have grown under the name of our Saviour took root and covered the world. But he came to understand that history is not a simple game of abstractions—that men are more than measures.¹ Hence, in the *Life of Jesus*, he gives us the first of a series of volumes which together constitute his great work on the origins of Christianity. He derived his materials from the New Testament, the 'Apocrypha' of the Old Testament, the works of Philo, of Josephus, and the Talmud. Through the study of these books, which, as pieces of literature, reveal or interpret for us the Jewish mind at that momentous epoch, he hoped to get at the conditions which generated Christianity, and to resolve into their primitive elements the thoughts of Him who spoke as man never spoke before. His estimate of the Gospels, as well as his capacity for historical studies, will appear from his own words. He tells us:² 'That the Gospels are in part legendary is evident, since they are full of miracle and of the supernatural.' Again:³ 'Now, it is an absolute rule in criticism to give no place, in historical documents, to miraculous circumstances.' This view, he says, is not the result of a metaphysical system, but simply a matter of observation.

In his anxiety to be scrupulously just he invites the Church, if she wishes to persist in her claims, to perform a

¹ Introduction, Eng. Trans., *Life of Jesus*, p. 31.

² *Life of Jesus*, Intro., p. 8.

³ *The Apostles*, Intro. xxii., Eng. Trans.

miracle before a select committee of Parisian *savants*, who will give the case their most attentive and sympathetic consideration! In him that species of colour blindness which rendered some men incapable of perceiving the veracity of the Gospels was not so malignant as to pervert also his vision of their authenticity. He was well aware of the difficulties that would beset any rationalistic critics who would acknowledge the Catholic tradition on this point, for he tells us¹ that the credibility of the Gospels primarily depends upon their authenticity. And, nevertheless, penetrated as he was with this conviction, well acquainted with every result of the thoroughgoing investigations of a long and able series of German scholars, he arrived at conclusions in the main harmonizing with the Catholic opinion—conclusions which provoked the laughter while they shook the confidence of his coadjutors beyond the Rhine, and to which, despite all their sarcasm as to *littérateurs*, they are now steadily returning. Let him speak for himself. In the Introduction to the *Life of Jesus* he says:—²

Each of the four Gospels bears at its head the name of a person known either in the Apostolic history or in the Gospel history itself . . . It is clear that, if these titles are exact, the Gospels, without ceasing to be in part legendary, are of great value, since they enable us to go back to the half century which followed the death of Jesus, and, in two instances, even to the eye-witnesses of His actions. Firstly, as to Luke, doubt is scarcely possible. The Gospel of Luke is a regular composition, founded on anterior documents. It is the work of a man who selects, prunes, and combines. The author of this Gospel is certainly the same as that of the Acts of the Apostles. Now, the author of the Acts is a companion of St. Paul—a title which applies to Luke exactly. I know that more than one objection may be raised against this reasoning; but one thing, at least, is beyond doubt, namely, that the writer of the Third Gospel and of the Acts was a man of the second Apostolic generation, and that is sufficient for our object. The date of the Gospel can, moreover, be determined with much precision by considerations drawn from the book itself. The 21st chapter of St. Luke, inseparable from the rest of the work, was certainly written after the siege of Jerusalem, and but a short time after.

¹ *Life*, Intro., p. 8.

² Pages 8, 9.

Renan will not admit prophecy; consequently, our Lord's prediction of the destruction of Jerusalem must be in reality a narrative cast in the shape of prophecy, and which, by a perfectly natural process, as Mrs. Ward would say, is put in the mouth of our Saviour.

Dealing with the objections to which he has referred, he asks, in the Introduction to *The Apostles*,¹ having already stated as unquestionable that the author of the Third Gospel was the same as the author of the Acts, 'Must we be checked by these objections? I think not, and I persist in believing that the person who finally prepared the Acts is really the disciple of St. Paul, who says "we" in the last chapter.' Summing up, he says: 'We think, therefore, that the author of the Acts is really Luke, the disciple of Paul.'²

With regard to the other synoptics, he says³:—'The Gospels of Matthew and Mark have not nearly the same mark of individuality. . . . But if the Gospel of Luke is dated, those of Matthew and Mark are dated also; for it is certain that the third Gospel is posterior to the first two, and exhibits the character of a much more advanced compilation.'⁴

In dealing with the fourth Gospel he argued as he did in the case of the third. 'The first epistle attributed to St. John is certainly by the author of the fourth Gospel. Now, this epistle is recognised as from John by Polycarp, Papias, and Irenæus.'⁵ The many minute details, such as: 'it was the sixth hour,' 'the servant's name was Malchus,' 'the coat was without seam,' all bespeak an eye-witness as the author, and are 'so many inexplicable features on the supposition that this Gospel was a theological thesis without historic value.'⁶ Summing up he says: 'On the whole, I admit as authentic the four canonical Gospels. All, in my opinion, date from the first century, and the

¹ Page 5, *et seq.*

² *L. c.*, ix.

³ *Life*, Intro. 9.

⁴ See also Dr. Wace's reply to Professor Huxley in *Nineteenth Century*, March, 1889.

⁵ *L. c.*, 15.

⁶ *L. c.*, 16.

authors are, generally speaking, those to whom they are attributed.'¹ This admission was not accompanied by anything like a full and unqualified acceptance of the veracity of the Gospels. Miracles are not dreamt of in his philosophy; and, consequently, the miraculous incidents which two of the Evangelists, men at least, of common honesty and common intelligence, testify as having happened before their eyes, must be unhistorical. To a mind less expert in the gymnastics of sophistry this would be a position of considerable difficulty; but he experienced no embarrassment in presence of these phenomena.² He need feel no embarrassment as long as apostasy is justified by contradiction, bombast, and blasphemy. He regarded our Saviour as the ethical ideal, as the personification of perfection, and yet felt no embarrassment in accusing Him as a probable accomplice in the frauds of His followers. He felt no embarrassment in explaining the restoration of Lazarus as a put up job, and the resurrection as a figment of the heated imagination of Mary Magdalen. He felt no embarrassment in denouncing the miracles as the results of a great spontaneous conspiracy of which our Saviour was the centre, and in asserting that, judged by our standards, He was an impostor and a liar. *Guarda e passa.*

This freedom from embarrassment, but so different in degree as almost to constitute a difference in kind, is also evident in a recent article of Mrs. Humphrey Ward.³ Amongst others this article has for its object to prove, in opposition to Lord Halifax, that return to the traditional view in all its aspects is not necessitated by the conclusions of Professor Harnach of Berlin. Dr. Harnach, in his late work on the *Chronology of Early Christian Literature*, closely approximates to the Catholic opinion as to the dates of the various books of the New Testament. In his preface, as quoted by Mrs. Ward,⁴ he says: 'As regards criticism of the sources for the oldest Christianity, we stand unquestionably in a movement of return towards tradition. The chronological

¹ *L. c.*, 21.

² *Life of Jesus*, p. 189.

³ *Nineteenth Century*, Oct. 1899.

⁴ *L. c.*, 658.

framework in which tradition set the earliest documents is to be henceforth accepted in its main outlines. The good faith of early Christianity become more and more evident to us.' He assigns 48 A.D. as the date of the Epistles to the Thessalonians, and 53, 54 as to the dates of the two Epistles to the Corinthians, the Galatians, and Romans. The natural inference is, that within eighteen years of the Crucifixion (and, of course, much earlier since the Epistles were directed to organized churches) all the essential truths of Christianity were preached by St. Paul. But, even though the early traditions, in its main chronological outlines, is thus shown to be more trustworthy than the scholars of the forties and fifties allowed,¹ criticism does not haul down its flag, for chronology is a very minor outpost indeed. 'Questions of date and authorship are now of secondary importance; it is the elucidation of the *historical matter itself* that lies in the scientific foreground.'² Yes, formerly the be-all and the end-all of all critical effort was to maintain that the books of the New Testament could *not* have been written so early; now, when that is no longer tenable, the position is shifted, and the object is to show that they could *not but* have been so written. The spirit of the great religious movement, initiated by the Baptist, and led by Christ because He was its incarnation, because He more than any other summed up all its various elements—this spirit found in the New Testament its literary expression. As literature it was coloured by the dyes of oriental theosophies in which the writers' thoughts had long been steeped. 'Why,' says Mrs. Ward, quoting Harnach,³ 'should not thirty to forty years have been sufficient to produce the historical deposit with regard to the words and deeds of Jesus that we find in the Synoptic Gospels? Why should we require sixty to seventy? Why must the height on which the fourth Evangelist stands have been climbed first seventy to eighty years after Paul?' So powerful were the refracting influences that on the very morrow of the events the vigorous, penetrating mind of St. Paul could not

¹ *L. c.*² *Ibid.*, 660.³ *Ibid.*, 658.

see them clearly. When he wrote that if Christ had not risen, then vain was our faith and vain was his preaching ; when he wrote that if Christ had not risen, then we were of all men the most miserable, that we were yet in our sins ; when he wrote all this he did not mean what he said, he had not the meaning which the Church extracted from his phrases and embodied in her formularies. Even though it is impossible to conceive how he could have expressed that meaning, if he had ever entertained it, in language other than that employed, that does not matter in the least. Miracle must be rejected at all costs, even at the cost of consistency. Though a point of view is never overcome till it is supplanted¹ for the literal interpretation, no substitute is offered except the *possibility* that by the resurrection Paul understood the imperishableness of Christ's life within the life of the world !² Tradition retained the language, but forgot the thought ; and thus, through myth, we come back again to Strauss with whom the weary cycle began.

The object of this paper was not to analyze the various theories which it has presented, but to show how, like certain algebraic quantities, they have cancelled each other. It has endeavoured to show how the spirit of religious error manifests itself to-day in the same way as of old ; how, like Arianism and Protestantism, the note of Rationalism is variation. In this connection, at all events, Rationalism has no definite co-ordinated body of knowledge to place in competition with Catholic dogma ; it has no fixed principles, no reliable conclusions. Let its advocates talk ever so grandiloquently of the ' great fabric of German learning,' and ' of the critical outpouring of our century which is being incorporated with European thought,' it is steadily losing its influence over men, and drifting away to be numbered with the well-nigh forgotten systems which had their day and ceased to be.

PATRICK F. COAKLEY, O.S.A.

¹ *L. c.*, 659.

² *L. c.*, 664, note.

FATHER MARQUETTE, S.J., DISCOVERER OF THE MISSISSIPPI

THE VOYAGE ON THE MISSISSIPPI.

WITH the certainty of a prophetic instinct, peculiar to inspired souls, the gentle and unassuming priest, whilst his days were passing in the monotonous work of instructing savages, made use of every opportunity to render himself familiar with the topography and ethnology of the North-American Continent, the interior of which was at that time still unknown to the English inhabitants of the Atlantic colonies. The French had made giant strides in advance of them in the exploration of the country. Thirty years after their first settlement in Quebec, and when the white inhabitants of Canada scarcely numbered two thousand, a daring traveller, François Nicolet, had already penetrated into the interior of Wisconsin. The deplorable Iroquois war for a time checked the advance of the Jesuits, as well as of the traders. But a new era in the exploration of the land began with the opening of the mission on the Upper Lake (1680).

Father Marquette made important communications to his superiors, concerning the possibility of reaching the Gulf of Mexico through the great artery of the Continent—the mighty Mississippi. Numbers of people, he had been informed, dwelt along these rivers—‘people like the French who live in houses on the waters,’ *i.e.*, Spaniards in large ships. These tidings roused the attention of the French Government, and Talon, the Intendant of Canada, received orders to follow the windings of the great river as far as its mouth. The new Governor of Canada (by no means a friend of the Jesuits), while he appointed the Canadian Joliet, an experienced traveller, leader of the expedition, at the same time expressed desire that he should be accompanied by a father of the Society. The French name had already reached the most remote Indian tribes, but inseparably joined with

it was the still more venerated one of 'the Black Robe who brings peace everywhere.' Without the co-operation of a missionary like Marquette the plan would be impracticable.

In accordance with the wishes of Talon and Frontinac, the superiors' choice fell on our father, who for the last two years had been destined for the southern missions. He had already, while at La Pointe, learned from the Indian youth given to him the Illinois language, the most useful for a Mississippi voyager. Thus, the holy Jesuit, if not the official guide, became the soul of the undertaking. This fact the American people, undeterred by the Jesuit bogie, have now thoroughly grasped, and generously acknowledged.

Jolliet's diary of the journey was lost on his return to Canada, through the sinking of his boat in the neighbourhood of Montreal, and so Father Marquette's map and reports remain to the present day the only written memorial of the great undertaking. On the feast of the Immaculate Conception, 1672—a happy omen in the estimation of Mary's client—Jolliet entered St. Ignace with the superior's orders for Father Marquette.

But the long Canadian winter had already commenced its reign, and it was not until May 17 of the following year that the journey could be undertaken. They availed themselves of this period to make their preparations more complete.

As we [writes the missionary] had to prepare for unknown regions, so we required the greatest foresight, in order not to render the undertaking—under any circumstances a perilous one—a mad one. We gathered, therefore, all possible information from those Indians who had travelled in that territory; we even drew up, according to their account, a map of the new land, with the rivers on which we were to voyage; the names of the tribes, and places through which we would pass; the course, and our directions for following it. Above all, I recommended our journey to the protection of the Immaculate Virgin, and promised her if we succeeded in discovering the great river to give it the name of the Conception, by which name I also promised to call the first mission I could found among the strange tribes.

The expedition consisted, besides Marquette and Jolliet, of five Frenchmen. They had two canoes of birchbark, large and strong enough to carry mast and sail. The

commander and the priest shared equally with the others in the labour of rowing from morning until night. The most perfect harmony existed between Father Marquette and Jolliet, the latter being an old pupil of the Jesuits. The men chosen to accompany them were neither common hirelings, nor reckless adventurers, but brave spirits, animated with the same piety and spirit of self-sacrifice as filled the leaders of the undertaking. The route led out of Lake Huron, through the Straits of Mackinac, into Lake Michigan, along the well-known, but at that time uninhabited, northern shore. At the mouth of the Minomonee (now the boundary between Wisconsin and Upper Michigan) they met with the Manomini Indians, who had already received a fair amount of instruction, and were partly Christian. These latter, on learning the destination of the voyagers, were horrified.

What! [they exclaimed] do you know where you are venturing? Are you aware that the Indians of those parts smash the skull of every stranger without a moment's warning? How will you be able to pass with your life through the countless bands of these warriors who are ever roaming about? And the river itself, no one can sail on it; it is too dangerous. Monsters inhabit it, who swallow boats and their crews at one gulp. An evil spirit, whose roaring can be heard a long way off, obstructs the passage, and sinks everyone into the depths who ventures near. The fearful heat on the river alone would kill you.

Father Marquette thanked them for their information, but was nothing daunted by the terrifying prospect held out before him. He told the Indians that he had undertaken the journey to those distant regions solely for the sake of immortal souls, and that he was quite willing to risk his life in the attempt to save them. Moreover, he said, that he hoped to be preserved from every danger, and that he would observe the caution which they recommended. He then prayed with these wanderers, and gave them some instruction. May was drawing to an end when the two canoes passed through the upper end of Greenbay into the St. Francis river, now known as Fox river.

The mission of St. Francis Xavier, founded by Père Allouez, was situated a few miles above the mouth of this

river. Here Father Marquette made a short stay with his brethren whose labours among the surrounding tribes met with great success. The voyagers then resumed their journey up the river. They made the ascent of the rapids most prosperously; sailed through Lake Winnebago, and on the 7th June reached the large village situated west of the lake where the indefatigable Père Allouez was then labouring among the Miami and Kipako Indians. Here also great astonishment and admiration was excited by the daring of the seven white men who, in frail barks, undertook such a journey. With the help of two Miami guides our voyagers succeeded in finding the difficult passage through the upper Fox river and the Lakes formed by it (on one of which the little town of Marquette now stands). They made a portage over a long strip of land, the boundary between the St. Laurence and the Mississippi, in order to reach the river Wisconsin, the navigation of which was very difficult, owing to the numerous sand-banks obstructing its course. At this point the two guides left them. The voyagers once more placed themselves and their journey under the protection of the Immaculate Virgin, exchanged words of good cheer with one another, and again bent to their oars. The journey on the Wisconsin took seven days to perform. During that time they saw no human being. Herds of moose grazed along the banks, but no human voice or foot broke the stillness. At last, on the 17th of June, they reached the mouth of the Wisconsin, and with feelings not to be described entered the Mississippi.

The 'Great River'—so its name signifies—was discovered or rather rediscovered. Since the bold de Loto, in 1540, first saw the Mississippi, from a little below the mouth of the Arkansas river, and his successor, Muscoso, who three years later from a point above the Arkansas, sailed down the mighty river to the Gulf of Mexico, no European had beheld, or at least recognised, the mighty river.

The two Frenchmen who, in the winter of 1659, travelled through Southern Minnesota, and consequently must have crossed the frozen stream, seemed to have paid no particular attention to the circumstances. Thus it happens that the

names of Jolliet and Marquette are inscribed in the history of North America as the discoverers of the Mississippi, and the 17th June, 1673, as the date of the discovery. For nine days, the two canoes floated down the majestic river without our wanderers seeing an Indian, or even a trace of human beings. Enormous fishes rose to the surface of the waters, and one huge monster dashed itself against the good father's boat as if wanting to destroy it. Once an American tiger-cat swam across the stream. These, no doubt, were the monsters of which the Miami Indians had warned them. Save for these, primeval solitude and silence reigned around. But the voyagers never laid aside their prudence and caution. Every evening they landed, and making a small fire, lest much smoke might betray their presence to an enemy, they prepared their meal. When finished, they pushed out into the river, and spent the night at a good distance from land. As an additional precaution, each one of the party kept watch in turn, until the light of dawn, breaking over the lonely waters, gave the signal for resuming the journey. The party were now passing through the very heart of the Buffalo Prairies, so called from the enormous herds of buffaloes which roamed over them. The Jesuit's diary contains an excellent description of these then almost unknown animals. At length, on the ninth day, traces of human beings were observed. The first meeting with the Indians had better be described in the missionary's own words:—

At last [he writes] on the 25th June, we noticed footprints along the bank of the river. Following these, we came to a narrow well-trodden path leading away into the lovely prairie land. We examined this carefully, and as we suspected that it led to an Indian village, we resolved to follow it. Leaving the canoes in the care of our people, with many warnings to be on their guard against surprise, Mons. Jolliet and myself set out on the path of exploration, a sufficiently serious undertaking for two men ignorant of what dangers might be before them. We were about to risk our lives among an unknown savage people.

Silently we proceeded along the path, and after about two hours' walking we came upon another river on the banks of which we perceived a village, while on a height some distance off, were two others.

Having fervently recommended ourselves to God's protection and implored His divine assistance, we continued to advance unnoticed, until we came so near that we could hear the Indians talking. It was now time to make our presence known, so halting, we gave a loud cry, and breathlessly awaited the result. Instantly the Indians rushed from their huts in the direction of the sound. On seeing us, they paused. They seemed reassured, probably because they recognised us as French, above all, at seeing a black robe; and in any case, they could have no ground for suspicion as we were only two in number, and had given them notice of our approach. After some consultation, four old men came towards us. Two of them carried pipes beautifully decorated with feathers of all colours. They advanced slowly, taking very short steps, and raising the pipes towards the sun, as if about to smoke them, but they uttered no word. The distance between us and the village was but short, yet it took them a considerable time to traverse. When at last, they came near, they stopped and remained for some moments keenly scrutinizing us.

These ceremonies, which the Indians only use towards friends, inspired me with courage and confidence. I was still more cheered on observing that the dress they wore was of woven cloth, from which I concluded that they were allies of the French. I was the first to break the silence, and inquired to what tribe they belonged. They answered that they were Illinois, and in token of peace handed us the pipes to smoke. They then invited us to their village, where all the people were awaiting us impatiently. On reaching the village we were led to a hut, at the door of which an old man was waiting to receive us. The ceremonial used on the arrival of strangers is as follows.

He stood upright, nodded to us, and then held his hands stretched towards the sun, as if trying to shield himself from its rays, which fell on his face through his fingers. As we came near he saluted us in these words :

'How beautifully shines the sun, O ye French, since you come to visit us. Our whole village is waiting for you, and you shall enter our huts in peace.'

Thereupon he led us to his own hut, which was crowded with Indians. All eyes were fixed on us, but silence prevailed, except that occasionally some of them would say in a low voice :

'Well done ! well done, brothers, to come to visit us.'

When we had taken our places they paid us the usual honours, and the calumet of peace was handed to us. No one must refuse this, unless he wished to be regarded as an enemy, or, at least, very impolite ; but it is sufficient to raise it as if in the act of smoking. While the pipe was handed round to all the elders an invitation was brought us from the chief to meet him in the neighbouring village, as he wished to take counsel with

us. Thither, accordingly, we repaired, accompanied by a numerous escort. Many of this people had never seen a Frenchman before, and were never wearied looking at us. Some were lying in the grass all along the road; others ran on before, and then turned back to look at us again. But all was done quietly, and with every mark of respect.

When we arrived at the village we found the chief standing before his hut between two old men. The three bowed low to us, and raised the calumet towards the sun. The chief then made a short speech, in which he wished us good luck. The peace-pipe was handed to us, and we were obliged to smoke it while entering the hut. Here we were received with the usual tokens of love and friendship. According to custom, I now made them four presents, each of which had a special significance. These presents generally consist of tools, weapons, dress-stuffs, ammunition, and food, but specially of long strings of beads. By the first present I gave them to understand that we were making a friendly journey in order to visit all the tribes who dwelt along the river down to the sea. By the second I told them that the God who created them had had mercy on them, and wished that all those people should know Him; that He had sent me among them for this purpose, and that it now rested with themselves to hear and to obey. In giving the third present, I explained that the great French chief (the Governor of Canada) sent them word that it was He who had made peace everywhere, and had conquered the Iroquois. Finally, when giving the fourth present, we begged of them to tell us all they knew of the river and of the people through whose territories we would pass on our journey. When I had finished speaking, the chief rose, laid his hand on the head of a little slave boy, destined as a present for us, and said, 'I thank you, Black Robe, and you [turning to M. Jolliet] O Frenchman, for having taken so much trouble in coming to visit us. Never was the earth so beautiful; never did the sun shine so brightly as to-day. Never did our stream flow so calmly; never was it so free from obstructions. Your barks in their passage have removed them. Never has our tobacco tasted so well, nor our corn been so flourishing as we now behold it. Here is my boy, I give him to you that you may understand my heart. I beseech you to have compassion on me and on my people. You know the Great Spirit who has made all things. You talk to Him, and hear His word. Beg of Him to grant me life and health. Come and stay with us, that you may teach us to know Him.'

With these words he placed the little slave boy beside us, and made us a second present of a peace-pipe, supposed to be endowed with mysterious properties, of far more value in their eyes than a slave. By this present he showed us how much our words had caused him to respect our Governor. He then handed us a

third present, and begged us in the name of the whole tribe not to pursue our travels further on account of the great dangers to which we would be exposed. I answered that I did not fear death, and knew of no greater happiness than to lose my life for Him who had created us all. These poor creatures could not in the least understand this. The speech-making was followed by a great feast consisting of four courses. We were obliged to partake of each of these in order not to offend our hosts. The first dish was a great bowl of sagamite or Indian corn, cooked in water and mixed with fat. The master of ceremonies gave me three or four spoonfuls, feeding me as if I were a little child. M. Jolliet was helped in the same manner. The second course consisted of three fish served also in a bowl. The master of ceremonies took some pieces of the fish, removed the bones, breathed on them, as if to cool them, and then held them to my mouth, exactly as one would feed a bird. At the third course they brought in a large dog, freshly killed. Among the Indians, the dog while living is a persecuted despised animal, but when slaughtered is the highest sacrifice that can be offered to the sun-god, and the finest dish to place before honoured guests.

But, on our remarking that we did not eat of such, it was at once withdrawn. The fourth and last dish was a piece of buffalo flesh, of which they shoved the fattest morsels into our mouths. When the feast was over, we had to visit the village, which consisted of three hundred huts. As we passed through the streets, an Indian went before us; the inhabitants, to gratify their curiosity, quietly, so as not to weary us. On all sides we were offered girdles, garters, and such like things, made of buffalo and bearskin, and gaily coloured in red, yellow, and grey. They had no other treasures. As these things were useless to us, we did not burden ourselves with them.

We passed the night in the chief's hut, and next morning took leave of him, promising to revisit his village on our return after four moons. He accompanied us to our boats with about six hundred people, who watched our embarkation with the greatest interest, and in every possible way manifested their delight at our visit. Before leaving I renewed my promise of returning to them the following year to give them instruction.

On their way from this village called Pewaria, and which was probably situated on the Iowa river, our wanderers met with nothing deserving of narration until they reached the mouth of the Missouri, except at one point where they came on two enormous monsters cut out of stone, and placed high up on the precipitous bank. These were regarded with the utmost terror by the Indians, and even

Marquette admits that the first sight of them caused his companions and himself to shudder. Not long after, as they were calmly gliding down the clear waters of the Mississippi, they all at once heard a far-off sound of rushing, roaring waters. They advanced cautiously, and soon a wonderful sight presented itself to their astonished gaze. A discoloured and rushing flood of waters, bearing on its surface a mass of drift-wood resembling floating islands, was pouring with mighty force into the Mississippi; the seething torrent was the Missouri. The clear waters grew turgid, and heaved and tossed in great waves, threatening to engulf the frail barks, and it was with difficulty our travellers navigated this dangerous spot. The demon so dreaded by the Indians, a strong whirlpool between the mouth of the Missouri and the Ohio, proved powerless to break the journey. But at this point also great skill and caution were necessary.

Want of space obliges us to pass over the many interesting curiosities in natural history which did not escape the missionary's keenly observant eyes, and to hasten to his next meeting with human beings. When the travellers passed the mouth of the Ohio river, they encountered, for the first time on their journey, swarms of mosquitoes, those troublesome blood-suckers.

In order to protect ourselves from their stings, and also from the rays of the sun [writes the father], we erected, with the help of the sail, a kind of hut in the midst of the water. Whilst we thus allowed ourselves to be carried along by the current, we noticed Indians armed with guns standing on the bank watching us intently; I at once showed my decorated pipe, whilst our crew assumed a defensive attitude, ready to fire if the Indians first led the attack. I then spoke to them in the Huron tongue, and they answered with a word which I understood to mean a declaration of war; but, in reality, they were afraid of us, and what we interpreted as a war-cry, was an invitation to approach them, that they might give us food. We, therefore, landed and went to their huts. Each of these large huts contained two fire-places, and at each fireplace at least two families, each numbering about five persons, cooked their meals. They gave us buffalo meat and bears' fat, with excellent white plums. We found them provided with muskets, axes, hatchets, knives, and they had glass beads, and double-glass flasks, in which they kept their powder.

These Indians, who from their looks and language seemed to be related to the Huron and Iroquois tribes, trafficked with the Spaniards in Florida (probably they were wandering Tuscaroras). They assured our travellers that they were only ten days' journey from the sea. Father Marquette gave them instruction, as well as his knowledge of the language permitted, and distributed medals amongst them. And then with renewed courage the little party once more took to their oars. Was it, indeed, possible that the goal was so near!

The next time the brave little band encountered the natives of these regions, they were threatened by more serious dangers than any of those so happily overcome. The missionary describes the incident as follows:—

We were continuing our journey down stream exactly in 33 degrees S. latitude (it was really 34 degrees). The Jesuits for some unexplained reason make a mistake all through of one degree. Every point on their maps, otherwise marvellously correct, is marked a degree further south than on those of the present day, when we perceived a village lying close to the bank. This village was called Mitchimagea. We fervently called on our Holy Patroness, the Immaculate Virgin, and sorely did we need her assistance. Already we could hear the savages yelling, and inciting one another to attack us. They were armed with bows and arrows, clubs and shields, and were preparing to attack us both by land and water. Numbers embarked in large wooden canoes, some of which were rowed up the stream, and some down, in order to hem us in and completely prevent our escape. Those on shore ran wildly up and down, eager to begin the fray. Some of the young men actually sprang into the water to try to seize my boat, but were driven back by the current. It was in vain that we showed the pipe of peace, and gave them to understand by signs that we had not come with hostile intentions. The uproar continued, and they were preparing to send a shower of arrows into our midst, when suddenly God touched the hearts of the old men who were standing on the bank. Doubtless, moved by the sight of the pipe of peace, which probably at first in the distance they had not recognised, they earnestly set to work to restrain the others from attacking us. Two of these hoary warriors flung their bows and quivers into the canoes at our feet, to reassure us, and then jumping in obliged us to land, which indeed we did with considerable anxiety. At first we had to speak by signs, as no one understood any of the six languages with which I was acquainted. At last an old man was found who could speak Illinois.

Here also the faithful herald of the Gospel did not fail to speak of the one true God, and the things necessary for salvation. In answer to their inquiries regarding their further journey to the sea, they were told that they would receive all needful information at the next village some seven or eight hours' distant. They were then regaled with fish and corn. The travellers passed an anxious sleepless night amongst these savages, though it seems their fears were groundless, as it afterwards transpired that the poor people took considerable trouble to ensure a friendly reception for the Black Robe and his companions in the next village. The father's report runs thus :—

Very early next morning we embarked, our interpreter accompanying us. A boat with ten Indians preceded us the greater part of the way. When we were within an half hour's journey from Akansea, the neighbouring village, we saw two canoes coming towards us. In the foremost one an Indian was standing upright, holding the peace pipe, with which, according to native custom, he made all kinds of significant gestures. When his canoe came alongside of ours, he intoned a very sweet melody, and handed us the pipe which we smoked. He then handed us bread and Indian corn, of which we eat a portion. This done, he rowed swiftly, intimating that we should follow slowly. In the meantime our hosts had prepared a place for us under the scaffold dwelling of their chief, profusely adorned with reed mats. In addition to the usual huts, these Indians constructed scaffolding on which some distance from the ground they laid a plank floor. A fire was lighted on the ground, and the smoke from this, pouring freely through the interstices of the planks, purposely laid rather far apart, kept the mosquitoes at a distance. A bark roof completed these airy dwellings, in which the Indians slept at night and also rested during the heat of the day.

On arriving here we landed and sat down, the elders of the tribe ranging themselves round us; behind these were the warriors and then the common people in great crowds. By good fortune we here found a young man who could speak the Illinois tongue far better than the interpreter we had brought from Mitchigamea. Through him I first addressed the whole assembly as usual, by means of presents. They were astonished at what I told them of God and the mysteries of our holy faith. They were most anxious that I would stay amongst them and thoroughly instruct them.

We then inquired what they knew of the route to the sea. They replied that we were only ten days' journey from it (we could have done it in five); they were not acquainted with the

people who lived near it, because their enemies prevented them from trading with the Europeans who dwelt there. The hatchets, knives, and glass beads we saw with them were brought partly from the people in the East, and partly from a tribe of the Illinois who had a village four days' journey west from there. They also told us that the Indians who had met us with such hostile demonstrations were the enemies who barred the way to sea, and hindered them from making acquaintance with the Europeans and trafficking with them. They warned us that if we continued our journey we would expose ourselves to the greatest danger on account of the perpetual warfare waged by the very strong and warlike tribes who dwelt all along the river, and who were also armed with guns. During this conversation, food was continually brought to us in large wooden spoons. Indian corn, dog's flesh, &c. The whole day was spent in feasting.

After some remarks on the customs, mode of living, dress, &c., of these people, who were probably related to the Mexicans, the missionary continues :—

In the evening, the elders held a secret council, for some amongst them had conceived the idea that it would be well to break our skulls, and so become possessors of our belongings. But the chief put an end to such evil designs. He sent for us, and to show us that we were perfectly safe, he led the calumet dance before us ; and, to remove every vestige of fear from our minds, presented me with the pipe of peace.

The calumet dance, which is danced by the men while the women sing, consists in raising the pipe continually towards the sun, handing it round to be smoked, and other rythmical movements performed to continual singing, winding up with a sham fight, the movements of which also take place to a kind of dance time, and in which the pipe also plays a part. The chief dancer and pipe-bearer then makes a speech, in which he recounts his exploits and adventures. At the end, the latter receives a present ; the calumet again goes round, and is at last presented to the guests in token of inviolable fidelity. A red sandstone quarry in south-west Minnesota supplied the favourite and much-sought material for the making of the bowl of the calumet. Marquette now took counsel with Jolliet on the all-important question as to whether they should continue their journey or remain satisfied with their actual discoveries.

They had now reached the mouth of the Arkansas river. Only a few days' journey lay between them and the unknown which they were seeking. The temptation to pursue their journey was great. On the other hand, they had to consider the countless Indians they would encounter on the Lower Mississippi, who were accustomed to the use of firearms, and who were also allies of the Spaniards, at that time enemies of France—fearful foes these for a few Frenchmen to contend against. Even if they succeeded in reaching the mouth of the river, a meeting with the Spaniards would inevitably result in a long captivity, or perhaps more. The chief object of the expedition had been gained. According to the exact reckoning of Jolliet, and Marquette, there could be no doubt that the newly-discovered stream emptied itself into the Gulf of Mexico, and not into the Gulf of California, as was hitherto considered probable. Should they hazard the risk of the knowledge of this fact and the other important incidents of the voyage of discovery being lost to the Government which had commissioned Jolliet, and to the Order which had sent forth Père Marquette? These and similar considerations induced the leaders of the expedition to relinquish the idea of proceeding further.

It seems incredible that after two months' journey over one thousand six hundred, or one thousand seven hundred miles through countless heathen tribes, that now, the fear of meeting with Europeans, with Christians, brethren in the faith, should put a stop to the great voyage of discovery. In fact, of all the difficulties which hindered the speedy and lasting conversion of the Indians from the mouth of the St. Lawrence river to the Gulf of Mexico, in the seventeenth and eighteenth century, none were so great as the wars of France in Europe.

After resting a day in Akansea, the daring voyagers embarked again, and cheerily rowed against the stream. What difficulties our Mississippi voyagers met with on the voyage up the river in the broiling rays of the summer sun; with what dangers they were threatened, or with what Indian tribes they came in contact; of all this we

are told nothing in the brief ending of Father Marquette's account of his journey. But he gives a short account of their voyage on the River Illinois, for they chose the latter (no doubt on the advice of the Indians) as a shorter and pleasanter way to Lake Michigan :—

We have [he writes] seen nothing comparable to this river, with regard to the fertility of the country, the beauty of the forests and prairies, the countless buffaloes, deer, racoons, wild geese, swans, ducks, parrots, and even beavers. There is a number of small lakes and rivers. That (the Illinois) on which we voyaged, is broad and deep, and has a calm current. During sixty-five hours, it is only necessary, in spring and part of summer, to make one short portage. We found on the banks of this river an Illinois village, Kas-kas-kia (not to be confounded with the present Kas-kas-kia on the Mississippi). The inhabitants received us very well, and exacted from me a promise to return and instruct them.

Probably on this same river, or, perhaps, on the Mississippi, but far below their earlier halting-place, Father Marquette met the Illinois Indians of Pewaria, the same whom he had promised to visit on the return journey. What happiness for him! Truly a great happiness for such a faithful servant of the Lord. This he expresses in the following words :—

If this journey resulted in the eternal salvation of only one soul, I should consider this a rich reward for all my labours ; and that such was the case, I have good grounds for believing. On our return voyage, we met the Illinois Indians of Pewaria, and for three days I went from hut to hut, inquiring as to their faith. On the third day, just as we were about to embark, a dying child was brought to me. I baptized it, and in a few minutes afterwards it expired. Marvellous providence of God for the salvation of that child's soul. A chief of the Kaskaskia Indians and some of his young men formed an escort for Father Marquette, and accompanied him to Lake Michigan, as far as where Chicago now stands, a distance of about one hundred miles. Thence the voyagers steered along the west shore of the lake ; journeyed through Sturgeon Bay to Green Bay, and at last reached the mission of St. Francis Xavier, towards the end of September, four months after they left it on their long and perilous journey. Needless to say how warmly they were welcomed.

The expedition occupied one hundred and thirty days, and the travellers voyaged over two thousand eight hundred

miles. During this time Father Marquette passed every night in the open air, and from early morning until late at night, he shared unceasingly in the labour of rowing. In the full vigour of early manhood, having only reached his thirty-sixth year, the heroic missionary broke down, utterly worn out by the terrible fatigues and privations he had undergone. It was soon evident to all that the life of one of the explorers would be exacted as the price of the discoveries which they had made. It is doubtful if the father ever again visited his beloved children at the mission of St. Ignatius. During the whole summer of 1674, he lay ill at St. Francis Xavier's, and only in the autumn, had he so far recovered as to be able to gratify the one desire of his soul, and obey his superior's directions by undertaking a second journey to the Illinois Indians.

To be continued.

E. LEAHY.

INFIDELITY IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY: VOLTAIRISM

FROM the fourth to the eighteenth century infidelity was little known to the religious world. Christianity had not yet been questioned by any nation that once was Christian. When unbelief disappeared it went out with paganism; when it returned it came under the name, and in the guise, of philosophy; the name has often been usurped for doctrine which is neither true or wise. Philosophy in its best sense is to be found in the lofty speculations of the scholastics who flourished under the influence of the Church before the revolt of Protestantism; since then the chief occupation of the Church, and her scholars, has been to define and to defend. The sublime spirit of inquiry with which she inspired her children, which has filled the archives of her schools with volumes of profoundest wisdom, and adorned every period of her history with so many bright names, was protected from error; for it was

a search for truth, with reverence for dogmas already defined, and in harmony with the revelation that God has given us. And yet how often have we heard of the untold blessings which Protestant liberty of thought brought to the world; how the bonds that had fettered human genius, and the despotism that had hated the light, were cast off, and how intellectual independence brought forth enlightenment which crowned it with suitable honours. This intellectual independence did more than throw off allegiance to the Church; it subordinated divine revelation to human reason, prejudiced by human passions; it brought men into hidden depths over which eternal mysteries hung, without a divine guide to lead them; then with eyes of flesh they saw not, they could not find the Christian God, and we hear of a new philosophy—infidelity.

Protestantism was the illegitimate offspring of private judgment, and the natural parent of infidelity. In the sixteenth century Protestantism sprang suddenly into existence. It arose in opposition to, and lived on hatred of, the teaching Church endowed with divine assistance. By deceit it seduced, by force it carried away, great numbers from the fold of the Church, promising them all the blessings, and releasing them from many of the duties, of the faith they were leaving. But the seed that was sown in the rejection of an infallible teaching authority brought forth fruit according to its kind. In the seventeenth century unbelief, as a matter of opinion, without openly assailing Christianity, began to grow from the principle of private judgment. On this principle Protestantism had declared war against the Church; on the same principle unbelief declared war on Christ Himself. And in the eighteenth century it was formulated into a potent, violent, anti-religious movement. The task it set itself was no small one; it was no less than to sweep from the world the whole Christian revelation, together with the divine nature and divine authority of Christ Himself, and stretch out between man and his Creator, a deep eternal chasm, dark and silent. The world was startled when Christianity, which had formed, civilized, and guided nations for so many centuries, which

had made the family sacred, and inspired men to heroic deeds of charity, that seemed superhuman; when the Christianity that had bound man to man in the brotherhood of faith, and man to God in the duties of divine worship, had to struggle for its very existence, against Voltairism in France, and Deism in England, clasping hands in unholy compact 'against the Lord and against His Christ.' Never was the wise test of Gamaliel more true of that religion: 'If this council, or this work, be of men, it will come to nought; but if it be of God, you cannot overthrow it.'

It is easy to trace the steps that lead from Protestantism to Deism, from Deism to Voltairism. During the hundred years that followed the birth of Protestantism, the religious struggle was confined, for the most part, between the Church and the sects that had left her guidance. During that time and long after, English Protestantism, that it might show, forsooth, its love for liberity of conscience, would hear of no truce, no tolerance, but exerted itself with all its power, and exhausted all its cruelties, sometimes refined, and sometimes brutal, to stamp out every vestige of Catholicity; and the expiring agony, or despairing appeal for mercy, could be heard from the persecuted Church in every part of the kingdom. When Elizabeth died, triumphant Protestantism was all-powerful; the teachers of the old faith, like the prophets of the Old Testament, had fled to the caves of the earth. But the cry of internal troubles was soon mingled with the triumph. There was no fixity, no certainty of doctrine; dissension appeared in the household of the new religion, and the Protestantism of the Tudors was scourged almost to death by Puritanism under the Stuarts. Private judgment had not yet completed its work; there were whispers of other doctrines. Herbert had his doubts about the necessity of revelation; or whether, if it existed, it could be proved. Hobbes saw no authority, no inspiration from God to man, except in the monarch or the sovereign assembly; he would even allow the Christian to deny Christ at his sovereign's bidding. They did not formally renounce Christianity, but in them we get the first glimpses of the naked form of Deism, through the thin threadbare vesture of Protestantism

It was not till the great literary period, commencing in the reign of Queen Anne, that Deism came forth into the open, and laid the foundations of unbelief, which has ever since, in one shape or other, sapped the influence of English Protestantism. In that period there was a new destructive movement in religious thought; the leaders of the movement by agreement, or by choice, divided their task. Collins was their champion against prophecy; Woolston against miracles, which he styles 'Gulliverian tales of persons and things;' Tindal against all other light than that of nature; Chubb against Christian morality, and Morgan against the Old Testament; whilst Dodwell and Bolingbroke are connecting links between them and the later scepticism of Hume and Gibbon. But they were theorists rather than propagandists; they attacked principles rather than persons, and the elasticity of Protestantism was little shocked by the onslaught, and treated it as a matter for table controversialists.

In this movement infidelity, for the first time since the extinction of civilized paganism, had to be treated as a serious danger to Christianity. There were earlier instances of unbelieving individuals, even in Catholic atmospheres; not to mention others, there were the well-known Giordano Bruno, and Vanini, disciples of the Italian Renaissance; but they flickered out unseen by the world at large, and left no successors to propagate their doctrine. It was not till the eighteenth century, and it was first by the English deists, the rejection of Christianity was formed into a system. But the attack, which was begun in Protestant England, was soon to be made on a sterner foe in the Catholic Church, whose authority and existence were pledged in the minutest article of her creed. France was the chosen battlefield, Voltairism we shall call the enemy, and England was the training school, where the enemy received his weapons and learned to use them.

At the time when literary and deistical activity had reached its zenith in 1726, there came to England a foreign refugee, who was soon in sympathy with his surroundings. He studiously admired whatever was subversive in Locke,

he was the *protégé* of Bolingbroke ; he equipped himself with the weapons of Collins, Woolston, and Tindal, and sharpened them with his own peculiar talent, for the destruction of the Old and New Testaments, especially the prophecies and miracles. His name was François Marie Arouet ; but he is better known to the world as Voltaire. We have no conclusive proof that he was not a Christian believer when he came to England : he was an infidel when he left it, and all his enmity was concentrated against the Catholic Church of his native France. He expressed the feelings of his heart and the purpose of his life in his well-known motto, '*Ecrassez l'Infâme*,' 'the Church was the infamous one.' 'I am weary,' he once said, 'of hearing them repeat that twelve men were enough to establish Christianity, and I long to prove to them that it needs but one man to destroy it.' Needless to say, he failed ; he inflicted a wound where he would have inflicted death ; he shook society to the foundation, and the Church to the very rock on which she stood ; for he and Rousseau, his disciple, and afterwards his rival, had the largest share in bringing about that blackest crime in the world's history, that stigma on human nature, the French Revolution. It was the outcome of the philosophy they had inaugurated ; it spared neither right nor innocence, it blazed into a war that spread terror and death through the world for more than twenty years—it took oceans of the best blood of Europe to extinguish it. Voltaire was the founder and ablest leader of the anti-religious movement in France, and Villemain truly observes that there is not one of Voltaire's works that does not bear the mark of his sojourn in England. The infidelity of France was the deism of England, taking its peculiar flavour from the minds of those through whom it was propagated.

The time, the latter half of the eighteenth century, and the place, France, were ripe for the success of their designs. The influence of Protestantism had weakened the hold of religion on the minds of many. The infidel Frederic at Berlin, the infidel Catherine at St. Petersburg, the English deists, and even the English Protestants, when the struggle was against the Catholic Church, were ready to receive and

fête the new philosophers, in honourable exile, while they incurred the displeasure of the Government of France. But better still for their purpose, France itself was corrupt and decadent. The glory of the long reign of Louis XIV. flattered the pride of the people, and covered the multitude of the monarch's sins. His famous maxim, '*L'état c'est moi*,' showed how the mind of the nation was moulded in the mind of the King. The Church, too, had her giants in those days; Bossuet, Fenelon, Massillon, and Bourdaloue—names that have seldom been equalled in one century, and never by contemporaries in one nation—adorned his reign with their eloquence. But it required all the ability of Louis XIV., and all the glitter of his military greatness, to reconcile the people to the undoubted despotism with which they were governed. He was succeeded by the most worthless of monarchs, his great-grandson, Louis XV. He had none of the brilliant qualities and more than all the vices of his great predecessor. The profligacy of his court has seldom been equalled; he ruled for his own pleasure and not for the benefit of France; he ruled on the principle that he was born to be a king; he used to say that the monarchy was certain to last till his death. Millions of the public money were squandered in the debaucheries of the court, whilst the lives and the liberties of the people who paid it were in the hands of those who pandered to or shared in the ignominious pleasures of the King. He sowed the wind, but it was his grandson, Louis XVI., who reaped the whirlwind. When he came to the throne he had a difficult task for any monarch to perform, one impossible for him. He was virtuous but weak, none of the licentiousness that disgraced the court of his predecessors attaches to his name. But the nation he was called to rule was seething in discontent, the taxes were heavy, the treasury was depleted, the philosophers were undermining Church and throne. He was too weak a pilot, and too unskilled to steer the barque that had rotted in the iniquities of his fathers, through the storm that was gathering round him.

The discontent which was widespread arose from the oppression and poverty under which the people groaned,

and those who could afford to pay the taxes found it difficult to bear the contempt with which they were treated by the haughty seigneurs. The nobles were exempt from direct taxation; a title of nobility could be obtained by purchase; the wealthy merchants frequently bought a title, and with it the privilege of exemption. Those exemptions increased the burden of taxation on the lower orders. There was, besides, the odious *corvée*, which compelled the people to make the roads and bridges at their own expense; three hundred farmers were reduced to beggary in one year, in filling up a single valley in Lorraine. Even the salt, so essential to the poor, was taxed. The oppressive burdens weighed heaviest on the peasantry; the poorer amongst them were saved from starvation only by the most servile and constant drudgery; and they knew not when the very fruits of their toil, which stood between them and the fiend of hunger, should be taken from them. Let La Bruyere describe the picture of horror as he saw it: 'Certain wild animals, male and female, scattered over the fields; black, livid, all burnt with the sun, bound to the earth they dig, work with unconquerable pertinacity; they have a sort of articulate voice, and when they rise to their feet they show a human face; in fact, are men.'

It is generally safe to oppress an ignorant peasantry, if there is not someone they respect to remind them of their manhood. But the Bourgeoisie and professional classes were not so easily reconciled to their grievances. They had wealth and talent, yet they were debarred from the higher offices and honours of the state. Those positions had long been the monopoly of the nobility. The nobles were once the flower of national valour, they were the military bulwark of the nation; but they had degenerated, their prestige had paled, the days had come when tact was more essential than valour in warfare, and there was no longer the love or the need for the chivalry of the feudal knight. They had in many instances squandered their estates, and too often were distinguished by nothing, except the title they inherited and the most shameful excesses. The old nobility despised those who were nobles by purchase or promotion, whilst all

treated the masses of the people with the utmost contempt. This, then, is the France of the eighteenth century: a haughty nobility, impoverished and immoral; proud mercantile and professional classes, often in affluence, always in contempt; a peasantry groaning beneath the burden of excessive taxation. The nobles, with the monarch, held the reins of government; the others, ignorant of their power, born to obedience, lay chafing beneath their yoke, fearing to strike, lest the hand of tyranny, already so heavy, should crush out the very life that was left in them. These were dangerous elements for a throne to rest upon, the embers of a revolution were but thinly covered with the ashes of traditional obedience; it needed but a breath to fan them to flames, and the poisonous breath of the new philosophers did it.

The philosophers breathed out a new literature on those elements, and their purpose—they did not conceal it—was to destroy the Catholic Church. Voltaire and Rousseau set themselves the task of tearing from the nation the bonds of society, by tearing from the hearts of the people the bonds of religion, which hold the human soul in continence and order. But others went further still, and stretched forth impious hands, in futile effort, to drag down God Omnipotent from His throne in heaven. When David Hume, the father of English scepticism, was invited to meet eighteen of the most celebrated literary men of Paris, he was surprised to find himself the least sceptical of the party. He tells us he was the only one present who admitted even the probability of a Supreme Being. It is generally safe to judge the prevailing social and religious condition of a country by its literature. The French philosophers first created a morbid taste, and then pandered to it. The infidelity, the materialism, and scandalously immoral productions which flowed so frequently and eloquently from the pens of Voltaire and his helpers, were the running sores of the national malady the new philosophy had engendered in the hearts of the people. Their works were devoured by numerous admirers as they came from the press. They were sometimes suppressed, but the suppression was a mere

comedy of appearances, except where offence was given to the monarch or his favourites. The attacks on the constitution were under the disguise of theories, but their hostility to the Church wore no mask, and spared no means to bring about her destruction. Their popularity knew no bounds; they were invited to adorn the parties of noble seigneurs, while their gospel was welcomed with applause by the lower orders, who built upon it the horrors of the Revolution. Many from all grades of society read, with undisguised pleasure, the witty sarcasms, and bitter calumnies of Voltaire against the Church, who, still as ever, pointed to the hand of God stretched out in justice above the conscience of the sinner. There were many, like Philip of Orleans, whose guilty consciences were pained by the light of religion, who rejoiced at any pretext that could screen them from it; even though it were by pulling down the Victim of the cross, the noblest, the only hope of man. 'Impiety,' said the clergy in the General Assembly of 1770, 'has passed from the capital to the provinces; it is found under the roof of the artisan and in the cottage of the peasant; it misleads alike their ignorance and simplicity. Impiety is making inroads alike on God and man; it will never be satisfied till it has destroyed every power, divine and human.'

The Church alone foresaw, and honestly opposed, as in duty bound, the consequences of the new movement. The philosophers, knowing this, knew also that their success in pleading for the liberty of passion, would be impossible, unless they could destroy the influence of religion. It is false to say, as has often been said, that there was universal corruption in the Church of France in those days; that the Church, like the State, was but the corpse of her former self. The State, still wearing the glitter of her ancient lustre on the surface, was rotten to the core; the Church was sound at heart, with, it must be admitted, some blemishes on the fair face that should have neither spot nor wrinkle. There is always a danger to the Church when her relations with the State are too intimate, especially when, as in France in the eighteenth century, the State is morally corrupt. Each has its own sphere, each its own duty, in providing for the

welfare of the many ; and when they come in contact, as they must, it should be in friendly alliance, the State assisting the Church, the Church inspiring rulers with justice, and the people with obedience, adding eternal hopes to their temporal welfare. But here is a difficulty : there never yet has been a model union of Church and State. The secular arm is jealous of the spiritual power ; the secular eye looks greedily on the possessions of the Church. There is not a period in the history of the Church in which she has not had to struggle to keep together her universal spiritual kingdom, free in all its parts from servitude to temporal rulers. She has succeeded, under the providence of God, only by the invincible courage of the Hildebrands, and the blood of the Becketts.

But there is another and a greater danger in this intimacy between Church and State : the priests may be inspired by secular ambitions, and put on secular manners, that are ill becoming their sacred character. This was the case in France in the eighteenth century, and contributed largely to the success of infidelity. There were men who took upon themselves the priesthood, because they felt they were taking a worldly honour ; their vocation was from temporal motives and not from God. They looked for preferment to the influence of some courtier not always of spotless character. The emoluments and the honours became the ideal of success to those whose duty was to offer sacrifice, to bring souls to God, and to dispense through sinless hands the graces sent down from God to man. It was on this account a Chateneuf, a Dubois, a Raynal, a Tallyrand, and the others who lost their savour, were found in the Church. But they were comparatively few amongst the eighty thousand ecclesiastics then in France. It is an old device of the enemies of the Church to select her unfaithful ministers, and hold them up to the world, with all their faults and crimes exaggerated, declaring that such is the Church which claims to be holy, such are her ministers. This libel has often been uttered against the Church of France ; but when the day came to try the faith that was in her ministers they were found to be true disciples of their Divine Master. Rather than deny

the doctrine they had preached, they went forth in thousands to every civilized country in the world, taking nothing with them but their lives, their faith, their virtue. And what nobler example of heroism for the sake of truth does the world's history record than that of the priests in the September massacres? In the prison of the Abbaye twenty-four were slaughtered because they preferred their priestly duty to their lives. In the prison of Carmes, the saintly Archbishop of Arles, with two bishops, and two hundred priests, met a similar fate. They would not take the oath of the civil constitution; for although it was not directly opposed to any dogma of the Church, it would claim from them allegiance that would give to Cæsar the dues of Christ. They are asked whether they will take the oath; a 'Yes' will save them; they answer 'No,' and die, for to yield would compromise them in their duty as pastors of their flocks.

The vast majority of the people did not hate the Church: she alone had sympathy with their grievances; she alone raised her voice against the disgraceful vices of the court; but many were educated into hating her by Voltaire and his associates, whose motive was not to benefit the people, but to destroy the Church. Therefore, those men and their methods claim our attention in treating the question of infidelity. The character of Voltaire is black as pen can paint it. He was a man without principle, without truth, without gratitude. Had he a single virtue? He was not a great philosopher, or a profound thinker; he had accumulated a vast store of information, which he had no scruple in distorting, and then applied it to his subject with his own peculiar powers. He had no reverence for the most sacred truths, and it is difficult to say whether he had any for God Himself; for he was above all things else a hypocrite. He poured out falsehoods, pointed with sarcasm on his enemies with singular effect. His attractiveness consisted in the licence, pleasing to human passion, hateful to religion, for which he pleaded, gilding its shame with wit. He sought for popularity, and succeeded in winning it; he proclaimed himself the friend of the people, the hater of the priests; whilst sinning against the nation's laws and the law of God, he

captivated the indecent tendency of the nation's heart. He propounded no system, civil or religious; his idea was to destroy the Church, and leave human passions to seek their gratification in the chaos of infidelity. It is impossible to determine for certain whether he really believed in God. He built a church at Ferney, and had placed on it the inscription 'Deo erexit Voltaire;' and on one occasion he said, 'If God did not exist it would be necessary to invent His being.' But perhaps the following incident would help us to interpret what he meant by those professions. He was present at a discussion amongst the philosophers, as to whether God existed, and when the negative side was strongly urged, he ordered the servants to leave the room, and locked the door. 'Gentlemen,' he explained, 'I do not want my valet to cut my throat to-morrow morning.' He wore the habit of a Capuchin at Ferney; he demanded Holy Communion with a threat of legal proceedings; he lived the outward life of a Catholic, whilst in his heart, he regarded all the doctrines of the Church as inventions of men, and all her ceremonies as empty mockery. This pretended Catholicity, he tells us, was to save him from the disgrace of being deprived of Christian burial.

He has not left a single argument against the truths of Christianity which needs a refutation at the present day. He was an adept in throwing out witty ridicule on the Scriptures, in lampooning priests, and in drawing pictures, from the study of his own animosity, to show the tyranny of the Church. Let us take a few specimens. He asks whether Christianity consists in throwing water, with a little salt in it, on the head? He starts, in all his arguments against Christianity, by begging the question, in rejecting the supernatural. What a difference it makes when we know that 'putting water with a little salt in it on the head,' is a sign divinely ordained, that God might raise us up to the adoption of children; that at, or through, that sign of baptism, grace from heaven, mysterious in its method, supernatural in its effects, flows into the soul of man? He rails at the providence of God, and mocks at His goodness, because the dancing-houses of Paris were undisturbed

whilst thousands of innocent victims were swallowed up in the great earthquake of Lisbon. His poem on this subject drew a dignified and powerful reply from De Maistre. But time has answered it. It is not yet one hundred and fifty years since the calamity occurred. And what does it matter now to the victims, whether they died in the earthquake or lived a few years longer, to moan out their souls on a bed of sickness? Why should God stretch forth a hand to stay the laws of nature when nature in another form should soon demand her debt? Voltaire, more foolish than the child, who thought to empty the ocean with a shell, would try with his puny reason to measure God, who measures man, and life, and all things, by infinity and eternity. He worked himself into a frenzy, as he always does when there is an opportunity of calumniating the Church, over the death of Calas. Calas was a Toulouse Huguenot, and his son, wishing to become a Catholic, was murdered. The father was accused of the crime, convicted, and executed. There may have been a miscarriage of justice through religious excitement; but if there was a fault, it should be attributed to a civil tribunal. It was enough, however, for Voltaire, that the question of religion was connected with the trial. He remembers, too, that Sirven and La Barre were put to death for insulting religion. His soul is wroth over the tyranny of the Church. He stands forth as the champion of humanity. His tender heart could stand this cruelty no longer. But listen: 'They write me,' he says, 'that three Jesuits have at last been burned at Lisbon. This is most consoling intelligence.' And again: 'It is said that Father Malagrida has been broken on the wheel. God be thanked.' The hypocrisy of his life went down with him to the grave. In his last illness he made the following confession of faith: 'I die in the Holy Catholic religion in which I was born, hoping that God in His mercy will pardon my faults; and if I have ever scandalized the Church, I ask pardon for it from God and from her.' If we can believe Strauss, whilst he gave this to the priest, he had a contradictory confession beneath his pillow, for his infidel attendant. At any rate, when the priest asked him to

profess his belief in the divinity of Jesus Christ, his dying testimony was: 'In the name of God, sir, speak no more to me of that man; let me die in peace.' A worthy end of an unworthy life.

His ablest lieutenant in the war against religion was Rousseau; but like Voltaire, his character cannot bear the light. A Protestant in his youth at Geneva, he changed his religion in Savoy for a good dinner. Speaking of the occasion when the priest obtained his consent to become a Catholic, he says, 'I was too good a guest to be a good theologian; and his Frangi wine, which struck me as excellent, was such a triumphant argument on his side, that I should have blushed to oppose so capital a host. He returned to Protestantism again at Geneva, that he might have the rights of a citizen. The truth is, he was a deist. He detested atheism; he longed for Christianity, but its maxims were too pure for his sensual heart. 'If Fenelon were alive you would be a Catholic,' said St. Pierre to him. 'Ah!' said Rousseau, with tears in his eyes, 'if Fenelon were alive I would seek to be his lackey.' And on the same occasion he said with emotion, 'Ah! how happy is the man who can believe.' He was more opposed to the moral than the dogmatic teaching of the Church, except, perhaps, the dogma which declared that retribution for a guilty life should be exacted in eternal punishment. He rejected the divine authority of revealed religion, and enunciated a form of naturalism to suit and justify his own desires. God was to be supreme in heaven, and man on earth inasmuch as he had no positive law from God. He was dependent on God for existence and immortality; but whatever could afford gratification to the passions was in keeping with his natural creed. His theory was built on human perfectibility: there was no evil in man except from without. Nature only wanted liberty to form the perfect man, and man only wanted liberty to form the perfect nation. In *Emilius* he delineated the method of evolving perfectibility of the child. He sends his own five children, without name or parentage, to the foundling hospital. In his youth he accused a fellow-servant of a theft he himself committed.

He leaves his friend lying helpless in the street. He betrayed, and afterwards abandoned, Theresa Vasseur. His glaring sensualities must be passed over in silence. If we judge this apostle, who sat in judgment on the Church, by the facts of his life, he presents himself to us as an eloquent, ungrateful vagabond, without either honour or morals. What he might have been, had he followed the light of religion, and co-operated with the grace of God, instead of his foolish theory of human perfectibility, appears in his frequent outbursts about things divine, not unworthy of a father of the Church. What could be grander than those words which he puts in the mouth of the Savoyard Vicar, to express, we may presume, the feelings of his own heart?—‘I avow to you that the holiness of the Gospel is an argument that speaks to my heart, and to which I should even regret to find any good reply. See the books of philosophers, with all their pomp, how little they are beside this? Can a book at once, so sublime and simple, be the work of men? Is it possible that He, whose history it is, can be a man Himself?’ And yet this same Rousseau is an avowed enemy of Christianity. For his perfectibility of human nature, alas! The highest degree of perfection he ever reached was in the days before passion dragged down the innocence of his childhood to the basest crimes of man. We can ask for no more trenchant refutation of his theory, for no more convincing proof of the fall of human nature, and its effects, as revealed through inspired writers, than the spasmodic struggles of Rousseau, always admiring, often teaching virtue; but never practising it. The law of his members had captivated him in the law of sin; his life gave the lie to his gospel, till eventually he retreated from the world, probably by suicide, leaving behind him a name that has long since been discredited and disgraced.

Of the other leaders little may be said. Holbach was the host of the philosophers, at whose house they met to exchange ideas. His best-known work is his *System of Nature*. He, together with Diderot and D’Alembert, the editors of the *Encyclopædia*, were the representatives of materialism. They had nothing new or more startling to

present us with than the mysterious atoms of Democritus remodelled by Lucretius, with their impossible existence and impossible works. Whence have we motion? whence have we life? whence our cunningly organized earth, and the multitude of worlds that, like living things, move and sparkle in the heavens above us? From lifeless, inert atoms? If it were so, the mystery were not merely beyond our reason, but against it, and infinitely deeper than all the mysteries of faith. Let us turn from the philosophers to the Catholic child. What says he? 'It was God who spoke; and made them.'

Those, then, were the makers of French infidelity; their doctrines were read by the educated and preached by the demagogues. An anti-religious movement seldom becomes formidable unless it is also political. But what was the note that stirred the heart of France? Liberty, equality, fraternity: no more nobles exclusive and haughty; no monarch to sweep away the liberty of his subjects by a word; a France in which all should be brothers, and none should be oppressed and none despised, in which the sovereign people alone should be obeyed. It seemed like a dream before minds of the people that never could be realized; but had not the eloquent, world-famous philosophers proclaimed that it was the inalienable right of the sovereign people to realize it? Let them rise and claim their own; let existing institutions be torn down, if necessary by violence. But this can be done only by injustice, by murder, and plunder; reform is possible; but this sweeping change, in which the higher social grades are to be levelled down to that of their meaner brethren, in which all rights, all property, are to be melted down into communism, by the sovereign people, is opposed to religion, to the teaching of the Catholic Church. Here is the opportunity of infidelity—religion stands in the way of politics. The philosophers have their own grievance against that Church. Does she not actually teach that the souls, sin-stained as theirs are, that the teachers of the licentiousness they have been teaching, shall change God's blessing to a curse, and expiate their crimes in eternal hell? This is the tyranny they dread most. They point to the

slavery in which millions of the human race are held by Buddhism and Mohammedanism, and then to Catholicism as the slavery of France.

These lessons at last produced their effect on the minds of the discontented elements, especially in the cities. They had heard the pleading against God, against virtue; their passions had slipped from the hold of religion; they were carried down to the depths where human nature is brutal. No longer did their souls throb with aspirations of eternal hopes; no longer did their hearts soar up on the wings of love to the great infinite God, who breathed on the clay to make the living man. The sovereign people rose and triumphed, and the frenzied godless mobs eat human flesh, not in figure, but in savage reality, in the streets of Paris. France that was disappeared, its monarch, its nobles, its political institutions; the France of a thousand years went down in the whirlpool of the Revolution to rise no more. Liberty, equality, fraternity, no justice, no mercy, no humanity, were the cries of the sovereign people as they raised their hands, made red with the blood of priests, to worship the *être Suprême*. But even God Himself must go from regenerated France, as the multitudes bow down in worship to the goddess of reason, sending up their incense to an idol placed on the altar of Notre Dame. It is not a lifeless idol, it is the goddess of the new philosophy—a living harlot, borne in triumph from the streets. The Catholic Church seemed for a while as if she were about to sink for ever before the attack of infidelity. ‘The rain fell, and the floods came, and the winds blew, and they beat upon that house, and it fell not, for it was founded on a rock.’ She lost many of her members, but they were corrupt, and less noxious as open enemies without than as hidden traitors within her fold. The pomp, the wealth, the gilding of worldly honours she also lost; they were the gifts of men. But one particle of doctrine revealed to her, the smallest duty to her spouse, she could not yield; they were the same to her as life.

Her ordeal was a dreadful one. Whilst the terrors of the Revolution lasted nothing could be heard in France but

the crash of the falling nation and the blasphemies of the sovereign mobs, intoxicated with their revolting orgies. But when those terrors abated, men found they still had a conscience; they found a craving of the soul to be satisfied, a problem of life to be solved. Voltairism had no happiness to offer but sin; saw nothing in life but men plodding on, each with his own burden of miseries, to the grave.

We ask in vain what we are [said Voltaire], where we are, whither we go, whence we came. We are tormented atoms on a clod of earth, whom death at last swallows up, and with whom destiny meanwhile makes cruel sport. The past is only a disheartening memory, and if the tomb destroys the thinking creature, how frightful is the present?

In this doctrine there was no comfort for the honest souls; they sought another teacher, and they found him. There is still one name in France that millions of her race will die for—the name infidelity would destroy—the name of Jesus Christ. He came on the earth to speak of eternity at the end of life, of happiness after sorrow. He came with the power of God; was it to save or to deceive us? He could not, and why should the founder of our faith deceive us? He had no interest to serve in humbling Himself, except to show His love for man. To him our souls go out in hope, to that gentle form the brother of our flesh, except in sin, the substance of our God. He stood a Mediator between heaven and earth, a Peacemaker between man and God, with a hand to God for mercy, a hand to man in hope. He spoke as man had never spoken; He did what man had never done; He passed from life to death; He rose from death to life; He went in triumph, leading captivity captive, with a human body through the gates of heaven. From His eternal triumph He sends down a message to the human race—‘Follow Me.’ It is not surprising that a Huysmans, a Brunetière, a Coppée, should shake off their infidelity, and come to Him, saying, ‘We believe, we follow.’ Infidelity can never satisfy the truth-seeking soul whilst there is such a Teacher to believe in. There is no other that man can follow, since He alone has the words of eternal life.

M. RYAN.

AUSTRALIA AND ITS RELIGIONS

THE course of history reveals to us the strange fact of the westward journey of the human race. Like the sun, man seems to come forth out of the east, and move along in his eventful journey to the west. Up to the eighteenth century the march of civilization bore this out pretty fully. Eastern nations were gradually seen to decay, and the wild countries to the west to rise up on their ruins. The great tide ever seemed to move on in its destined course from the shores of that ocean that washes the 'land of the rising sun,' on toward that desert land that looks out on the western Pacific. Was there a law regulating the course of human progress, and thus directing it? Was human glory to rise like the sun in the east, and move gloriously on to the western world? As I say, so it seemed, and so wrote historians and poets: 'Westward the course of empire holds its sway.' But recent developments have modified, if not completely altered this philosophy. The discovery and population, and marvellous growth of the new lands away to the east, in the southern hemisphere, point conclusively to the fact, that not necessarily does the course of empire hold its way westward, but that the east, when occasion offers, can be its equally congenial home. America is a land of progress, and has a great future before it, but Australia and New Zealand are countries possessing a vigorous population that give all the evidence of future greatness likewise. Australia is certainly a land of the future, with possibilities of development simply immense, fitted by nature to be the home of millions and millions. And not only has it possibilities, but it bids fair to realize these possibilities. A marvellous expansion is taking place in it yearly. Population is advancing by millions. Industries are being developed. Commerce is flourishing to an extraordinary extent. Ships innumerable are daily ploughing those seas that a century back were lonely as the grave. Cities are rising, as if by magic, in those plains that only

recently were clothed with virgin forests. Even the inland rivers are crowded with busy craft. The country is throbbing with a young life that will in time arrive at splendid maturity. How far distant that time is none can say, but certainly it is safe to predict, that the day will come when with the central countries of the globe in decay or in ruins prosperous nations will arise at the ends of the earth, and join hands in friendship or in conflict over the powerless and sluggish peoples of the intervening continents.

Australia, then, looked at simply with reference to its future, is an interesting country. But it is doubly interesting on account of the romance that hangs about its early history. Though that history is not lit up with such adventures as enliven the pages of Prescott, still it has an attraction of its own, and the reader who has followed the eventful career of the Aztec Empress will find a new interest in reading of those days when the aborigines held their 'corroborees' by the banks of the Murray, and 'bush-rangers' swooped down from their fastnesses on the unhappy traveller. It is not our intention, however, to unravel any of the romances, or to speculate about the material greatness the future has in store for Australia. Australia is interesting to us simply because of its connection with the Catholic Church, and we propose to ourselves merely to take an intelligent glance at the position of Catholicism there at present, and its prospects in the future. What is its status there at present? Does it give promise of progress or retrogression? What is the prevailing religion in Australia at present? Judging externally, at least, it may be said that it is decidedly a Protestant country. It may be said, also, that the tone of public life is decidedly Protestant; that public opinion is decidedly under Protestant direction; that the Government is decidedly Protestant in its tendencies. But we say externally, for Protestantism, in so far as it is opposed to Catholicism, may be very rampant indeed; whilst regarded in itself it may have no vigour or life at all.

Now in Australia, Protestantism, as opposed to Catholicism, is very strong; but, viewed in itself it dwindles into

'thin air,' has very little reality, and is fast resolving itself into infidelity, whether total or partial. With many of the Australian people hell is simply a name. They laugh at the punishment of the next life; and hence if they profess any belief at all, it is not in the Christian religion, for Christianity without hell is not Christianity at all. The real belief of many of the Australian people, if you judge them by their acts, is that which prompts them to amass money, build luxurious houses, and live comfortably in this life. If they succeed in this they would in most cases 'jump the life to come.' In other words, Australian Protestantism is moving on rapidly to its inevitable goal—infidelity. Occasionally there is a check to this movement, and a flash of religious enthusiasm may result in the formation of some new sect, such as the Salvation Army, which is sustained only by the frenzy or fanaticism of the members. But all this is momentary and trifling. The great tide moves on with irresistible force to its destined end. It is only when we consider this obscuring of the unseen world by the world around us—its gold, and its pleasures, that we can realize what our Saviour meant by the 'world,' and why He uttered such imprecations against it. The world is the direct and complete antithesis of religion, puts itself between us and the life to come, and hides the latter completely from our gaze. Protestantism is unable to cope with the attacks of the world. There is only one religion in Australia that makes any resistance to it, and that is the religion that holds forth prominently the life to come, and especially the terror of its punishments. The Catholic religion is alone an effectual barrier to this ally of infidelity. But even the Catholic religion feels its attacks. The work of the priest in many instances is not so much to insist on the individual truths of the Catholic religion as to make his people interested at all in the subject. Hence his time is more successfully employed with many people in putting before them motives for practising their religion than in explaining to them what that religion is. At least his first and most arduous task is to influence them with these motives. If he succeeds in this initial step his complete success is insured.

And if it is thus with Catholics it is quite evident that conversions from Protestantism are with great difficulty brought about; in fact, it can only be the result of divine grace. How convince a Protestant that the supremacy of the Pope is a truth of faith, when he cares little about faith at all. If he were without prejudice it would be impossible to make an impression on him; but when to this cold indifference is added deep prejudice, efforts are entirely lost on him. Let no one hope, then, for any rapid growth of the Catholic Church in Australia. Its expansion must be internal, unfolding itself like the bud, and increasing itself out of its own resources without any external accretions. The Catholic population will have its natural increase, and it will be well if that increase is preserved intact, and none is lost. Protestants do occasionally, and will in the future, join the Church; but their gains may be largely discounted, for they occur because of marriage, or some altogether not transparent motive. Unless divine grace will intervene the Protestant Church will decay year by year, till, like some time-worn edifice, it falls to ruin on the ground. Hence, as regards any material influence it will have on the expansion of the Church we may disregard it, for it will go its own way, and the Church will go hers.

But how stands it with the Church? As we said, it cannot look complacently or hopefully on her neighbour. She can't gain it. Does she suffer anything from it? Decidedly, and unless she is specially guarded on this point would suffer most disastrously. The atmosphere of infidelity that pervades Protestantism seeks to insinuate itself into the Church, and it is only by constant vigilance that the evil is prevented from working serious injury. Too often are to be found Catholics who think one religion as good as another, who next think that after all if a man lives well there is no need of any religion; and, finally, who comes to the conclusion that religion is all a matter of fancy.

This is the dark side of the picture, the presence of the huge inert mass of Protestantism, with its multitude of sects, casting like the Upas tree its baneful shadow on the Church. The Church cannot benefit materially from it; the Church

can suffer much from it: and altogether she would flourish better, and put forth her branches more luxuriantly if she did not exist beside such a neighbour. There is no doubt but the one great danger that menaces the Church in Australia is the danger of imbibing this evil influence.

But, on the other hand, there are light sides to the picture. Protestantism, though on the whole an undesirable neighbour, is of some advantage. It is an incontestible fact that religion finds its most congenial home amid persecution, and amid enemies. Sacred writers tell us of the disastrous effects a long period of toleration had on the early Christians, and how on the breaking out of persecution after this period of peace many denied the faith. Who can doubt too that Ireland owes the transparent purity of her faith to the persecution she has so long endured. Religion exists purer and stronger when it exists amid enemies. Hence, the staunchest Catholics, the holiest men, are to be found in Protestant communities. There seems to be no medium in these cases—it is zeal or coldness; the spirit of a confessor, or the perfidy of a traitor. Hence, Protestantism may serve to brighten, purify, strengthen the faith of Catholics; and it certainly has this effect in Australia. You may meet apostates—an O'Reilly, who is a Presbyterian, an O'Kelly, who is a Wesleyan, but you will meet multitudes brimful of faith and zeal. And you will meet these especially in the neighbourhood of a bigoted Protestant community. In fact, it is to be doubted, for this reason, if a bigoted Protestant community is not to be preferred to one that is liberal in its views; for the former throws the Catholic back on himself, makes him rely on himself, and puts him into a position of hostility to Protestantism, whereas the latter has quite the opposite tendency. Anyone who witnesses the material advance of religion within comparatively few years; who knows the sacrifices Catholics have made, and are making; who sees how freely they contribute to all sacred purposes, cannot fail to be struck with the depth of such faith that prompts to such sacrifices. The man who gives his money, it has been remarked, is sincere in his belief; and his money the Australian Catholic has generously given. He has

raised churches, and presbyteries that would contrast favourably with the fruits of centuries in old countries. He has built schools for his children rather than use those an unbelieving state has supplied to him. At present he will give anything he has at the call of the priest. The typical Australian Catholic has brought his faith from a pure source in his native Ireland—for to Ireland the Church in Australia almost exclusively owes her existence—but he has made it still purer in the country of his adoption, so that he is the Irishman more enlightened, more generous, more chivalrous in his devotion to the Church and her ministers.

A Catholic minority can, therefore, derive advantages as well as disadvantages, from a Protestant community. The disadvantages, no doubt, more than counterbalance the advantages; for, though there are some whom temptations strengthen, there are far too many who succumb to them. But the advantages or disadvantages must not be overrated. It may happen that there is little intercommunion between members of different religions. Often, like two elements that refuse to mingle, they hold themselves scrupulously apart, and each section lives and moves in a circle of its own. Now, though it cannot be said that Catholics and Protestants live in strict alienation one from the other, it is nevertheless true that there is a distinct line of separation between them. There is a Catholic society and a Protestant society, a Catholic public opinion and a Protestant public opinion. Thus a man may be regarded as a moving spirit among Catholics, whilst his name or fame would never enter the Protestant circle. Again, a religious scandal might never travel outside the religion of the perpetrator. Hence, to a large extent, both communities flourish side by side, one little interfering with the other. It would not be an unapt comparison to liken the Catholic Church in Australia to an oasis in a desert, surrounded by Protestantism, yet not mingling with, simply touching it. As a consequence of this relation there is very little reference made by one to the other. The 'let-alone' principle is much in vogue. An aggressive preacher is generally unpopular. Many congregations of Protestants would not

tolerate an attack by their minister on Catholicism, and in such cases it is more discreet for a Catholic to let controversy slumber. No good would arise from it, no conversions would follow, and it would serve only to arouse angry feelings. Of course, what I say holds generally, not universally. There are many Protestants filled with bitterness against all things Catholic, and bad men—such as ex-priests Chiniquy and Slattery—are not wanting to take advantage of this, and make rabid attacks on Catholicism; but respectable Protestants, for the most part, discountenance these attacks, so that Catholics can with wisdom disregard them.

All this militates against conversions, were they otherwise practicable. The force of example is lost in such a state of things. St. Ignatius or St. Francis of Assissi would find few admirers of their sanctity among such Protestants. So far from being impressed by the holiness of their lives, Protestants of this class would scarcely regard them at all. For such Protestants they would be 'born to blush unseen, and waste their sweetness on the desert air.'

Thus we have in Australia, at present, the Catholic Church and the various Protestant sects existing side by side, with very little interference one with the other; yet, notwithstanding this, by the necessity of the case, each exerting a silent influence on the other. Will this state of things continue? Will there be no gain on one side, and loss on the other? There will certainly be no material loss on the part of Catholicism. Indefectibility, indeed, is a prerogative not of any particular, but of the Universal Church; still no one will doubt but the Holy Ghost resides in some way in particular Churches, aiding them and maintaining their life, if the members, by their unworthiness, do not forfeit His help. We may hope, then, that this divine influence will preserve the life of the Catholic Church in Australia. But, apart from this, we can confidently affirm that the Catholic Church in Australia will never bend before her rival. Inertness, sluggishness, are the characteristics of Australian Protestantism at present, whilst Catholicism is full of life and activity. Protestantism is in a decadent state; Catholicism is sending its roots deep down into the

land, and gives promise of flourishing in future years ; not, indeed, of flourishing at the expense of Protestantism, flourishing rather by developing the powers that lie hidden within it. Protestantism will fall, and its members will become the sport of every belief, and no belief ; but, unless the Almighty will interfere, there is not much hope that they will return to the true fold. They will end in infidelity, and whether they will make that their last resting-place none can tell.

Paganism fell rapidly before Christianity in the beginning ; but these men had not tried Christianity, and rejected it. It was new to them. It is quite a different thing to win back from infidelity those who had previously fallen from Christianity. It would be a 'second spring,' the bringing back of the past, the raising of the dead. Such a moral miracle, however, is hoped for by many in England, and less sanguinely in America. If England ever again embraces the Catholic faith, then it is most likely that America and Australia will follow her. England will lead the way, and Australia will only join the true fold last. And why ? Because Australia at present is too much engaged in the pursuit of the goods of this world, too eagerly rushing after gold, and caring too much for it to exchange it for the 'hidden pearl.' Such a tendency is directly opposed to the disposition necessary for the reception of God's gifts. God has cursed the world ; the worship of the world is idolatry ; and when men turn their back on the true God, and make for themselves idols, punishment only is in store for them. England, though running after the goods of this world also, is not quite as devoted to the search as America and Australia. In England there are as yet other things not so base as wealth admired and sought ; but in America, and especially in Australia, the wealthy man is the real hero, the lord of the hour, the ruler with power in his sphere as absolute as is that of the Czar of Russia.

The nation as well as the individual devoted to wealth can never be devoted to God. It may achieve material triumphs—triumphs in letters, in arts, in mechanics ; it may run thousands and thousands of miles of railroads,

send multitudes of ships through the ocean, rear magnificent cities ; but it will never be God's chosen people ; it will never achieve triumphs in the spiritual order ; it will run its usual course, ' founded, flourish, and decay,' and then vanish ingloriously from the scene. ' All this,' said Satan to the Lord, when the countries of the world spread out before them, ' I will give Thee if, falling down, Thou wilt adore me.' The temptation to which our Lord was subjected on this occasion was typical of what happened from the beginning, and will in all probability happen to the end of time. The votaries of the world, the idolaters of the wealth and glory of this world, will, in the designs of Providence, often get the worthless rewards they desire. In the past they have got them, and in the present we see the same thing occurring in the case of the two great English-speaking nations who have attained to such material greatness. They desired wealth ; they valued it above all things ; and now their ships plough every sea, bearing their commerce to and from every port of the world. They boast of their proficiency in the arts and sciences. What they call civilization—that is, railroads, steam-engines, mechanical inventions, luxurious mansions, soft living, and lax morality—they possess in abundance ; and they look complacently on their unenviable eminence, and point to their heavy treasures as an evidence of their superiority to the other people of the earth. Nay, they go so far as to point to them as a conclusive proof that the religion professed by such a mighty people must be the true one. In their self-glorification they look on themselves as leading the van of human progress, and they regard whatever they possess as superior to what their neighbours own. Spain has fewer ships, fewer factories, fewer mansions, fewer wealthy men. She is a decadent nation. So is Italy, so is Austria, and France is beginning to feel the effects of its bad religion. Catholicism acts as a blight on human industry and human progress, and is from below. It stunts the faculties, obscures the intellect, restricts man's liberty. Thus they argue, or rather declaim ; and all this time they forget that the sages of heathen Greece and Rome could,

with much more reason, declaim in the same way. They forget the words of Scripture: 'All this I will give Thee if, falling down, Thou wilt adore me.' They forget that Catholic nations have not so much heavy, gross civilization, simply because they do not adore it, and run after it so eagerly as the Englishman. Wealth is an ignoble thing to fix the heart on; it is as dangerous for a nation as for an individual if pursued to the exclusion of all other things. And, if so pursued, it too often happens that Providence allows the idolater his idol, and recedes away. But woe to the nation which puts wealth in the place of God. The prospect before such a nation must be dark, indeed. Hence dark forebodings must fill the mind when we peer into the future of the young nations who are making such giant strides on the road to material success. Religion, it is to be feared, will fade away by degrees, and soon depart altogether, to be followed by a night of darkness, darker than ever darkened over the heathen world in pre-Christian times.

Descent is much more natural to fallen man than ascent; and history, with unmistakable voice, tells us that man, when not guided and sustained by special intervention of Divine Providence, will descend swiftly in the scale of morality. He may, at the same time, rise in the scale of worldly greatness, as happened in the case of the great heathen empires of antiquity. Egypt, Babylon, Greece, and Rome possessed wonderful power—a power which, when we consider the age of the world when they flourished, throws into the shade the mightiest of our modern empires; but coincident with this power we find a low state of morality, and a religion worse than infidelity. History repeats itself. The same passions and the same causes are at work now that were at work in past ages, and the same results will, doubtless, be achieved if things follow their natural course. Hence, in the far Southern Sea, under semi-tropical skies, in distant ages, it is more than probable that grand empires will arise, and stretch forth their grasping hands; that the flowery islands of the Pacific will resound with a life busier than ever animated the 'cluster-

ing Cyclades' in the hey-dey of Grecian glory; that man will enact anew the drama he had often repeated in northern lands. But, at the same time, with the exception of God's chosen few, it is equally probable that the faith will die out, and that, if the Son of Man comes then, He will hardly 'find faith on the earth.' But we make an exception of God's chosen few; for even then, with triumphant certainty, we can say that the indefectible Church will still exist; even then, in those ages far away in the dim future, when the 'New Zealand traveller' will roam by the banks of the Thames, among the ruins of England's greatness.

JOHN MURPHY.

Notes and Queries

LITURGY

SODALITY OF THE CHILDREN OF MARY

REV. DEAR SIR,—Will you kindly answer the following questions, with special reference to the archdiocese of Dublin?

(1) When a sodality of the Children of Mary is established in a parish, and duly affiliated to the *prima primaria* in Rome, who appoints its Director, and his successors?

(2) The statutes of the sodality direct that new sodalists should be received by the Director; who may, for a reasonable cause, appoint another priest to take his place (R. S. C. Ind. 23 June, 1885). If a priest who is not the Director, or authorized by him, receives new sodalists, is the reception valid; and what should be done under the circumstances?

SACERDOS.

We are not familiar with the organisation of the Sodality of the Children of Mary in the diocese of Dublin, nor with the special rules, if any, which the members are expected to observe. We may, however, confidently assume that this Sodality in the diocese of Dublin differs in no substantial manner, either as to organisation or rules, from similar sodalities elsewhere. Having made this very legitimate assumption, we are justified in concluding that, with regard to the two points raised by our esteemed correspondent in his questions, there can be nothing peculiar to sodalities of the Children of Mary in the diocese of Dublin. For each of these points is fundamental, and belongs to the very essence of all confraternities, and of many sodalities, among which is that of the Children of Mary. There cannot, therefore, be any doubt as to the reply which must be given to our correspondent's questions.

1. The bishop, and the bishop alone, has authority to appoint a director to the Sodality of the Children of Mary, or to any other sodality or confraternity into which the members must be formally received, and have their names

entered in a register. This is true whether the bishop himself has authority to confer canonical erection, and enrich the sodality with all the indulgences granted to it by the Holy See; or whether the diploma of erection, together with the faculty for the members of gaining the indulgences, has to be sought for from the general of a religious order.

As a rule, when the director of a sodality or confraternity is removed by death or otherwise the bishop formally appoints another director. The new director may be either the successor of the former director in the office which the latter had held in the parish, or he may be any other priest whom the bishop thinks fit to select. This we have just said is the general mode of procedure when a director has been removed. But bishops can appoint directors of sodalities, confraternities, &c., in such a way that when one is removed his successor in the parish succeeds *eo ipso* to the vacant directorship of the sodality or confraternity. That this authority belongs to bishops was formally recognised by Pius IX. in a decree issued on January 8, 1861, and was confirmed by the Congregation of Indulgences in a decree having the approval of Leo XIII., and issued July 16, 1887.

2. The fact, which we learn from the decree referred to by our correspondent, that it is only when a reasonable cause exists that the director can delegate another to take his place, should be sufficient proof that, if a priest has no delegation at all, he cannot validly receive members into the Sodality of the Children of Mary. The receptions, then, to which our correspondent refers were all invalid, and can be made valid only by the director performing again the ceremony of reception, and enrolling once more the names of the members in the register of the sodality. From time to time the Holy See revalidates invalid receptions; but a director would act both deceitfully and unkindly towards members, whom he knows to have been invalidly received, did he not take the earliest opportunity of constituting them real members of the sodality.

D. O'LOAN.

DOCUMENTS

CONSTITUTION OF HIS HOLINESS POPE LEO XIII. EXTENDING THE PRIVILEGES OF THE JUBILEE OF 1900

SANCTISSIMI DOMINI NOSTRI LEONIS DIVINA PROVIDENTIA PAPAE XIII.

CONSTITUTIO QUA INDULGENTIAE IUBILAEI ANNI MDCCCC CONCEDUNTUR MONIALIBUS, OBLATIS, TERTIARIIS ALIISQUE SIVE PUELLIS SIVE MULIERIBUS IN MONASTERIIS PIISVE COMMUNITATIBUS DEAGENTIBUS EREMITIS, INFIRMIS, CARCERE AUT CAPTIVITATE DETENTIS CUM OPPORTUNIS FACULTATIBUS CIRCA ABSOLUTIONES ET VOTORUM COMMUTATIONES

LEO EPISCOPUS

SERVUS SERVORUM DEI AD FUTURAM REI MEMORIAM

Aeterni Pastoris infinitam caritatem animo reputantes, qui *proprias oves vocat nominatim*,¹ *ut vitam habeant et abundantius habeant*,² quique ipsarum adventum ad sui gremium non modo expectat, sed ipse saepe praevertit, consilium agitavimus de Apostolicae liberalitatis thesauro recludendo in proximum annum Iubilaei iis etiam, quibus sua conditio non sinit ut praescriptam peregrinationem ad almam hanc Urbem et ad beatorum Apostolorum limina suscipiant. Placuit igitur fructu vacuum non redire multorum fidem ac pietatem, qui huiusmodi iter summo cum studio essent aggressuri, nisi eos aut septa monasterii, aut ineluctabilis captivitas, aut corporis infirmitas impediret. Quae quidem relaxatio atque benignitas non istorum tantum necessitati aut utilitati prospiciet, sed in communem omnium salutem redundabit. Coniunctis enim tot hominum precibus et lacrimis, quos vel vitae innocentia et religionis ardor, vel poenitentia, vel calamitas segregavit a ceteris, divinae misericordiae placandae spem licebit multo validiorem fovere. Quamobrem vi praesentium litterarum opportunas rationes describere decrevimus, quibus quum viri tum mulieres in eremis, monasteriis et religiosis domibus assidue vitam degentes, vel custodiis et carceribus detenti, vel morbis aut infirmitatibus impediti quominus veneranda Apostolorum sepulcra et Patriarchales Urbis Basilicas adeant, permisarum absolutionum concessique plenarii Iubilaei fieri participes valeant.

¹ Io. x, 3.² *Ibid.* 10.

Qui autem sub hac providentia comprehenduntur, hi sunt:—

I. Moniales omnes, quotquot solemnita vota religionis ediderunt et in monasteriis degunt sub claustris perpetui disciplinae item quae tyrocinium exercent, quaeve in monasteriis, aut educationis aut alia de causa legitima, commorantur. Pariter Monasteriorum huiusmodi Moniales, quae stipendis colligendae gratia septa religiosa egrediuntur:

II. Oblatae, vitae societate coniunctae, quarum Instituta fuerint ab Apostolica Sede vel ratione stabili, vel ad experimentum probata, una cum suis novitiis atque educandis puellis aliisque communi cum ipsis contubernio utentibus, quamquam severiori claustris lege non adstringantur:

III. Tertiariae sub uno eodemque tecto communiter viventes cum suis pariter novitiis atque educandis puellis, aliisque cum ipsis una degentibus, etsi severiore claustris lege minime teneantur, earumque Institutum nec unquam ad hunc diem ab Apostolica Sede approbatum fuerit, nec ut approbatum in posterum haberi debeat vi praesentis concessionis:

IV. Puellae ac mulieres in gynaeceis seu Conservatoriis degentes, quamvis nec Moniales, nec Oblatae, nec Tertiariae, nullisque claustris legibus obnoxiae sint. Has omnes, quas diximus, tam in Urbe quam extra, ubique locorum et gentium degentes, praesentis concessionis gratia et privilegio frui posse decernimus ac declaramus.

V. Idem concedimus Anachoretis atque Eremitis, non quidem eis qui nullis clausurae legibus adstricti vel in collegio et societate, vel solitarii sub Ordinariorum regimine certisque legibus aut regulis obtemperantes vivunt: sed eis qui in continua licet non omnimode perpetua clausura et solitudine deditam contemplationi vitam agunt, etiamsi monasticum aut regularem Ordinem profiteantur, ut Cistercienses aliquot, Chartusienses, Monachi et Eremitae sancti Romualdi solent.

VI. Ad utriusque sexus Christifideles eandem concessionis gratiam extendimus, qui captivi in hostium potestate versantur, ad eosque ubique locorum, qui ex civilibus aut criminalibus causis in carcere detinentur; item qui exilii poenam aut deportationis luunt; qui in triremibus aut alibi ad opus damnati reperiuntur; denique ad religiosos viros qui suis in coenobiis sub custodia retinentur vel qui ex rectorum praecepto certam habent sedem, quasi exilii aut deportationis loco assignatam.

VII. Eandem concessionem communem esse pariter volumus

utriusque sexus infirmis cuiusvis ordinis et conditionis, vel qui iam extra Urbem in morbum aliquem inciderint, cuius causa, intra Iubilaei annum, Urbem adire, medici iudicio, non possint, vel qui, licet convaluerint, non sine tamen gravi incommodo romanum iter aggredi possint, vel qui omnino dare se in iter imbecilla ex habitu valetudine prohibeantur. Horum denique numero senes haberi volumus, qui septuagesimum aetatis suae annum excesserint.

Itaque istos omnes et singulos monemus, hortamur et obsecramus in Domino, ut peccata sua *in amaritudine animae* recolentes eademque intimo animi sensu detestantes, saluberrimo Poenitentiae sacramento et congruis satisfactionibus suam quisque conscientiam expiare curent; tum ad caeleste Convivium ea, quae par est, fide, reverentia, caritate, accedant, Deumque optimum maximum, per Unigenitum Filium eius ac per merita augustissimae Virginis Mariae et beatorum Apostolorum Petri et Pauli omniumque Sanctorum, iuxta Nostram Ecclesiaeque mentem enixis precibus orent pro sanctae Ecclesiae prosperitate atque incremento, pro extirpandis erroribus, pro catholicorum principum concordia, totiusque christiani populi tranquillitate et salute; in eumque finem visitationi quatuor Urbis Basilicarum, alia religionis, pietatis, caritatis opera devote sufficiant, quum voluntaria, tum praesertim a delectis sacri ordinis viris auctoritate Nostra iniungenda, prout infra edicitur.

Scilicet volumus ac iubemus ut venerabiles fratres Episcopi alique locorum Ordinarii Monialibus, Oblatis, Tertiariis, aliisque superius memoratis sive puellis, sive mulieribus, Anachoretis, Eremitis, in carcere detentis, aegrotantibus et septuagenario maioribus, statuunt ac praescribant sive per se, sive per prudentes Confessarios, congrua religionis ac pietatis opera iuxta singulorum statum, conditionem et valetudinem ac loci et temporis rationes: quorum perfunctionem operum pro visitatione quatuor Urbis Basilicarum valere volumus ac decernimus. Eandem commutandorum operum facultatem concedimus Praelatis Regularibus videlicet utendam erga Instituta et personas singulas quae in ipsorum iurisdictione sint. Eodem genere personis quae in Urbe degant, designari opera sufficienda volumus per dilectum Filium Nostrum S. R. E. Cardinalem Vicarium eiusque vices gerentem, sive per se ipsos sive per prudentes Confessarios.

Itaque Omnipotentis Dei misericordia et Beatorum Apostolo-

rum Petri et Pauli auctoritate confisi, iis omnibus et singulis, quos supra memoravimus, vere poenitentibus et intra praesentem Iubilaei annum rite confessis ac sacra Communione refectis, Deumque, ut supra dictum est, orantibus, omnia denique implentibus alia iniungenda opera in locum visitationum, ac, vel inchoatis tantum iisdem operibus, si morbus periculosus oppresserit, plenissimam omnium peccatorum indulgentiam, veniam et remissionem, etiam duplici vice intra anni sancti decursum si iniuncta opera iteraverint, haud secus ac si praescripta communiter ceteris omnibus expleverint, de Apostolicae liberalitatis amplitudine largimur atque concedimus.

Monialibus earumque novitiis licere volumus, at prima dumtaxat vice, sumere sibi ex alterutro Cleri ordine Confessarios, qui tamen sint ad audiendas Monialium confessiones rite approbati. Anachoretis atque Eremitis supra dictis, itemque Oblatis, Tertiariis, puellis ac mulieribus in monasteriis piisque domibus vitam communem agentibus, quibus forte ordinario tempore eligendi sibi Confessarii libera facultas non sit, similiterque Christifidelibus captivitate, carcere aut custodia, infirmitate aut senectute impeditis, fas esse iubemus eligere sibi prima vice dumtaxat Confessarios quoscumque, dummodo ad confessiones personarum saecularium probati rite sint. Idem eisdem conditionibus liceat viris religiosis ex quolibet Ordine aut Congregatione vel Instituto. Confessariis sic electis concedimus et tribuimus ut personas supra dictas, auditis earum confessionibus, absolvere possint a quibusvis peccatis, etiam apostolicae Sedi speciali forma reservatis, excepto casu haeresis formalis et externae, imposita poenitentia salutaris aliisque iuxta canonicas sanctiones rectaeque disciplinae regulas iniungendis. Praeterea confessariis, quos moniales sibi elegerint, facultatem facimus dispensandi super vota quaelibet ab ipsis post solemnem professionem facta, quae regulari observantiae minime adversentur. Simili modo Confessarios supra memoratos etiam dispensando commutare posse volumus omnia vota, quibus Oblatae Novitiae, Tertiariae- puellae et mulieres in communibus domibus agentes sese obstrinxerint, exceptis iis, quae Nobis et apostolicae Sedi reservata sint: factaque commutatione, a votorum etiam iuratorum observantia absolvere.

Hortamur autem Venerabiles Fratres Episcopos aliosque locorum Ordinarios, ut, Apostolicae Nostrae benignitatis exemplo, eligendis ad praesentium effectum Confessariis impertiri ne

recusent facultatem absolvendi a casibus qui ipsis Ordinariis reservati sint.

Volumus denique ut praesentium trasumptis sive exemplis, etiam impressis, manu alicuius notarii publici et sigillo viri in sacri ordinis dignitate constituti munitis, eadem ab omnibus adiungatur fides, quae ipsis praesentibus adhiberetur, si exhibitae forent vel ostensae. Ceterum harum decreta et iussa Litterarum rata, valida, firma in omnes partes esse et fore decernimus, contrariis non obstantibus quibuscumque.

Nulli ergo omnino hominum liceat paginam hanc Nostrae declarationis, hortationis, concessionis, derogationis, decreti et voluntatis infringere vel ei ausu temerario contraire; si quis autem hoc attentare praesumpserit, indignationem omnipotentis Dei ac beatorum Petri et Pauli Apostolorum eius se noverit incursurum.

Datum Romae apud Sanctum Petrum anno Incarnationis Dominicae millesimo octingentesimo nonagesimo nono Calend. Novembris, Pontificatus Nostri anno vicesimo secundo.

C. Card. ALOISI MASELLA, *Pro-Dat.*

A. Card. MACCHI.

Visa

De Curia I. De Aquila e Vicecomitibus.

Loco ✕ Plumbi

Reg. in Secret. Brevium

I. CUGNONUIS.

SUSPENSION OF INDULGENCES DURING THE HOLY YEAR

SUSPENSIO INDULGENTIARUM ET FACULTATUM VERTENTE ANNO

UNIVERSALIS IUBILAEI MILLESIMO NONINGENTESIMO

LEO EPISCOPUS

SERVUS SERVORUM DEI AD PERPETUAM REI MEMORIAM

Quod Pontificum maximorum sanxit auctoritas, ut Anni sacri solemnia Romae potissimum agerentur, id quidem cum provisa divinitus dignitate et grandioribus muneribus almae Urbis est admodum congruens. Haec enim omnium, quotquot ubique sunt, christianorum patria communis: haec sedes sacrae potestatis princeps, eademque traditae a Deo doctrinae custos sempiterna: hinc ut ab unico augustissimoque capite in omnes christianae reipublicae venas perenni communicatione vita propagatur. Nihil ergo tam consentaneum, quam catholicos homines

vocatu Sedis Apostolicae huc certa per intervalla temporum convenire, ut scilicet una simul et remedia expiandis animis in Urbe reperiant et romanam auctoritatem praesentes agnoscant. Quod cum tam salutare ac frugiferum appareat, sane cupimus ut urbs Roma toto anno proximo maiore qua fieri potest frequentia mortalium celebretur: ob eamque rem peregrinationis romanae cupidis velut stimulos addituri, admissorum expiandorum privilegia, quae liberalitate indulgentiaque Ecclesiae passim concessa sunt, intermitteri volumus: videlicet, quod plures decessores Nostri in caussis similibus consuevere, Indulgentias usitatas apostolica auctoritate ad totum Annum sacrum suspendimus: verumtamen prudenti quadam temperatione modoque adhibito, ut infra scriptum est.

Integras atque immutatas permanere volumus et decernimus

I. Indulgentias *in articulo mortis* concessas:

II. Eam, qua fruuntur ex auctoritate Benedicti XIII decessoris Nostri, quotquot ad sacri aeris pulsum de genu vel stantes *Salutationem angelicam*, aliamve pro temporis ratione precationem recitaverint:

III. Indulgentiam decem annorum totidemque quadragenarum Pii IX auctoritate an. MDCCCLXXVI iis tributam qui pie templa visitent in quibus Sacramentum augustum quadraginta horarum spatio adorandum proponitur:

IV. Illas item Innocentii XI et Innocentii XII decessorum Nostrorum decreto iis constitutas, qui Sacramentum augustum, cum ad aegrotos deferitur, comitentur, vel cereum aut facem per alios deferendam ea occasione mittant:

V. Indulgentiam alias concessam adeuntibus pietatis causa templum sanctae Mariae Angelorum Ordinis Fratrum Minorum extra Assisii moenia a vesperis Calendarum Augusti ad solis occasum diei insequentis:

VI. Indulgentias, quas S. R. E. Cardinales Legati a latere, apostolicae Sedis Nuntii, item Episcopi in usu Pontificalium aut impertienda benedictione aliave forma consueta largiri solent:

VII. Indulgentias Altarium Privilegiatorum pro fidelibus defunctis, aliasque eodem modo pro solis defunctis concessas: item quaecumque vivis quidem concessae sint, sed hac duratata causa ut defunctis per modum suffragii directe applicari valeant. Quas omnes et singulas volumus non prodesse vivis, prodesse defunctis.

De facultatibus vero haec constituimus et sancimus, quae sequuntur.

I. Rata firmaque sit facultas Episcopis aliisque locorum Ordinariis impertiendi indulgentias *in articulo mortis* eamdemque communicandi secundum Litteras a Benedicto XIV decessore Nostro datas Nonis Aprilis An. MDCCXLVII :

II. Item ratae firmaeque sint facultates Tribunalis Officii Inquisitionis adversus haereticam pravitatem, eiusque Officialium : Missionariorum quoque et Ministrorum qui vel ab eodem Tribunale, vel a Congregatione S. R. E. Cardinalium negotiis propagandae Fidei praeposita, vel alias ab apostolica Sede ad id deputati fuerint : nominatim facultas absolvendi ab haeresi eos, qui, eiurato errore, ad fidem redierint :

III. Ratae firmaeque sint facultates, quas Officium Poenitentiarum Nostrae apostolicae Missionariis, in locis Missionum earumque occasione exercendas, concesserit :

IV. Item facultates Episcoporum aliorumque sacrorum Antistitum circa dispensationes et absolutiones suorum subditorum in casibus occultis etiam Sedi apostolicae reservatis, quemadmodum ipsis a sacra Tridentina Synodo, seu alias, etiam in publicis casibus, a iure communi ecclesiastico et ab apostolica Sede pro certis personis et casibus permissae dignoscuntur. Idem statui-mus de facultatibus Antistitum Ordinum religiosorum, quaecumque ipsis in Regulares sibi subiectos ab apostolica Sede tributae sint.

Iis exceptis, de quibus supra memoravimus, ceteras omnes et singulas Indulgentias tam plenarias, etiam ad instar Iubilaei concessas, quam non plenarias, suspendimus ac nullas iubemus esse. Similique ratione facultates et indulta absolvendi etiam a casibus Nobis et apostolicae. Sedi reservatis, relaxandi censuras, commutandi vota, dispensandi etiam super irregularitatibus et impedimentis cuilibet quoquo modo concessa, suspendimus ac nulli suffragari volumus ac decernimus. Quocirca praesentium auctoritate Litterarum praecipimus ac mandamus, ut, praeter Indulgentias Iubilaei, easque, quas supra nominatim excepimus, nullae praeterea aliae uspiam, sub poena excommunicationis eo ipso incurrendae aliisque poenis arbitrio Ordinariorum infligendis, publicentur, indicantur, vel in usum demandentur.

Quaecumque autem his Litteris decreta continentur, omnia ea stabilia, rata, valida esse volumus et iubemus, contrariis non obstantibus quibuscumque.

Earum vero exemplis aut transumptis, etiam impressis, Notarii publici manu et sigillo personae in ecclesiastica dignitate

constitutae munitis, eandem volumus haberi fidem, quae haberetur praesentibus si essent exhibitae vel ostensae.

Nulli ergo hominum liceat hanc paginam Nostrae suspensionis, decreti, declarationis, voluntatis infringere, vel ei ausu temerario contra ire; si quis autem hoc attentare praesumpserit, indignationem omnipotentis Dei ac beatorum Apostolorum Petrie et Pauli se noverit incursurum.

Datum Romae apud Sanctum Petrum anno Incarnationis Dominicae millesimo octingentesimo nonagesimo nono Pridie Cal. Octobris, Pontificatus Nostri anno vicesimo secundo.

C. Card. ALOISI MASELLA, *Pro-Dat.*

A. Card. MACCHI.

Visa

De Curia I. De Aquila e Vicecomitibus.

Loco ✕ Plumbi.

Reg. in Secret. Brevium.

I. CUGNONIUS.

DECREE 'URBIS ET ORBIS'

DECRETUM URBIS ET ORBIS

Anni sacri a Beatissimo Patre et Domino Nostro Leone XIII. feliciter indieti, proxime celebraturos initia, summopere decet nocte surgentes adire saeculi Auctorem, ad eius aras provolvi, acceptissimam offerri Hostiam, divinum scilicet Agnum, sacro convivio interesse, ut opportuno maxime tempore liceat auxilium, gratiam, misericordiam invenire: 'Nunc enim propior est salus. Ecce nunc tempus acceptabile: ecce nunc dies salutis.' Quod si regnum caelorum, id est praesentis temporis Ecclesia, simile esse perhibetur decem virginibus sponso de nocte occurrentibus, hac potissimum solemni faustitate licet unicuique mentem accuratius in sacra illa verba intendere: 'aptata vestras lampades: ecce sponsus venit exite obviam ei.'

Cum insuper media nocte postremae diei mensis Decembris futuri anni praesens absolvatur saeculum novumque habeat initium; valde congruum est, ut pio quodam ac solemni ritu Deo gratiae agantur pro acceptis huius decursi saeculi beneficiis, et potiora impetrentur, urgente praesertim necessitate temporum, ad novum saeculum auspicato ineundum.

Itaque ut imminens annus mcm ab implorata Dei ope Eiusque Unigeniti Filii Servatoris nostri sumat auspicia idemque prospero

cursum finiatur, longe felicius, uti sperare fas est, allaturus aevum; SSñus Dominus Noster Leo Papa XIII benigne concedit ut die 31 mensis Decembris, tum labentis, tum adventuri anni, media nocte in templis ac sacellis ubi SSña Eucharistia rite adservatur, iuxta prudens arbitrium Ordinarii, sui cuiusque loci, exponi possit adorandum idem Augustissimum Sacramentum: facta potestate legendi vel canendi eadem hora coram Illo unicam missam de festo in Circumcisione Domini et Octava Nativitatis: fidelibus autem sive infra sive extra Sacrificii actionem, de speciali gratia, sacram synaxim recipiendi: servatis ceterum servandis.

Contrariis non obstantibus quibuscumque.

Die 13 Novembris, anno 1899.

C. Episcopus Praenestinus Card. MAZZELLA,

S. R. C. Praefectus.

L. ✠ S.

D. PANICI, *S. R. C. Secretarius.*

THE NEW DIOCESE OF GERALDTON IN AUSTRALIA

LITTERAE APOSTOLICAE DE ERECTIONE NOVAE DIOECESIS GERALDTONENSIS IN AUSTRALIA

LEO PP. XIII.

AD PERPETUAM REI MEMORIAM

Cum ex Apostolico munere quo fungimur ecclesiarum omnium cura Nobis sit divinitus commissa, quae catholico nomini aeternaeque fidelium saluti bene, prospere, ac feliciter eveniant sedulo studio praestare satagimus, et novas pro re ac tempore dioeceses erigimus, ut, aucto pastorum numero, promptius ac commodius christiani gregis bono consulamus. Iamvero cum in regionibus septentrionalibus Australiae occidentalis auctus nuper incolarum numerus novum videretur exigere ecclesiasticae jurisdictionis centrum, ut uberiori modo religionis catholicae beneficia in ipsos promanarent, et Venerabiles Fratres Antistites Australiani in plenaria Synodo iam inde ab anno MDCCCLXXXV coadunati novam Sedem Episcopalem erigendam proposuerint in urbe vulgo *Geraldton* cui nomen factum, dismembrandam ab amplissima dioecesi Perthensi provinciae ecclesiasticae Adelaidensis; Nos omnibus rei momentis attente perpensis cum VV. FF. NN.

S. R. E. Cardinalibus negotiis Propagandae Fidei praepositis de Fratrum eorumdem consilio, ad maius religionis incrementum ac fidelium commoditatem, eorumdem Australiae Antistitum votis annuendum existimavimus. Quare omnes et singulos, quibus Nostrae hae litterae favent, ab quibusvis excommunicationis et interdicti, aliisque ecclesiasticis sententiis, censuris et poenis, si quas forte incurrerint, huius tantum rei gratia absolventes, et absolutos fore censes, Motu proprio atque ex certa scientia et matura deliberatione Nostris Perthensem dioecesim in provincia ecclesiastica Adelaidensi dismembramus, atque exinde Apostolica Nostra auctoritate, praesentium vi, novam dioecesim Geraldtonensem cum sequentibus confiniis erigimus. Nimirum ad Septentrionem novae huius dioecesis territorium terminabitur linea parallela 19° 30' latitudinis australis; ad Orientem definietur limitibus Coloniae Australiae Meridionalis; ad Meridiem limes novae dioecesis sequetur lineam parallelam 29° latitudinis australis inde a finibus Australiae Meridionalis usque ad gradum 119^m longitudinis orientalis a Greenwich, inde limes descendet per hunc longitudinis arcum usque ad gradum 30^m latitudinis australis, et hanc latitudinis lineam percurrent usque ad Oceanum Indicum, a quo dioecesis Geraldtonensis ad Occidentem adluetur. Insuper de Apostolicae similiter Nostrae potestatis plenitudine decernimus, ut Vicariatus de Kimberley anno MDCCCLXXXVII erectus, qui extenditur per extremam plagam borealem Australiae Occidentalis ad Septentrionem gradus 19 30' latitudinis australis adnexus interim remaneat dioecesi noviter erectae. Decernentes praesentes litteras firmas, validas et efficaces existere et fore, suosque plenarios et integros effectus sortiri et obtinere, illisque ad quos spectat et spectare poterit in omnibus et per omnia plenissime suffragari, sicque in praemissis per quoscumque iudices ordinarios et delegatos iudicarii et definiri debere atque irritum et inane si secus super his a quoquam quavis auctoritate, scienter vel ignoranter, contigerit attentari. Non obstantibus in contrarium facientibus quibuscumque.

Datum Romae apud S. Petrum sub anulo Piscatoris die xxx Ianuarii MDCCCXCVIII, Pontificatus Nostri anno vicesimo.

A. Card. MACCHI.

LETTER OF HIS HOLINESS POPE LEO XIII. TO THE
PRESIDENT OF THE CONFERENCE OF ST. VINCENT
DE PAUL

EPISTOLA DILECTO FILIO A. PAGES PRAESIDI CONSOCIATIONIS
SANCTI VINCENTII A PAULO—PARISIIS

LEO PP. XIII.

DILECTE FILI, SALUTEM ET APOSTOLICAM BENEDICTIONEM

Vincentianam consociationem, quippe quae natura atque legibus tota est in aerumnis miserorum levandis, quaeque inextinguibilem Christi caritatem summo studio curaque imitari atque exprimere adlaborat, amantissima semper prosequuti sumus ac prosequimur voluntate. Id autem est causae, cur lubenti animo litteras accipiamus, quibus in annos singulos observantiam erga Nos vestram denuo testatam vultis, deque incrementis refertis, quibus, Deo benignissime opitulante, coepta vestra perpetuo increscunt. Quod vero iucundius solito datam nuper epistolam perlegerimus, duo praecipue effecerunt quae Nobis maxime cordi esse perspicuum est. Enimvero amplificari inter Anglos institutum vestrum cognovimus, vosque operam conferre plurimam ad miserae plebis conditionem meliorem faciendam operariorum coetibus ad se mutuo iuvandos constitutis. Id autem utrumque est, unde optima ominari licet; ex altero nimirum eorum qui a Nobis dissident, animos percelli validi usque incitari ad coniunctionem maturandam: ex altero periculum propulsari, quod propius in dies praepostera socialistarum placita civitati conflant. Gratias igitur Deo agimus quod consiliis industriisque vestris tam large obsecundet: vobis vero et promeritam tribuimus laudem et stimulos hortatione adicimus ad ampliora proseguenda. Benevolentiae demum Nostrae testem ac munerum divinorum auspicem, Apostolicam benedictionem, tibi, dilecte fili, viris egregiis, qui tibi a consilio sunt in Vincentiana consociatione moderanda universisque sociis peramanter in Domino impertimus.

Datum Romae apud S. Petrum die X Februarii mdccxcviii,
Pontificatus Nostri anno vicesimo.

LEO PP. XIII.

NOTICES OF BOOKS

PRAELECTIONES DE DEO UNO AD MODUM COMMENTARII IN SUMMAM THEOLOGICAM DIVI AQUINATIS.
Habebat in Collegio S. Anselmi De Urbe L. Janssens,
O.S.B., S.T.D. Romae: Desclée, Lefebvre & Co.

WE have great pleasure in bringing these two volumes of Father Janssens under the notice of the readers of the I. E. RECORD. As a commentary on St. Thomas it excels most of the works that have appeared during recent years. Many theologians who have written commentaries on St. Thomas have merely explained the teaching of the angelic master. So far their works can be truly called commentaries. Father Janssens, however, does more than explain the teaching of St. Thomas. He first gives the 'Status Quaestionis,' and in doing so is thoroughly up to date. He then takes up the text of the *Summa*, and explains its meaning to his readers. His work is, therefore, a commentary on St. Thomas in the fullest sense of the word. He deserves our gratitude for the excellent manner in which he carries out his purpose.

Father Janssens takes it for granted that his readers study St. Thomas under the guidance of his able commentary. We fear, however, that sometimes this idea prevents him from doing full justice to his own powers. In discussing the difficulties raised by St. Thomas, Father Janssens points out the errors that are contained in them. He does not state the difficulties themselves. We regret that he omits to do this. No doubt, the work would thereby be made much longer; still, we think, the gain to students would counterbalance this inconvenience. Moreover, it sometimes happens that the words of our author are not sufficiently clear. In fact, we have frequently found St. Thomas a very useful commentary on the work of Father Janssens. This, of course, is not a fault peculiar to Father Janssens. It is a difficulty in which many commentators find themselves involved.

We feel bound to say a word in praise of the impartiality displayed in these volumes. Their freedom from bias enables

the author to follow the dictates of his intellect in discussing the many controversial matters that arise. His freedom from prejudice permits him, for instance, to maintain that it is the argument of St. Anselm for the existence of God which St. Thomas refutes. It also allows him to follow St. Thomas in the rejection of the argument as invalid. Father Janssens, also, in the vexed question on the divine foreknowledge of future contingent actions, deals out even-handed justice to both Thomists and Molinists. He shows plainly the difficulties in which both schools are entangled. We do not think him so successful, however, when he proposes his own view for our acceptance.

In fine, we express our desire that a complete commentary on the *Summa* may gradually appear from the pen of the able Benedictine. He has already promised a volume on the tract *De Deo Trino*. We hope that it will not be his last work in the cause of Thomistic theology.

J. M. H.

THEOLOGIA FUNDAMENTALIS, SYNOPSIS THEOLOGIAE
DOGMATICAE SPECIALIS. Auctore A. Tanquerey, S.S.
New York: Benziger Brothers.

IN three volumes Father Tanquerey has given a complete course of dogmatic theology for the use of seminaries. Their worth can be judged from the fact that new editions have been called for in an incredibly short space of time. *Theologia Fundamental* is a second edition, and *Synopsis Theologiae Dogmaticae Specialis* is a third edition. The previous editions had a priority of little more than a year. Though published primarily for America it is not America alone that has given these volumes the fame which they now so deservedly enjoy. A demand for them has gone forth from every country in Europe, so that now we can scarcely find a bookseller who does not give them a prominent place in his list of theological works.

An internal examination of the work will not interfere with the good opinion thus formed of its merits. On the contrary, it will tend to give a higher estimation of its value. The work is remarkable for its clearness of style and variety of information. Containing, as it does, a full course of dogma, it is surprising how on so many subjects so much useful information has been collected. This is especially remarkable in the volume on

Fundamental Theology. There is scarcely a book of any pretensions, Catholic or non-Catholic, English, French, German, or Latin, which the author has not read and turned to good account.

If there be any fault at all in the work, it arises from an over-supply of modern controversial knowledge which now and again prevents the author from giving due prominence to some tracts to which modern writers do not devote particular attention. The Grace tract is one of these. No doubt the essential portions of the tract are well discussed, but its treatment as a whole is relatively meagre. The same is true of the *Sacraments in General*. These tracts are very important from a Catholic point of view. They have an importance which is altogether above modern controversy. Hence it is desirable to devote particular attention to them independently of modern controversy.

In criticising a work which contains a complete course of dogmatic theology, especially when it has passed its first edition, it would be out of place to discuss particular doctrines unless the author puts forward some strange views. Father Tanqueray, though ever fresh in his style, and ever great in his method of argument, does not propound any strange theories; so we shall rest content with this general description of an able work.

J. M. H.

THE VERY EASIEST ACCOMPANIMENT OF THE ORDINARIUM
MISSAE FOR ORGAN OR HARMONIUM. By Joseph
Schildknecht, O.P. 34. Ratisbon: A. Copenrath.

THERE is no scarcity of organ accompaniments to the Ordinary of the Mass. But most of them are found to be rather difficult for prayers of moderate acquirements. For this reason the late Professor Schildknecht set about writing an accompaniment that would be as easy as possible. This he has succeeded in doing admirably, giving an accompaniment that presents no difficulty to any player, and, at the same time, is not devoid of artistic perfection. We can, therefore, give the work our best recommendation. A great addition to the accompaniments are a few Preludes and Postludes added to some pieces, and composed so as to form a suitable introduction or continuation of them. The melodies of the *Ite, missa est* and the Responses at Mass are given in various transpositions so as to meet all requirements. There are appended the Hymns *Pange lingua, O Salutaris*,

Ave verum, Veni Creator and *Te Deum*, as well as the Antiphons *Adjuva nos* and *Pro pace*. The author recommends the use of a soft 16' stop for the accompaniments, so as to get some fulness of tone, notwithstanding the fact that the accompaniment is throughout only in three parts.

H. B.

RESPONSORUM: ECCE SACERDOS MAGNUS. Ad quatuor voces mixtas organo comitante auctore I. Singenberger. Ratisbon: Pustet. Score and Parts.

A FAIRLY easy and very effective setting of the *Ecce Sacerdos Magnus* for four mixed voices and organ.

H. B.

LITANIAE LAURETANAE pro Canto et Alto, Organo comitante, auctore Ludovico Hoffmann. Ratisbon: Martin Cohen. Score and Parts.

A VERY simple setting of the Litany of the Blessed Virgin for soprano and set with organ accompaniment. The accompaniment can be played on a harmonium also. The various melodies used are so simple and natural as not to become tedious by their frequent repetition. The setting will be welcome to female choirs of moderate attainments.

H. B.



OXFORD UNIVERSITY¹

THE river Thames, after flowing through some of the most picturesque places in the English Midlands, past many a cosy farm-house and lazy mill-wheel, is met, some fifty miles above London, by the little river Cherwell. At their junction stands the old City of Oxford. A lovelier site could not have been chosen for a university: the spirit of the stream seems to vie with the spirit of the hills, and the tired student may well feel embarrassed between the rival attractions of the pleasant cool of shady banks and the fresh breezes of the uplands. The soil, too, is sandy, so that during the greater part of the year the roads dry up within two or three hours after rain has ceased, thus making cycling possible at all times. Standing on the hill of Shot-over, or on the white brow of the Cumner range, on some bright day in summer, we see the city beneath us in its river-valley, looking not like a city of houses, but like a city of churches, with spires and towers. And when we get down into the streets we find that this is almost literally the case. The churches that we saw are really colleges, museums, or libraries, and the spires belong, in most

¹ Paper read at the meeting of the Total Abstinence Society, St. Patrick's College, Maynooth, on the 8th December, 1899. I gratefully acknowledge my indebtedness to three of the contributors to *Oxford and Oxford Life* for much valuable information on the development, constitution, and examination system of the University. In some few instances I quote them *verbatim*.

instances, to the College chapels. You will understand, therefore, that the University of Oxford is not a single building, but that it consists of a number of separate colleges—twenty-one in all—scattered here and there through the city. Most of these colleges were founded during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and bear about them an air of venerable antiquity. When one looks at the walls of crumbling stone, black or grey with age, at the antique statue or mouldering cornice, and then at the gay flowers on the window-sills outside each student's room, one cannot help feeling impressed by the contrast between the fleeting gifts of nature and the abiding work of man.

The tradition which ascribed the founding of Oxford University to King Alfred the Great has in these days of enlightened research and painstaking criticism, been consigned to the realm of myth, and is now known as the Aluredian Fiction. All authorities are agreed that the University of Oxford, like similar institutions abroad, had its origin in the spirit of combination which prevailed during the Middle Ages. In those days men banded themselves together to form religious orders, orders of chivalry, municipal corporations, and trade guilds. And just as the carpenters or masons, for instance, of some great city formed themselves into a union together with their apprentices, so too masters and scholars formed themselves into a scholastic guild or university. And just as the apprentice, when he had served his time, received a certificate of competency to set up as a tradesman, so too the scholar at the end of his course received his degree as master, or, in other words, a licence to teach. The advantages of thus combining for teaching and for learning are, of course, obvious. Teachers and scholars learned much from one another, and were stimulated by healthy rivalry to greater effort. The greatest freedom of thought was allowed, and doctrines of all kinds were tried by the natural test of success in the schools.

In those early days the scholars lived in private lodgings as they do now in the German universities. After a time

they realised that living would be much cheaper if they formed themselves into groups and rented houses of their own. These houses were known as halls or inns. Soon after they began to be established, charitable people bequeathed sums of money for the founding of similar institutions for poor scholars, in which they would have to pay no rent, but merely the cost of their maintenance. In the year 1249 a further advance was made by William of Durham, who left a large sum for the erection of a house in which masters and students might live together, and in which lectures might be delivered. This was the first College. Other benefactors followed this example, and within twenty years three colleges were established. In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries nine more were added, and yet another nine in the centuries following; making a total, as I said before, of twenty-one. Each of these colleges is quite distinct from every other. It has its own professors and its own president, who, however, is in some colleges called Master, Provost, Dean, or Gerent. It has also, what is more important still, its own private property. Every student to be a student of the University must be a student of some college. The University is, therefore, nothing more than a combination of all the colleges.

The government of the University rests ultimately with all M.A.'s who, by a yearly subscription of £1, have kept their names on the books; no change can be made until it first receive their approval. These M.A.'s are divided into two bodies: one called *congregation*, consisting of those living in Oxford; the other called *convocation*, consisting of those living elsewhere. To each of these bodies a proposed change is submitted, and, as might be expected, the non-resident element is often less desirous of change than the resident, and sometimes overrides the wishes of the latter. But a still greater obstacle to change is found in another part of the constitution; namely, the Hebdomadal Council, so called because it meets once a week. This council consists of eighteen elected and three official members, and without its consent no new measure can be even discussed

by the larger bodies. Since two-thirds of its members must be selected from the heads of houses and professors, *i.e.*, from men, in all probability, of some considerable age who very often confound timidity with prudence ; and since every member retains his seat for six years, it is some time before any movement for change in Oxford can so far assert itself as to come within the range of possibility.

The Head of the University or President of the University, as we should feel inclined to call him, is the Vice-Chancellor. This office is held in rotation for periods of four years by the heads of the various colleges. He is a magistrate of the city, and is empowered to try students, arrested by the police for disturbance, if they choose to appeal to him from the ordinary civil tribunal. They very seldom do appeal, however, as the Vice-Chancellor is, as a rule, harder on them than the magistrates. The Vice-Chancellor has also power to prevent, if he so wishes, the exhibition of any play or the holding of any circus or similar entertainment within the city bounds or in the immediate neighbourhood. He is assisted in the discharge of his duties by two Proctors, who correspond to our deans. They hold office only for a year, and are elected by the heads of the various colleges. Their robes or gowns, unlike those of the other professors, are richly adorned with velvet, a distinction which was evidently intended to assist the students in recognising them at a safe distance. Each proctor when making his rounds is attended by two servants who go by the suggestive name of bull-dogs. The principal qualifications required in the bull-dog are—first, a personal knowledge of all the students of the University—no easy matter, as every year there are about seven hundred freshmen, and the entire number of students totals nearly three thousand ; second, powerful muscular development ; and third, fleetness of foot.

The College discipline cannot be considered very strict. The following is a rough summary of the more important rules :—

1st.—Students must present themselves in chapel at eight o'clock four or five times a week, the number of attendances

varying in the different colleges; if the student is not a Protestant, it will be sufficient for him to give his name to the porter at the college gate.

2nd.—He must be in college, not necessarily in his rooms, before midnight.

3rd.—When attending lectures, and also in the street after nine o'clock at night, he must wear his cap and gown.

4th.—No student is allowed to smoke when wearing cap and gown, although he may ride a bicycle.

5th.—No student is allowed to enter any publichouse in the city,¹ although he may go to a hotel if he likes.

6th.—Every student must dine in college five or six times a week. Dinner is at seven o'clock, and is the only meal in common.

The gown to which I have referred is something like our soprano, but is just about half as long, and has no coloured bands. If the undergraduate, as the student who has not taken his degrees is called, has won a scholarship, he must wear a longer gown, with sleeves. Wearing one's gown simply means carrying it about with one in such a way that it can be easily seen. On cold days it is commonly worn as a muffler round the neck. The non-observance of this cap-and-gown rule opens up a wide field for the activity of the Proctor. At about half-past nine of an evening one may see him walking rather briskly along the street. A portly old gentleman he very often is, looking very stately with his velvet sleeves. Suddenly one of the bull-dogs who follow at his heels spies a suspicious-looking young man, without cap or gown, at the other side of the street, and is directed by the Proctor to interview him. The bull-dog addresses him:—

'Are you a student of this University, sir?'

'Yes.'

'Mr. So-and-so, the Proctor wishes to speak to you. Will you kindly step over to the other side of the street?'

'Certainly.'

The Proctor then asks the student for his name, and the name of his college. The student, in reply, hands him his

¹ So stan's the law in the old Statutes. It does not appear to be very strictly enforced at the present day.

card, and promises to present himself the following morning before the University tribunal. Next day he appears as directed; is asked if he admits the charge; answers in the affirmative, as a matter of course; is fined five shillings, and bids a cordial 'Good morning' to the authorities. The fine for repeated offences is larger; but what the maximum is, I am not in a position to state. If a system of this kind were introduced amongst ourselves, it would probably be attended with very useful results, and we should very soon have accumulated funds sufficiently large for the erection of a great establishment on the coast, to which all the students might retire during the summer vacation, and not, as at present, be under the disagreeable necessity of going to their respective homes.

The principal subjects taught in Oxford are, beyond question, the Ancient Classics; not that a student cannot take his degree in other subjects; but that, as a fact, most degrees are taken in classics, or in groups of subjects in which classics occupy a prominent place. In the olden times Oxford was, in a sense, a theological university, and all students were 'clerks;' *i.e.*, they had received tonsure. This, in fact, was the origin of the Vice-Chancellor's jurisdiction, as the civil tribunals were not allowed to try ecclesiastics. Now-a-days, however, theology is a very secondary subject. In addition to the degrees of Bachelor and Master in Arts and in Divinity, Oxford confers similar degrees in Music, Medicine, and Civil Law. As most of the work of the University is a preparation for the degrees in Arts, for the B.A. and M.A., I will briefly describe it.

Candidates for the B.A. must pass four examinations. The first examination, the entrance examination, is, strictly speaking, not a university examination at all; *i.e.*, it is not conducted by a board of examiners appointed by the Council of the University; it is conducted by the professors of the particular college which the student wishes to join. The standard is, therefore, not by any means uniform. A student, for instance, who passes for Exeter College, might not be accepted in Balliol, and another, who fails in Exeter, may

be admitted to Pembroke. Curiously enough, a candidate's record as an athlete very often tells in his favour. I met a would-be freshman who was trying for admission to Oriel College,

'Things look a bit black,' said he. 'My classics are awfully bad; but, against that, my Rugger is clinking.'

'Your what!'

'My Rugger. Don't you know what that means?'

'Yes, it means Rugby football.'

'Precisely. Well, you see the Oriel Rugger team is rather weak this year, and the dons would like to see their college coming out strong; so they'll let me in if they can.'

They did not let him in, however, possibly because they considered that his proficiency at Rugger was more than counterbalanced by his inefficiency in the Ancient Classics. At all events he got into Pembroke shortly after, and if he has not done much for the scholastic reputation of his college, he has succeeded in winning fame for it in the football field, and, I believe, on the river also.

The second examination which is really the first university examination, is known to the officials as Responsions, to undergraduates as Smalls or Little-Go. After being admitted to one of the colleges the student may stand this examination as soon as he pleases. No qualification of residence is, therefore, required. It is considered quite a simple affair for men of ordinary ability and ordinary application. It would correspond to the Matriculation in the Royal University. Simple as it is, however, I fear that our Rugger friend will find it too difficult, and will probably have to return again to the bosom of his family. Different courses may be selected by the candidates, but Greek is a subject in all courses, even in Law and Medicine. Hence, Responsions has been called the narrow gate through which all Oxonians, whether they be Arts students or not, must pass, and where Greek is unrelentingly demanded as part of the toll.

The third examination, or second university examination, unlike Responsions, is held partly in public, and is conducted by boards of examiners, called Moderators. Hence

the examination is called Moderations, or amongst the undergraduates 'Mods.' Candidates are admitted after a year's residence. Honour courses may be selected in Mathematics and Classics. The results are published on the greenboards, the successful candidates being arranged according to merit in three classes, the names in each class being placed in alphabetical order. Occasionally a student stands both in Honour Classics and Honour Mathematics, and if he succeeds in getting into the first group in each list he is said to have won a double-first. A double-first at Oxford, therefore, does not mean first in Classics and first in Mathematics at the final examination, but at the second university examination called Moderations. Nor does it mean that the student is the best man of his year in each of these subjects; it simply means that he is among the first in each subject. As I said a moment ago, the names in each group are published alphabetically; the precise order of merit is, therefore, unknown. The examination is both oral and written. Visitors are admitted to the oral examinations, it being understood, however, that no one will enter the hall whilst a student is under actual examination. One thing which impressed me very much at these examinations was the courtesy of the examiners. No matter how poorly the candidate acquitted himself, the professor who had examined him always said 'Thank you' at the end. They seemed to be masters of the art of examining, and perfect gentlemen besides. One might be disposed to make unpleasant comparisons, but one should remember that in Oxford the professors who examine are not the professors who teach. But even though they were, I should say, from what I saw of them, that no amount of bad answering would raise a ripple on the summer sea of their serene politeness.

In the final examination, *i. e.*, the examination for the degree of B.A., to which candidates are admitted after three years' residence, honours are conferred in all courses. Of the many examinations by which the B.A. can be taken, that known in the University as *Litterae Humaniores*, to the students as Litt. Hum. or Greats, is considered the

most difficult of all because of its wide range of subjects. It blends together Classics, Philosophy, and Ancient History. Of its influence, broadly speaking, on the mass of men who enter for it, there can hardly be two opinions. The breadth of mental view and impartiality of judgment which are characteristic of the best Oxford scholars are largely due to this examination. Besides the *Litterae Humaniores* there are, of course, several other groups of subjects, and also single subjects in which candidates for B.A. may be examined. But the impossibility of giving a summary description of the various ways of proceeding to the B.A., can be realized from the statement that the number of ways is over four thousand. As to the M.A. degree very little need be said. Just as in Cambridge, it is got without examination. All B.A.'s who keep their names on the books of their college, *i.e.*, all who pay their college an annual subscription of one pound for four years, receive the M.A. as a matter of course.

A curious relic of the old ecclesiastical days is to be noticed in connection with the examinations. Candidates are expected to dress in black, and to wear white ties. This must be trying to the average Oxfordman, as he is rather vain about his clothes, particularly about his waistcoats. Red and yellow waistcoats, waistcoats of all the brighter shades in the spectrum, are to be seen in Oxford. Besides, they occasionally wear loose coats of light material and flaming colours, which go by the appropriate name of blazers, and which make their wearers more like tropical birds than human beings.

Amongst the many stories about the examinations, there is one in which Gladstone is the central figure. In one of the public examinations he was asked by the examiner if there was any particular Greek author in whose works he would prefer to be examined. Gladstone replied that all Greek was easy to him, and that the examiner might set him any passage he pleased. The old professor went to one of the book-shelves in the room, brought back a fragment of some obscure Greek play, opened it at one of the choruses, and awaited events with a grim smile. Gladstone,

it is said, was never so eloquently silent as on that occasion. He stared in blank wonderment at the passage for some minutes; and then the examiner probably said, 'Thank you,' if he did not say, 'Go down.'

There are four terms in the University year: Michaelmas term, which lasts from October 10 to December 17; Hilary or Lent, from January 14 to the day before Palm Sunday; Easter term, from the Wednesday after Easter to the Friday before Whit Sunday; and Trinity term, from the day before Whit Sunday to the Saturday after the first Tuesday of July. The last two terms are, therefore, practically one. The academic year is, roughly speaking, a period of thirty-two weeks; that is, there are twenty weeks' vacation. A student's time at the University is not, however, reckoned by years, but by terms. Thus, in speaking of the examinations, I said just for the sake of clearness that a student is admitted as candidate for the B.A. after three years; that really meant twelve terms, and the terms need not be consecutive. Further, a term is kept by residing in college during the greater part of it—the Michaelmas and Hilary terms are kept by six weeks' residence in each, the Easter and Trinity either by three weeks' residence in each or by forty-eight days in both jointly; that is to say, a student at Oxford may keep his four terms or, as we say, may get his year by twenty-four weeks' residence, with twenty-eight weeks' vacation. It would be a mistake to suppose that this privilege is abused. On the contrary, some of the students work during a great portion of the long summer vacation.

The teaching staff in Oxford may be divided into two classes—private tutors and public lecturers. Each student is directed by his college authorities to attach himself to a certain tutor, and to attend the public lectures which are considered useful for him. The tutors are those professors who take charge of a certain number of students of their own college. The number is always small, never many more than six or seven, so that the professor can pay a great deal of attention to each. The students meet him in his room. He corrects their written work, and talks with them just as if he were one of themselves. In the begin-

ning they may have something of a shy, school-boy feeling towards him, but the barrier soon breaks down, and the relations become quite unrestrained. The benefit thus derived is often incalculable. The undergraduate finds himself admitted to terms of friendship, and even familiarity, while the reverence for what may be a celebrated name merges in a personal liking. How well all who have enjoyed this privilege, says a distinguished Oxfordman, remember the familar nickname which somehow did not detract from the respect really felt; the cheerful half-hours which were looked forward to as a pleasure, not as a toil; the wit and learning that were then shown to us; the kindly criticism and encouragement. Many an old Oxfordman will treasure up these things as among his most precious memories, and many a one, when he leaves Oxford, has gained in his tutor a true friend, whose advice, guiding hand, and ready help will be of use to him all his life.

The public lecturers are the professors belonging to the various colleges whose lectures are open to all the students of the University. Formerly the students attended lectures only in their own colleges; but, now-a-days, they go whithersoever they please. The Oxford Lecture Hall presents a very striking contrast to the class-halls in Maynooth. The walls are hung with oil paintings; the floor is carpeted. sometimes richly carpeted; the students sit at tables covered with green baize, and are provided with pens, ink, paper, and blotter; the professor *never* calls anyone. His lecture is delivered in a cold, unimpassioned style, and every sentence is neat and clear-cut. Occasionally there appears a faint gleam of humour, like a struggling sunbeam on a winter morning; but, as a rule, the audience is too much astonished to show its appreciation. One of the lecturers had a rather amusing habit of appealing, every now and then, to one of the students named Brown. 'Do you understand that, Mr. Brown?' Of course, Mr. Brown always replied with alacrity that he did, and the professor gravely proceeded with his lecture. Some of the students seemed to know when the question was coming. Just an instant before the psychological moment, a whisper would run

through the hall, audible to everybody but the professor himself: 'Do you understand that, Mr. Brown?'

Examinations, tutors, and lecturers may be termed the official sources of influence on the undergraduate mind. The unofficial sources of influence are, however, scarcely less important—I mean the influence exerted on the undergraduate by his companions. When he comes up to the University, he is only a schoolboy who has taken all his opinions on authority. He finds at Oxford a spirit of free discussion which quite bewilders him. Opinions which he considers certain are called into question; beliefs he regards as sacred are made matter for argument; all his intellectual stock-in-trade, in fact, is sadly depreciated in value. He finds himself ~~est~~ ~~by~~ worsted when he tries to maintain his own opinions, ~~y~~ ~~terme~~ feels that he must think and reason for himself. ~~ist~~ ~~for~~ ~~t~~ is, therefore, a home of free-thought in the better sense of the word. Abuses, no doubt, occur; but still all will admit that, since the work of the University is to educate, and since the highest form of education is the training of the pupil to think for himself, Oxford deserves no small meed of praise for helping to develop in her children the noblest faculty with which man has been endowed.

There is another advantage resulting from the intercourse of the young undergraduate with his older fellows. When he first comes to Oxford, his stock of information about English literature is often rather scanty. But, by joining one of the many societies which are a prominent feature of undergraduate life, he listens to a number of papers on literary themes, written very often in a good English style, and by men who have carefully thought out their subjects. After a time he musters up courage to join in the discussion which follows. I must say, however, that very little courage is needed, because the spirit of the society is not a spirit of hypercriticism, but a spirit of indulgence, which listens sympathetically to the efforts of the poorest speaker. There is one society which is an exception to the rule. I refer to the 'Union.' This is really a little parliament in which no speaker will be heard who cannot combine

an impressive delivery with a witty, epigrammatic style of oratory.

Now, just a word about the expenses of Oxford life. We may divide them, just as we divided the intellectual influences, into two classes—official and non-official. Under the former are included all an undergraduate's payments to the College to which he belongs for room rent, tuition, food, &c.; under the latter come his expenses for clothes (especially waistcoats), amusements, tobacco, travelling, and other things which a man living by himself finds necessary, or thinks that he finds necessary. With regard to these latter no fixed estimate can be given; they depend on the man himself, and vary indefinitely. With regard to the official charges in college, these, too of course, are a somewhat uncertain quantity. One man, for instance, is always entertaining his friends, and makes constant demands on the College kitchen; another likes to be as much alone as possible. However, it has been calculated that a student's 'battels,' as all payments to the College are called, average about £120 a-year. Striking a very rough estimate for the non-official expenses, we might put them down at £50, making a total of £170. This is certainly not a very low figure, considering that there are only thirty-two weeks in the academical year. But, on the other hand, we must remember that the students are provided with every comfort, a trained servant waits on every five or six, the rooms are lit with electric light, and the food is such as one might get in the best hotels. I must say that one occasionally notices what must be termed expensive vulgarity. This, however, is not confined to the undergraduates, but extends sometimes to the relatives at home. I heard of an undergraduate who sent his father the year's bills, amounting in all to £250. The father was quite indignant, and said that if he did not spend more than that he would not allow him to remain at the University, and that he did not believe a man could live respectably at Oxford for anything less than £500 a-year.

There is a feature of Oxford life, the love of athletics, which makes an unfavourable impression on the casual

visitor. So potent is this spirit of athleticism, as we may call it, that to the outsider, at all events, it seems to overmaster all others. One hears of the best oarsmen, the best football players, the best batsmen, and so on; but never does one hear the name of the undergraduates distinguished in the schools. The men who row in the annual boat race against Cambridge are looked upon as superior beings. Everyone of the crew is called a 'rowing blue,' and keeps his oar as a trophy. Visitors to Father Clarke's Hall in Oxford will see a very large and rather unsightly oar in the diningroom. He was a University blue, or 'Varsity blue, in his day, and that is the oar with which he helped to row his boat to victory. This honouring of athletic prowess is not peculiar to Oxford, it is really a feature of modern English life. I have been told that when the public schools in England are appointing a new teacher, if they have a choice between a man who is a first-rate scholar, but no athlete, and a 'blue' who is only a second-rate scholar, they will always select the latter. The excitement in Oxford during the week in which the various colleges engage in rowing contests with one another passes all bounds. These races of college against college are known as the 'bump' races. The boats are stationed one behind the other at short intervals. All start together. The first boat tries to keep its lead, and each of the other boats tries to touch or bump the boat in front of it. The banks are crowded with undergraduates rushing along, each college opposite its own boat, shouting themselves hoarse, and quite frantic with excitement. The next day the boats are arranged along the river in the same manner as before; but a boat which has bumped the one in front of it, is now stationed above it. And so the races continue on for seven days. The boat in the foremost place on the last day is said to be at the head of the river. When a college boat makes a bump, the joy of the undergraduates usually finds expression in what is termed a bump-supper, which I could not describe for blushing in such a sober assembly as this.

There is, perhaps, not quite so much excitement about

football as there is about rowing. Still it is just as popular, and the first-class football players are thought just as much of as the best oarsmen.

No paper on Oxford would be complete without a reference to the famous riots between the undergraduates and the citizens—the riots between town and gown. In the earlier days of the University, as I said already, the undergraduates used to lodge in rooms hired from the townfolk. These latter fleeced the students, and the students retaliated. Hence heartburnings and riots. Then, again, in addition to this question of rent, there was the question of jurisdiction. The University, as already mentioned, was essentially ecclesiastical. The students were all clerks or clerics, and as such, claimed exemption from the ordinary tribunals. This exemption was intolerable to the townspeople, who suspected, not unnaturally, that the riotous student would find more lenient treatment in the court of the Chancellor than in the court of the mayor.

In the year 1208 there broke out in Oxford a famous disturbance which at one time threatened the very existence of the University. A certain clerk accidentally killed a woman and fled. The mayor and townsfolk found the corpse, and at once instituted an inquiry as to the author of the outrage. They succeeded in discovering his name and residence. It appeared that he occupied a house in conjunction with two companions. Thither the mayor and his followers proceeded, and when they could not find the guilty clerk, seized his two guiltless companions and hanged them. The consternation amongst the students was immense. 'When this deed was done,' says the old chronicler, 'the masters and their disciples to the number of three thousand clerks, departed forthwith from Oxford, so that not one out of the whole University remained.' The citizens had triumphed for the moment, but with victory came repentance. They had veritably 'slain the goose which laid the golden eggs.' Without the scholars 'the hope of their gains was gone.' They made haste to solicit the return of the exiles. But that was not easy to

secure, for the scholars were incensed, and demanded hard terms. Years passed before the final settlement could be arranged. At last, however, the papal legate, Nicholas of Tusculum, dictated the terms on which the citizens should be admitted to pardon and the University return to Oxford. The townsmen who let halls to students 'were to remit half of the rent for two years; to pay a sum of fifty-two shillings every year to be expended on poor scholars; to feast a hundred poor scholars every year on St. Nicholas' Day on bread, beer, potage, and one dish of fish or flesh; to swear that they would sell provisions to the students at a reasonable price, and to surrender any clerks whom they might have occasion to arrest to the University authorities.' These were hard terms, and fell with equal severity on guilty and innocent alike. A further condition was added to mark the distinction between them. 'Let all those of you,' says the Cardinal, 'who have confessed and been convicted of hanging the clerks, come at the bidding of the bishop, as soon as the interdict is released, with bare feet, without cloaks and bareheaded, the whole commonalty following you, and take up their bodies, and bury them in the cemetery where the clergy shall appoint.' This sentence of the Cardinal may be said to have founded the jurisdiction of the Chancellor, which has ever since been admitted to extend over the members of the University. In the years that followed, down even to the present day, there have been affrays between town and gown, but never of a very serious character.

But the contests which the students waged against the townfolk, in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, were not comparable in violence and pertinacity with those which they waged against one another. They were divided into two factions—the Northerns and Southerns—the latter including the Welsh and Irish students. Endless turmoil disturbed the quiet of university life, and bloodshed was frequent. Needless to observe, not a single vestige of faction lingers in the Oxford of to-day; it has all disappeared, there as elsewhere, with the disappearance of mediæval barbarism. Occasionally, of course, there is a little rowdyism, not

always of a very mild type. On festive occasions they sometimes consider that a supper is not a sufficient outlet for hilarity. They then indulge in what they call a 'rag.' They light a huge bonfire in the College square, sometimes taking the doors off their hinges to serve as fuel; they fire sky-rockets at the windows of unsympathetic students, break the glass, and set the curtains ablaze. Not rarely they screw up the doors of obnoxious professors, and listen with good-humoured satisfaction to their appeals and threats. One night I saw about twenty undergraduates in the High-street, who had evidently been to a 'bump' supper, with linked arms, stretching across the whole width of the street, moving along in a wavy line, proclaiming to all the sleeping world around them that they had not the least intention of 'going home until morning, till daylight should appear.' Suddenly the Proctor appeared, and they disappeared, with the bull-dogs at their heels.

Before concluding, I must tell you something about the undergraduate at home. In the first place we must put out of our heads altogether such things as long corridors: The buildings, generally speaking, are arranged on an entirely different plan. Just to give an idea, suppose the following. Suppose that in the Logic House, for instance, there is a door between every two windows on the ground floor, and that when you open the door you find a room to the right and a room to the left. Conceive a staircase going up to the first storey from this point, and that on the landing there are again two doors, and that the same is repeated for the other storeys, and you will have some conception of the situation of the Oxford student's room. The entire length of the building is, as it were, pierced by a number of staircases. Let us now go to the undergraduate's room. We find there is a double door, the outer door of massive oak. When he wishes to be alone he closes this, and is said, in University slang, to sport his oak. But let us suppose that he is in the humour for receiving visitors, and gives us admittance. We are struck with the luxurious style of everything—rich carpets and hangings, several easy chairs, flowers in a costly vase, a

goodly collection of books in a handsome case ; the walls are hung with paintings and engravings, betraying the taste of the occupant, and the bed-room, opening off from the sitting-room, is in keeping with its companion. He never calls them bed-room and sitting-room, but 'bedder' and 'sitter.' This is the tendency of Oxford slang, to make 'er' a universal termination. Football is 'Footer,' Rugby, 'Rugger;' Association, 'Socker.' A similar violence is done to men's names. An undergraduate, whose name is Brownrigg, was at first called Brownrigger, later B-rigger, and now Brigger. But to return to our friend. He gets up most mornings at a quarter to eight—*i.e.*, if he means to keep his chapel—and breakfasts at nine in his room. He considers this the principal meal of the day, and he does his best to make it so. He begins, by way of preliminary skirmish, with several slices of toast. Then he proceeds to a pitched battle with one or two chops and some eggs ; drinks two or three cups of tea or coffee, which he has brewed himself, and *always* concludes with a liberal supply of bread and marmalade, to serve as a cavalry charge to complete the rout of hunger pangs. At ten o'clock he goes off to his tutor, or to his lecture, and returns at one o'clock, at which time his day's class is ended. He then takes a light luncheon, usually nothing more than a few slices of bread and butter, and goes to the football field ; or, if it be summer, and if he be not one of the rowing set, he takes a punt and spends a quiet hour or two amidst the water-lilies of the Cherwell. At five o'clock he drinks tea in his rooms, often entertaining visitors, although he invites them to breakfast by preference. He then studies until seven o'clock, at which hour he dines in hall with the other students. After dinner he goes to the common-room, as the students' parlour is called, for a smoke and a chat with his companions, or he may go to the meeting of some society, or, perhaps, he goes to his room and studies. If he be a fairly diligent man, he manages to study between three and four hours a day. You must not think him an idler, however, because he keeps up this rate of work during a considerable portion of his vacations. Besides it is well to remember that of the entire number

of students who present themselves for examination, more than half are awarded honours, although the standard for honours is very high. There is no curfew law in Oxford, and our friend retires to rest at any time between eleven o'clock at night and three in the morning.

Oxford has been well termed one of the glories of England. With its love for manly out-door sports, its love for independent thought and practical wisdom, it is the reflex of all that is best in English life. But it is more than a reflex: it has striven, and is ever striving, to enlarge all that is noble, to lessen all that is base in the national character. The guardian of traditions that have come down from the remote years when her towers and her spires, now hoary with antiquity, were yet unthought of, well may she impress the youthful mind with her fitness to develop in him the gifts that God has given him—she, the *Alma Mater* of so many men whose fame is in every land, and whose fame is hers. And let us hope that, if the day ever comes when a university shall be established in this country, it too will reflect all that is noble in Irish life; that it will raise the nation's ideals, kill the spirit of faction and the unreasonable sensitiveness to honest criticism; and that it will close up the daily widening cleavage between the past and the present, and be a perpetual bulwark against the influence of the foreigner.

M. SHEEHAN.

CATHOLICS AND COMMERCE

AS the present state of the University question affords even to the most sanguine but little hope of an immediate settlement, it may not be inopportune to invite attention to a subject which suggests itself in connection with that much-debated question. The justice of the demand for a university for Catholics in Ireland has almost passed out of the region of controversy. Besides being backed by the entire Irish Catholic body, it has received the support of Englishmen of all shades of political and religious opinions, many of them occupying positions and exerting an influence which give weight to their utterances, and whose well-known bias on other important Irish questions saves them from the note of partiality on this. The expediency of establishing a university on the lines approved of by the bishops is all but as generally admitted. In a word, it might be said that a proposal to deal with the Catholic demand in a generous spirit would meet with no serious opposition except from those non-Catholic Irishmen who have been and are gainers by ancient injustice, who are jealously careful of their ill-gotten advantages, and who by a long course of ascendancy and favouritism have been rendered emasculate of every idea of political right and wrong. It is not, therefore, the intention of the writer to attempt to detract in the least degree from the force of the claims put forward so strenuously by the bishops, or to minimize the importance of an early settlement of the great question. It is rather to suggest that while the establishment of a university is of supreme moment, it is at the same time of vital importance to Irish Catholics that they should endeavour to place themselves in such a position as would enable them to realize to the full extent the advantages which a university would confer.

In the consideration of the Irish education question

one cannot help the reflection that there must be an immense number of young Irishmen who are but partially educated. It seems to be one of the most obvious results of the Intermediate system that the country is filled with men who having drunk sparingly of the Pierian spring, are now trying to live down in more or less obscure positions the memories of their efforts to negotiate the famous grades. It is only a favoured few whose Intermediate training has led them to the learned professions or to public employment. The break in the educational career of so many young Irishmen is, of course, an argument for the founding of a university suited to their requirements. In the absence of such a university, or even on the hypothesis that a university existed, I claim, with all deference that a mistake is made by many Catholic parents in preferring to give a liberal education to their sons instead of placing them in the world of commerce where, although the prizes may not be so ornate, nor the distinctions so attractive as those contended for in the professional arena, they are none the less substantial and honourable.

It will be admitted, I think, that it is a matter of universal regret that Catholics in Ireland have not acquired the commercial status to which they are entitled by their abilities, their industry, and their just desire of advancement. Apart from agriculture and the licensed trade, there is no industry or branch of commerce in which they have attained success or over which they exercise control. The explanation of this unnatural state of affairs need not be insisted on in this paper; most students of Irish history will have no hesitation in assigning the causes. But it may be asked if it is not time that an effort was made to direct the energies of our Catholic youth to commercial enterprise, and to speak plainly, to combat as far as may be judicious the desire, laudable in itself, but sometimes unduly indulged in, to be represented in the professions which is so universal in well-to-do Catholic families. I must explain that no reference is made here to the generosity and affection for holy Church with which Irish Catholic parents devote their

sons to its service. The hopes involved in such a dedication have no point of contact with the ambition which prompts the choice in the matter of a secular career.

Want of capital cannot be adduced as a reason for our lack of commercial enterprise. From the returns made by Irish banking companies it is clearly shown that a vast amount of money is placed in their hands by depositors, the same money being in turn invested in English and foreign securities, and benefiting all others concerned in greater degree than it does the owners. Again, in the case of an individual family of several brothers, the money that is spent in the endeavour to make one of them a lawyer or a doctor would go a long way towards procuring for the others, or such of them as desired it, a good commercial training in a business house.

It is a matter of observation that in Ireland one or two members of the family are educated and started in life in a style out of proportion to the lot of the other members, so that parents in straining their means in this way prejudice the chances of their less favoured children, and the country is deprived of the services of men who, had they received a commercial training, might have increased the national wealth and promoted the general prosperity.

That there are difficulties in the way of Catholic boys engaging in business is undoubted. In places remote from large towns it means sending the youth a long distance from home and its influences. To acquire, for example, a knowledge of the linen trade, or of any of the numerous and important trades connected with it, such as dyeing, bleaching, printing, &c., a boy would be apprenticed in a firm, the heads of which are almost infallibly non-Catholics. The same may be said of shipbuilding, of woollen, silk and cotton manufactures, mechanical engineering, of the iron industry, and of every trade almost which requires a long and arduous training. In the wholesale trade, by which I mean trade of any kind whatsoever in the hands of warehousemen and importers, the Catholic interest is also lamentably small. A considerable reluctance might, therefore, be expected on the part of heads of firms to admit Catholic boys to their

employment. On the other hand, Catholics exercise a great influence on the retail branch of many trades, and non-Catholic firms might find it advantageous to defer in this matter to the wishes of their customers, and of the vast number of Catholics for whose wants they cater. The position of the boys themselves, placed in the midst of anti-Catholic influences in the busy centres of trade and population, would be a matter of serious moment. That the priests under whose supervision they would happen to come would look upon the work of safeguarding them against the temptations to which they might be exposed as a labour of love is a truism. If it is desirable that Catholic interests should be strengthened in business centres, the risks and difficulties must be faced by the youth of one generation, who having attained, each according to his merits and opportunities a measure of success, will, in turn, smooth the path for generations to follow.

We are very often reminded of the comparative prosperity of the North of Ireland. It is a subject of which most Irishmen are thoroughly tired. The causes of the prosperity which, undoubtedly, exists, are many and varied, and in the minds of some never to be sufficiently recapitulated. There is one, however, which is sometimes omitted, but which I submit produces an effect out of all proportion to its seeming significance. It is the universal custom of well-to-do Presbyterian parents of apprenticing their sons in the largest and most eminent business firms into which they can procure an introduction. Northern Presbyterians entertain no exaggerated ideas about the desirability of professional life, and openings in trade are eagerly sought after for those boys who show a talent for money getting. We have, too, the example of the great Continental nations. In London, Liverpool, Manchester, Belfast, Leeds, Bradford, to mention a few places, we may find young Frenchmen, Spaniards, Germans, and Italians who have been sent over to learn the methods of British trade, and to establish British connection. Of such importance is a thorough training deemed that our public schools often include among their pupils foreigners intended for a mercantile

career. Why, then, should not Irish parents follow on similar lines, *mutatis mutandis*, and give their sons a chance of obtaining in fair competition the spoils so earnestly contended for and so carefully guarded by our neighbours. Until there are found Irishmen who have undergone the severe preparation which a successful merchant requires, we may despair of ever hearing in Celtic Ireland, the click of machinery and the hum of industry, nor may we expect to see our ports busy with the comings and goings of national trade, and we may constantly expect to see the earnings of the Irish labourer and artisan and farmer directed to the coffers of the merchants of the north-east to England, Scotland, Germany, and anywhere but to their natural destination.

The close connection between this and the University question is evident. A poor nation cannot avail itself fully of the advantages of a university. So many of its sons are obliged to earn their bread in the sweat of their brows that the number having the means and leisure to devote to a university training must be comparatively small. I am not unmindful of the glorious examples in Scotch university life of the sons of poor parents who have attained hardly-won eminence; but, these notwithstanding, it must be admitted that the great majority of the members of a university must be drawn from the comparatively wealthy classes. That the proposed university in Ireland should in course of time take befitting rank as one of the foremost educational institutions in Europe, it would require as its base of operations, so to speak, a class endowed with such a sufficiency of worldly goods as would enable its representatives in the halls of learning to give their time and abilities to literary culture, scientific and historical research, and philosophic thought undeterred by the lurking cares of poverty, and with minds free from the contraction inseparable from the pursuit of gain.

I feel that I ought to apologize for the Philistine tone of this paper. But it must be remembered that if it is urged that the present generation of young Irishmen should turn aside from the race of professional honours, it is in part that

succeeding generations may be better equipped for the intellectual struggle, and that in after years the relations between trade and learning may be such as to form a common source of national honour ; that trade may furnish materials on which may rise, as on a solid and lasting foundation, a nobly proportioned seat of learning, and that the lamp of learning may in turn shed a refining and ennobling influence over those pursuits whose followers are denied access to the shrine of the jealous and exacting goddess. It might be said with almost literal truth that America owes the very existence of her splendid universities to the generosity of her successful business men ; and in this connection one is reminded of the munificent assistance given to art and letters by the merchant princes of the Republics of the middle ages, whose vessels crowded every port in the Mediterranean, and whose markets were coterminous with the known world.

Leaving the matter of university education out of the question, how important is it on other grounds that Catholics should bear a part in the development of the country's resources. Granted the most satisfactory solution possible of the land question, there still remains the necessity of an outlet for the surplus energy of the population, and there still remains the necessity of some means of investing in native industrial concerns the savings of the agriculturist and the artisan. We will look in vain to English governments for the extension of Irish trade, we may wait *in æternum* for the English capitalist, we may be entertained meantime by well-meant but inadequate attempts to deal with the industries which are always languishing, and the poverty which is always robust ; but if it is desirable to make a change in the economic aspect of Irish affairs, if it is desirable to add to the wealth-producing capacity of the people, Irishmen trained in the best schools and with native capital at their command, must undertake the work.

May I, in conclusion, venture to express the modest hope that the suggestion made in this paper will receive the attention of some of those among the clergy whose assistance

is so often required, and whose advice is of so much weight in the selection of a career for the boys of their parishes. Its practical value, if it possesses any, can readily be tested by a few pertinent inquiries as to the conditions under which boys might be placed in business, and their opportunities of success therein, together with a little consideration of the effect which a movement in the direction indicated might produce on the social and material progress of our people.

THOMAS M'CALL.

ST. PATRICK'S BIRTHPLACE

SOME RECENT VIEWS

IN my last article on the subject of St. Patrick's birthplace, I summed up my review of the attempts in favour of France by remarking: 'The French theory is dead: it died of an incurable disease, congenital asthenia.'¹ Let me now add that the epitaph for the defunct French hypothesis has been penned in various forms, and by abler hands than mine. Here are a few examples, taken from the words of recent scholars. And it may be noted that these expressions of opinion do not dispose of the French theory only: they do the same for every other conjectural view, and leave the traditional belief in favour of Scotland without a rival, and undisputed master of the field. If these other views are not expressly noticed by recent scholarship, it is because they are obviously deemed unworthy of comment: they are completely excluded, because they are entirely ignored.

I.—THE VERDICT OF SCHOLARSHIP

The authority of Cardinal Moran in the present question has been already appealed to; but it may not be out of place to begin my list of citations with two significant extracts from his memorable article in the *Dublin Review*.²

¹ I. E. RECORD, Dec., 1899, p. 521.

² *Dublin Review*, April, 1880, pp. 293 and 314.

He first refers to the Scottish view as the opinion held by Ireland's greatest scholars in the past :—

The opinion generally held for the past by those who had devoted their lives to illustrate the antiquities and the literature of Ireland. Colgan, in the seventeenth century, the golden age of Celtic studies, pointed to North Britain as the country hallowed by our apostle's birth ; and he declared this to be the common opinion of all who hitherto had written on the subject. A century later the illustrious Innes was able to assert that : 'the learnedest of the Irish and other foreign writers' were agreed in assigning Kilpatrick, near Dumbarton, as the precise place where St. Patrick was born ; and Petrie and O'Donovan and O'Curry, the great masters of Irish literature in our own days, have adopted the same opinion.

And, after reviewing the evidence from history and tradition, the Cardinal thus concludes :—

I have thus endeavoured, as far as our limits would permit, to illustrate in detail the various places named in the ancient records in connection with the birthplace of our apostle. They all lead us to the valley of the Clyde, and I have no hesitation in accepting the tradition of the Scottish Church, which, from time immemorial, has marked out Old Kilpatrick as the hallowed spot in which St. Patrick was born.

The above opinion was expressed some twenty years ago, but the lapse of time has not lessened its significance. My next witness shall be of a much more recent date, and one whose judgment must necessarily have the greatest influence with everyone capable of recognising and appreciating the highest type of Irish scholarship. Dr. Healy, the erudite Bishop of Clonfert, writes of St. Patrick :—

It is clear from his own *Confession* that Britain (*Britanniae*) was his native country (*patria*) ; but Britain then included *Scotland*. His father, Calphurnius, was a *decurio*, that is, the head of a local *municipium*, most *probably on the banks of the Clyde* in North Britain. The life (*i.e.*, the *Tripartite*), or homily, next states explicitly that Patrick was by origin of the Britons of Ail-Cluade—the Rock of the Clyde—now Dumbarton, *a statement in which we entirely concur*.¹

The late Professor Gilmartin of Maynooth, a writer who

¹ *Insula Sanctorum et Doctorum* ; or, *Ireland's Ancient Schools and Scholars*, 3rd edit., 1897, p. 43, note ; p. 44, and p. 88.

has earned the gratitude of all students of Church history,¹ thus expresses himself:—

According to what appears to be the *most generally received opinion*, St. Patrick was a native of Scotland, and was born probably at Kilpatrick, near Dumbarton, about the year 372.

In the footnotes to pp. 322-323, Father Gilmartin gives a sketch of the history of the controversy; and, having quoted the well-known passage of the *Confession* in which the saint refers to *Britanniae*, adds:—

This latter passage appears very strong *against his Gallican origin*, for in it he speaks of Britain as his own country. Dr. Lanigan's contention, that the North of France was then known as Britain, is *at most very doubtful*; and there is no evidence whatever to show that the term *Britanniae*, used in the *Confession*, was ever applied to that district.¹

Such is the opinion of three specialists, themselves members of the Irish priesthood, and surely most competent to be the guides and moulders of the opinion of the Irish clerical body. We cannot do better than appeal, in the next place, to the judgment of the clerical body in England and Wales. If this judgment is expressed in less decided language, it is, at the same time, all the more significant, as showing that South Britain, whether Cymric or Saxon, does not seriously claim to be the birthplace of St. Patrick. *The Menology of England and Wales* bears on its title-page the intimation that it was 'compiled by order of the Cardinal Archbishop and the bishops of the province of Westminster' (in which—it is hardly necessary to add—Wales was included and represented). The compiler is Father Richard Stanton of the London Oratory, and here is what we are told at date of 17th of March:—²

St. Patrick has himself recorded that he was born in Britain, and appears to be of mixed Roman and British parentage. Whether the place of his birth was in Great Britain or in

¹ *Manual of Church History*, 2nd edit., vol. i., ch. xxiv., p. 322.

² Page 120. After the *Nihil obstat* prefixed to the work, it is amusing to read among the names of the *Censores Deputati* that of *Gulilmus B. Morris*. How far he is responsible for the consideration shown to the French view may be left to the judgment of the reader. The work is dated 1892.

Continental Britain remains an unsettled point of controversy ; but the *prevailing opinion* seems to be, that it was Kilpatrick, near Dumbarton, in what was then the British territory of Strathclyde.

Let me here add a specimen of American opinion. Father J. A. Birkhaeuser, in his excellent text-book, the *History of the Church*,¹ says :—

On the authority of our saint's own Confession, and the traditions of the Scottish Church, Dr. Moran, now Cardinal Archbishop of Sydney, has *clearly shown* that the apostle of Ireland was born at Old-Kilpatrick, between Alcuaid, now called Dumbarton, and Glasgow. Other accounts make him a native Armoric Gaul, &c.

After these witnesses from the ranks of the priesthood, I will now quote the opinion of two representative lay writers. The first shall be Dr. P. W. Joyce, a man whose services to the cause of Irish scholarship are so well and widely known. In his *Short History of Ireland*,² we read :—

It is pretty certain that Patrick was born either in Scotland or in Armoric Gaul ; the *weight of authority* tends to the neighbourhood of Dumbarton, in Scotland.

The above is repeated word for word in the same writer's *Concise History of Ireland*.³ And again in his *Child's History of Ireland*, he says :—⁴

We do not know for certain his birthplace ; but the *best authorities* believe he was born near Dumbarton, in Alban or Scotland, though others think in the west of Gaul.

Happy school-children of Erin at the present day, who are no longer robbed of the belief of their ancestors : who are no longer taught to scoff at the truth as transmitted by tradition, and received by the most eminent scholars ! In my own school-days I was much less fortunate ; and I suppose that my experience is representative of that of the average Irish priest. As a pupil of the Christian Brothers

¹ Fifth edition, 1896, Sect. xlvī, p. 133.

² Second edition, 1895, p. 143.

³ Sixth edition, 1897, pp. 44-45.

⁴ Third edition, 1898, p. 67.

in Dublin, I was taught to repeat, as a matter of dogmatic certainty, that 'St. Patrick was born at Boulogne-sur-Mer.' Occasionally the Scottish view was named, but always to the accompaniment of derisive laughter. And the final result of this presentment of the matter was to give one the impression, that to say St. Patrick was born in Scotland was tantamount to asserting that he was a Scotch Presbyterian. 'Tempora mutantur'—times have changed, in this regard, very much for the better: 'nos et *mutemur* in illis.' let the children of St. Patrick take care not to be behind the times on the subject of their apostle's birthplace.¹

Happily, the opportunity of becoming acquainted with the truth about our apostle's birthplace is now within the reach of every Irishman. This is sufficiently evident from passages already quoted from the histories of Dr. Joyce. But I shall add a last extract taken from the sketch of the *History of Ireland*, which appears in the series known as the *Story of the Nations*. In the volume dealing with Ireland, the Hon. Emily Lawless, writes as follows:² 'According to the account now generally accepted, he (St. Patrick) . . . was a native, not as formerly believed of Gaul, but of Dumbarton upon the Clyde.'

I have by no means exhausted the number of witnesses that might be cited; but, perhaps, enough has been done for the present. Meantime, I would point out a few conclusions which obviously flow from the above testimony. (1) In the

¹ The Brothers of the Christian Schools need no tribute of admiration from me; but gratitude prompts me to say how much I appreciate the efficiency of their teaching, and how sensible I am of the advantages which I have derived from it. At the same time, on this one question I feel bound to write as I have done above. It is necessary to bring home to many of my clerical friends the true nature of the view which they hold: the first step towards being disabused of prejudice is to become aware of its existence. With regard to St. Patrick's birthplace, that which often passes for 'the opinion of the Irish priesthood' is simply the view which was put before us in such a prejudiced form by the lay instructors of our youth, and which still continues to sway our judgment. The real 'clerical opinion' of Ireland is, surely, that which is based upon an impartial consideration of the evidence available, and which is moulded by the best and most learned teachers among the clerical body. I have some right to speak on this point; for, as intimated above, I myself have had to overcome that very feeling of prejudice which still influences the minds of so many of my countrymen, both at home and abroad.

² Sixth edition, 1898, p. 33.

first place, the view that St. Patrick was born in Scotland, near Dumbarton, enjoys an indisputable pre-eminence over every rival opinion ; it is supported by the best authorities ; it is thus the prevailing opinion, and that which is now generally received. (2) The French theory has fallen into disrepute ; it can only be referred to in terms of significant vagueness, such as 'the west of Gaul,' 'continental Britain,' &c. ; whatever consideration is shown to it is manifested merely on account of the extrinsic authority of certain prominent names, whose support has lent it a transient importance. (3) No other theory need be judged worthy of serious mention.

II.—THE 'BONA-VENTA-BURII' HYPOTHESIS

In setting forth the authorities cited at the beginning of this article, I have been careful to give the dates of publication. These dates range from 1892, when the *Menology* appeared, to 1898, *i.e.*, to within a year of the present time ; and are, therefore, subsequent to the pretended discovery which I am about to mention, and which they all severely disdain to notice.¹

Just ten years ago St. Patrick's birthplace was identified and published in the *I. E. RECORD*. It took its place not as a theory or hypothesis, but as an absolute certainty clearly established ; so clearly and naturally as to excite wonder that the discovery had not been previously and easily made. Now as then Usk town stands forth as the birthplace of St. Patrick, a proof against every objection that may be derived from a linguistic, geographical, historical, or any other source.²

Of course, an assertion like the above betrays itself by its absurdly exaggerated tone, and defeats its own object : But comment is hardly necessary : let us leave Father Malone to enjoy the uncomfortable situation created by his own imprudence.

¹ To understand the full significance of this disdain, we must remember that Father Malone has made repeated attempts to secure the notice of the public. As will presently be seen, he refers his readers to the *I. E. RECORD* of May, 1889. But his hypothesis was first published two years earlier, in the *Dublin Review*, of October, 1887. The third publication was in his *Chapters*, in 1892.

² *I. E. RECORD*, August, 1899, p. 113.

I am, however, happy to note a single element of truth in this extraordinary paragraph of Father Malone's. He says he excited wonder. He did. And not for the first time either. In the *Dublin Review* of October, 1886, he wrote an article containing misstatements such as could hardly fail to excite 'wonder' in the mind of any intelligent reader. The object of the article was to prove that St. Patrick was born in the neighbourhood of Bath on the Avon. Here are some of Father Malone's 'wonders.'

FIRST LIST OF 'WONDERS'

(1) That the authority of one of the scholia on our ancient writers may be judged by the contents of the other scholia, as if all had but one author. 'But what is the authority of the scholiast? Who was he? Let us judge of him by the other scholia.'¹ Even Lanigan² might have taught him better than that; and Cardinal Moran³ makes it quite clear that the scholion in question enjoys exceptional authority, even as opposed to that other particular scholia from which Father Malone attempts to argue.

(2) That St. Patrick's *grandfather* was a *mother*. 'Now let us read the gloss of the scholiast on the Book of Hymns: "Ocmius was his mother, and the mother of his five sisters."'⁴ The real reading is given by Cardinal Moran,⁵ '*Conches, daughter of Ochmuís*, was his mother and the mother of his five sisters.'

(3) 'The allusion alleged (!) to have been made to the word "Nentur" in a Welsh Romance (!) is only a repetition of the Irish MSS., and found only in comparatively modern manuscripts.' Is Father Malone ignoring the known truth? Or is he merely pretending to have read Cardinal Moran's article,—to which, however, he refers in the very context from which his misstatement is taken?⁶ Let me add, that the *Black Book of Caermarthen*, the Welsh MS. referred to, may claim to be, without exception, the oldest Welsh MSS. of that class which embodies the traditions of Cymric Britain. Dr. Skene tells us,⁷ that the *Black Book of Caermarthen* was written in the reign of Henry II. (A.D. 1144-1189).

¹ *L. c.*, p. 317, line 17.

² Vol. i., p. 81.

³ *Dublin Review*, April, 1886, pp. 294, 295.

⁴ *L. c.*, p. 317, line 27.

⁵ *L. c.*, p. 295.

⁶ *L. c.*, p. 319, where Cardinal Moran's name is mentioned *seven times* in the one page. Cf. the Cardinal's article (p. 307).

⁷ *Four Ancient Books of Wales*, vol. i., p. 3.

And this is the judgment accepted by modern Welsh scholarship.¹

(4) That there was a 'Roman rampart called Aremuric.'² Cardinal Moran, speaking of the *town* in which St. Patrick lived, had said :—'It seems sufficiently probable that in the present text the *city* derived its name from the Roman wall or rampart which stretched across the valley of the Clyde.'³ In other words, the *city*, on account of its position got the name of Aremuric, *i.e.*, 'beside the wall.'⁴ But Father Malone seems to imagine that the wall was 'beside itself.'

(5) That, 'the region of Argyle included, along the western coast, the country from the Humber to the Clyde.'⁵

(6) That 'the language of Ireland and Scotland did not differ.'⁶ This, too, with special reference to the Strathclyde district in the time of St. Patrick! Dr. Skene,⁷ and Professor Rhys,⁸ and indeed all authorities, agree that the population of Strathclyde district was Cymric in race and language down to a comparatively late period.

(7) That *Allobroges* stands for *Gallobriges*.⁹ Father Malone does not always give the source of his information; but, in the present case, it appears that he has blundered by following Lanigan.¹⁰ The true derivation of the word Allobroges was given long ago by Zeuss,¹¹ and is re-affirmed by Rhys.¹²

(8) That the reading of the 'Bollandists' copy' of the life contained in the *Book of Armagh* is the only correct reading, *i.e.*, *Bonnaven thabur indecha*,¹³ that these words mean 'the Avon's mouth-village of the Indian wells,'¹⁴ and that the indication thus aforesaid fixes St. Patrick's birthplace 'near Bath to the east,'¹⁵ or, 'some miles lower than Bath on the Avon.'¹⁶

(9) That the 'impudent forgery' so often denounced by Hill Burton, Skene, and other writers, and vulgarly known as Richard of Cirencester's *De Situ Britanniae*, can still be quoted as an authority.¹⁷

(10) That the heroes of the Round Table were a 'race of giants'—the very giants referred to by Probus.¹⁸ Father Malone

¹ See an excellent little pamphlet by Mr. G. H. Matthews, a Welsh scholar of acknowledged authority, *The Old Faith and the New*, p. 3. It is published by the St. Teilo's Society (the C. T. Soc. of Wales), 9, Richmond Crescent, Cardiff.

² *L. c.*, p. 323, line 22.

³ *L. c.*, p. 312.

⁴ Cf. the name of Wallsend.

⁵ *L. c.*, p. 325, line 339.

⁶ *L. c.*, p. 326, line 6.

⁷ *Four Ancient Books*, ch. iv., &c.

⁸ *Celtic Britain*, ch. iv., &c.

⁹ *L. c.*, p. 327, line 31.

¹⁰ Vol. i., p. 116, note 151.

¹¹ Ebel's edit., p. 207.

¹² *Celtic Britain*, pp. 139-278.

¹³ *L. c.*, pp. 328, 329.

¹⁴ Page 329.

¹⁵ Page 330, last line.

¹⁶ Page 331, line 22.

¹⁷ Page 332, note.

¹⁸ Page 333, line 35.

even quotes Tennyson in this connection: 'Nature brings not back the *mastodon*, nor we these times.'¹

In the above list I have merely given samples. There is plenty more material of the same kind, which may easily be made use of, if Father Malone desires any further attention at my hands. His conclusions are worthy of his premisses, as may be seen from the following quotations:—²

It is quite clear, to my mind, that Scotland, or Northern Britain, is not the birthplace of St. Patrick. It is *equally certain* that South Britain, and most probably Somersetshire, was his native country; and with the evidence before us we *cannot avoid* connecting the particular spot of his birth with Bath, on the banks of the Middle Avon, &c.

It must be quite clear to the reader's mind that, with the evidence before us, we cannot avoid concluding that Father Malone is an untrustworthy guide. He tells us³ that some of his arguments—Nos. 5 and 6, for instance—are 'direct proofs' that St. Patrick's birthplace was not Kilpatrick. Such arguments are simply a direct proof of incompetence on the part of the theorist.

II.—THE BONA VENTA BURII THEORY

Does that last sentence sound rather strong? If so, the reader who peruses the evidence which I have still to set before him may yet turn back, and accuse the expression of being too weak. In the *Dublin Review* of October, 1887, Father Malone made a second attempt to pose as the discoverer of St. Patrick's birthplace. He actually begins by misquoting *himself*!

Observe the conclusion of his second paragraph. He

¹ Does Father Malone take the word *mastodon* for a Welsh plural, *mastod-on*, formed on the model of *perygl-on*, and applied as a *pluralis majestatis* to King Arthur? Or does he not know that *mastodon* is a modern Greek compound, signifying *nipple-tooth*, and applied to an extinct pachyderm? At all events, his acquaintance with the Welsh or British language is something wonderful and fearful.

² *Dublin Review*, Oct., 1886, p. 334.

³ *L. c.*, p. 325.

tells us the scraps of evidence which he had so wondrously manipulated :—

Furnish grounds for a probable opinion, amounting to a moral certainty, that the object of our inquiry is in South rather than North Britain. To prove *this* was the aim of my former article, whose *net result* may be given in my own words : 'It is quite clear, to my mind, that Scotland, or Northern Britain, is not the birthplace of St. Patrick.'

But what about the *sequence* of the above words? It has been already given; but it is worth while to give it again :—

It is *equally certain* that South Britain, and most probably Somersetshire, was his native country; and with the evidence before us we *cannot avoid* connecting the *particular spot* of his birth with *Bath*, on the banks of the Middle Avon.

And, not content with misquoting his own opinion, he next proceeds positively to misrepresent it. His third paragraph opens thus :—

As I have already suggested, while our evidence has been sufficient to show in what part of Britain in general St. Patrick was born, it is *almost useless* in determining the *precise spot*, and I had on that account to speak with some hesitation.

A man who can write in this way, and treat his own words in such a manner, must, surely, have a wonderful mind; but it is too much to expect that his readers should be similarly endowed. 'Non omnia possumus omnes.'

Father Malone, in the conclusion of his third paragraph, next states his new hypothesis. His words are, as usual, remarkable :—

I may state that the place of which we are in quest lies some few miles, not south, as the Bath theory led us, but north of the shores of Bristol. *I shall not budge one yard nearer to Caledonia*, and the direction I shall take shall be guided by the saint's own words.

This pleasing perversion of the language of Launcelot Gobbo¹ is obviously intended, to show the theorist's

¹ *Merchant of Venice*, Act II., Sc. ii. It is worth the reader's while to compare the passage.

absolute freedom from prejudice. Nearer to Caledonia he will not budge! It is reassuring to be told that 'the direction he takes shall be guided by the saint's own words.' But, alas! 'twas ever thus from Lanigan's hour;' and yet, from that hour to the present, 'we've seen our fondest hopes decay.' These hopes have ever been raised by the theorists only to be rudely balked, leaving us a laughing-stock to the world. Besides, did not Father Malone advance a somewhat similar pretence before? Yet he now admits having missed his object by about thirty miles.¹ But let us follow our self-constituted guide in his wanderings from Bath to Usktown, noting by the way some of his erratic proceedings. He still continues to excite 'wonder.' Here are some instances:—

SECOND LIST OF 'WONDERS'

- (1) That Kilpatrick is 'on the *south* of the Clyde.'²
- (2) That the 'idea of civil decurions or senators in Alelyde is not to be entertained.'³ The reader will remember that this singularly unhistorical objection has been sufficiently dealt with in my last article.
- (3) That the 'country was pagan till about the year 400.'⁴ Why, all the evidence that we possess proves the opposite. The policy of Constantine, and even of Constantius was in general notoriously favourable to Christianity: the passing persecution of the latter emperor is confined by history and tradition to the south of Britain. Professor Rhys says, that in the course of the Roman occupation 'most of the Celts (*i.e.*, the Brythonic population, as opposed to the Picts beyond the northern wall) had

¹ And yet Father Malone, in the very context of the above citations, find an insuperable difficulty in the *four miles* of distance between Kilpatrick and Dumbarton Rock! He calls it a 'contradiction' to substitute the more definite expression Kilpatrick for the less definite Dumbarton!

² *Dublin Review*, October, 1887, p. 388, line 37. Here again Father Malone does not favour us with the source of his misinformation; but once more he has blundered by blindly following Lanigan (vol. i., p. 95). In my first article (*I. E. RECORD*, October, 1899, p. 342, note 2), I cautioned the reader against the assertions and views of dogmatic theorists, 'who know as much concerning the district of Alelyde as I may know concerning the possible bodies that revolve round Sirius or Algol.' Perhaps I may now be expected to apologise for using such a comparison; it was seemingly far too weak.

³ *L. e.*, p. 389.

⁴ *L. e.*, p. 389, second last line.

both become Christians, and grown familiar, to some extent, with the working of municipal institutions.' ¹ With this view, Dr. Healy agrees.

(4) That '*Nennius* became the apostle of the southern Picts.' ² Everyone knows that the name *Nennius* designates the early British historian; *Ninian*, or *Nynias*, is the name of the apostle of the Picts. Why mix the names? Is it to create confusion?

(5) That '*Bede* informs us that previous to the erection of "*Candida Casa*," or *Witnorn*, there had not been a church in the country.' ³ And we are referred to *Bede*, ⁴ where the historian says rather *the very opposite*. '*Vulgo vocatur Ad Candidam Casam, eo quod ibi Ecclesiam de lapide, insolite Britonibus more, fecerit.*' Surely, the obvious inference is that there were other *casae*, or churches in the country *non candidae*, and built *more Britonibus solito*.

Here are three flagrant blunders in three successive sentences. And note how Father Malone deals with his authorities. Does he imagine that, to achieve his self-appointed destiny, and to become the discoverer of St. Patrick's birthplace, 'all things are lawful'? If so, it is to be hoped that he is now aware that 'all things are not expedient.'

(6) That so early as the year 432, 'the Alclyde district was called Pictish rather than British.' ⁵ How, then, did *Dumbarton* get its name? Did our ancestors call the place 'the Fort of the *Britons*,' because it was not British, but *Pictish*? Is this a specimen of early Irish humour; or is it not rather an example of the recent Irish bull? I have already observed that *Skene* and *Rhys* declare that the population of the *Strathclyde* district was *Brythonic*. Professor *Rhys* is a Welshman, and he ought to know his own countrymen. Using the word 'Welsh' as synonymous with 'Brythonic' or 'British,' he actually speaks repeatedly of the 'Welshmen' of *Cumbria* or *Strathclyde*. ⁶

(7) That we can argue from the later popular meaning of such words as *Briton* and *Welsh* to a similar limited application in earlier times. ⁷ What has just been said will suffice to show the

¹ *Celtic Britain*, p. 101 : cf. ch. iv.

² *L. c.*, same line.

³ *L. c.*, last line.

⁴ *Lib. iii.*, ch. iv.

⁵ *L. c.*, p. 391, line 30.

⁶ *Celtic Britain*, pp. 3, 148, 171.

⁷ *L. c.*, p. 392, &c.

folly of such reasoning.¹ But suppose we were to apply Father Malone's principle to such words as *Scots*, *Romaic*, &c.!

(8) That Palladius died at *Dumbarton*.² I need not refute this gross error; Father Malone has since refuted it himself. In the I. E. RECORD for February, 1839, he proved that Palladius died at *Wigton*.³ Both views are about equally worthy of credit.

I stop here for the present, though the list of blunders in the article under consideration is by no means exhausted. The reader will probably admit that Father Malone has fully vindicated his ability to excite 'wonder.' From the scholarship displayed in the second list just given, one may judge of the value of the theory propounded. This second theory was overthrown by Bishop Grant with the same promptitude and vigour with which he had demolished the first. In each case Bishop Grant's management of the affair was magnificent, though it was hardly war, for his opponent offered no resistance. After the first encounter, Father Malone entirely abandoned his position at Bath; after the second, he desisted from all further attempts at theorizing in the pages of the *Dublin Review*. And this, in spite of the fact that the sub-title of the Bishop's article, 'A Last Reply,' seemed to promise impunity for any attempt at defence.

But that was not the last of the Burian theory, or of its author. Though beaten, he could argue still; and, after a discreet interval, he once more published his 'discovery' in the I. E. RECORD of May, 1839. In spite of refutation and defeat, Father Malone is now more certain than ever about

¹ Once more Father Malone gives no hint as to the source of his error. In this instance the blunder seems to have been suggested by Keating (*History*, note to p. 320 in the edit. of 1865). For how much of the modern South British theorizing may this passage of Keating's be answerable? Keating was a respectable writer for his time, though he had some awkward limitations of scholarship, as O'Curry points out (*MS. Materials*, p. 21). But fancy following Keating at the present day!

² *L. v.*, 393, line 27.

³ Pages 127, 128. The article here referred to is entitled 'A Sketch of Palladius;' it ought to have been called 'A Caricature of Palladian History.' It is full of mistakes, and I must caution the reader against trusting to any of its statements. If Father Malone desires proofs of this, he can have them for the asking. Meantime, I would fain caution him to avoid questions of Scottish topography, and, indeed, all matters connected with Scotland. Whenever he refers to my adopted country, he is sure to make himself ridiculous.

his hypothesis. He defines St. Patrick's birthplace almost with the precision of a Post Office Directory. Here is the title of the article:—

'ST. PATRICK'S NATIVE TOWN AND STREET' (!)

You see, all we now want is *the number*, and then we shall know exactly 'where St. Patrick was born.'¹ Alas! what a misfortune is an imperfect sense of humour!

The second publication of the Burian theory evoked no reply. Why this was so, many readers of the I. E. RECORD ought to know better than I. Probably they know the theorist better, and this may suggest an explanation. Perhaps they remembered the case of Dr. Lanigan, and its sad, suggestive ending. Or, likely enough, the wildness of this last attempt may have convinced them of the absolute futility and absurdity of theorizing, and prepared them to give a whole-hearted assent to the evidence of history and tradition. One thing, however, is quite certain: Father Malone's extraordinary announcement of his pretended discovery fell pitifully flat. His *plaudite* met with no response: the curtain dropped on the feeble farce in chilling silence.

How sadly he felt the want of any indication of approval may be seen from the book containing the third publication of his hypothesis.² A man must be badly off for favourable testimony when he is driven to play the part of the Witch of Endor, and endeavours to recall from the grave the shade of a departed scholar. Especially as Dr. Reeves, the scholar in question, was notoriously in favour of the Scottish view, and approved a MS. reading which Father Malone 'cannot

¹ Father Malone will not, surely, leave the problem in this unfinished state? So long as *the number* is not discovered, his work is not yet done. Let him think of the (literally) numberless persons awaiting further information. If the matter involves mathematical calculation, he might, perhaps, secure the assistance of Father W. B. Morris. Let us hope that before long these two distinguished theorists may prove the Leverrier and Adams of this hitherto undiscovered element in the Patrician system. Might I suggest recourse to the 'Higher Mathematics,' and an application of the principles of 'Elliptical Functions'?

² *Chapters towards a Life of St. Patrick*, p. 61.

accept ;' while the theorist, after all, could only 'fancy he (the scholar) would adopt' the strange offspring of an 'ingenious' imagination !

I now give a summary of the Burian hypothesis ; but the reader who is in search of the curious in literature should certainly turn to the little work just mentioned, or to the article just indicated. The reading of the *Confession* universally received, and best supported by MS. evidence, is :—

BANAVEN TABERNIAE

There may be some doubts about minor points, but as to the general character of the reading, no doubt can be reasonably entertained. Father Malone changes the first part of this to *Bona-Ven-*, or *Bene-Ven-*. The vowel change here assumed might be allowed to pass, merely as a piece of possible theorizing ; but the attempt to introduce a capital letter, and to begin a new word with *Ven-*, is too directly contrary to MS. evidence to be for a moment admitted, merely to satisfy an arbitrary theorist. The letter *T* in *Ta-* is next degraded to a small letter ; the reason for such a change being once more a mere arbitrary hypothesis, directly opposed to all existing evidence. Lastly, Father Malone proceeds to manipulate the last portion (*-berniae*) of the original reading. He has seven letters (three consonants and four vowels) to dispose of. He knocks away one of the consonants and one of the vowels, and changes the remaining three vowels so as to produce the form *Burii* (!) This last change is obviously the most unreasonable of all, and the one most opposed to MS. authority. But I need not dwell upon the absurdities of a process which, to be appreciated, must be examined in the 'original' statement as contained in the theorist's work. Let me be content to state the result. Let the reader judge. Here is Father Malone's reading :

'BONA-VENTA-BURII' (!)

But this is not all. We are solemnly told that the phrase, '*vico Bona Venta Burii*,' means '*Bona-Venta*

Street, in *Burium*, or *Usktown*.' Thus we are informed as to St. Patrick's native town and street: nothing remains to be determined but the number! Surely, all this is, in Newman's phrase, 'too absurd to be ridiculous.'¹

We cannot, then, be expected to accept Father Malone's hypothesis: at least, not so long as heaven in its mercy shall spare us such mental derangement as that which darkened the last fifteen years of Dr. Lanigan's life.² But, personally, I am quite impartial in my rejection of the Burian reading. If that reading could be accepted, it would fit in perfectly with the Kilpatrick view. Let us suppose (*per impossibile*) that Father Malone has really arrived at such a place as 'Bona Venta Burii,' then, in spite of all he can do or say, he will find that he is simply back at Kilpatrick again. Here are the proofs of this striking and unexpected consequence of all his theorising—proofs, not depending upon assumed scribal errors, which must always be a matter of conjecture, but rather derived from an admitted tendency to phonetic corruption, and, therefore, from a cause whose operation we can depend upon with moral certainty.

(1) I first assume the right to present the Burian reading in the shortened form, *Bona Venta Buri*. After taking such whole-

¹ We have already seen how Father Malone treats his witnesses, altering their testimony so that its meaning is entirely changed. The same thing is done in the present case, with regard to the name *Bona Venta*, gratuitously assumed for the settlement at Burium. He calmly tells his readers that *Beneventa* was the name of the early Roman settlement in Samnium, and that this was an alteration from *Malaventa* (*Dublin Review*, Oct., 1887, p. 398). Such forms never existed until Father Malone 'created' them: they are perversions of the true forms, *Beneventum* and *Maleventum*. The form *Venta*, which is significantly confined to the country once under the sway of a Brythonic population, is obviously connected with the Welsh word, *Gwent*, which still survives as a place-name applied to part of Monmouthshire; it is, therefore, not a Roman word. Initial *Gw* in Welsh has been appropriately called by Skene 'the Welsh digamma,' as it represents the Latin *V* and the Irish *F* (cf. *gwin*, *vinum*, *fion*). In composition the initial *G* of the second element is dropped, and *w* alone remains, as in *Caer-went*. This word is actually quoted by Father Malone himself; though, of course, he fails to recognise its significance. Let me again congratulate him upon his fearful and wonderful knowledge of the Welsh, or British language! Cf. Taylor, *Words and Places*, ch. ix., p. 154; Blackie, *Etymological Geography*, p. 81; Anwyl, *Welsh Grammar*, pp. 13-15.

² The sad fact here alluded to has been too long and too consistently ignored. To some extent it may serve to charitably excuse Dr. Lanigan's objectionable mode of dealing with the most illustrious of his predecessors in

sale liberty with vowels, he cannot refuse me the minor liberty of delecting a single *i*. Besides, I care very little whether he grants me the liberty, or not: I mean to take it, in any case. The shorter form of the termination, a single *i*, is often written for the longer form with double *i*. *Vice versa*, the longer form, with the doubled *i*, often arises from the expansion of a real or assumed contracted form containing only a single *i*.

(2) I next remark that the *B*, in *Burii* must be assumed to represent an original *M*. The tendency to change an initial *M* into *B* exists in both branches of the Keltic languages. In Irish, Dr. Joyce gives the following examples of this change:—Bally-boney for *Ballymoney*; Bannady for *Meannoda*; Bunnafedia for *Muine-na-fede*, and Bunnyconnellan for *Muine-Chonallain*.¹

In the Brythonic dialects the same change occurs. From distant Cornwall I may instance the name of a farm in Cury which is written *Millewarne*, but 'pronounced by one and all Bellorian.'²

But the most apposite example is found in the very neighbourhood of St. Patrick's true birthplace. Just ten miles from Kilpatrick, on the south side of Glasgow, lies the suburb of Strathbungo (familiarily called Stra'bungo). It is the only place in the ancient see of Glasgow in which the name of the saintly founder of the diocese is preserved; and Strathbungo is explained by all authorities as *Strath-Mungo*.

Thus we must conclude that *Bona Venta Buri* stands for *Bona Venta Muri*.

(3) Lastly, Skene, in the *Four Ancient Books of Wales*, points out that the Britons called the rampart of Antoninus *y Mur*, or the Wall;³ and thus it is plainly marked on the accompanying map. This was but natural; for recent excavations have shown that the structure was a veritable *murus caespiticius*, and it was *the murus*, or wall which divided the Romans and Romanized provincials from the barbarians beyond. So that, ultimately, the supposed '*Bona Venta Buri*,' could represent nothing else but *Bona Venta Muri*, the *civitas Aremuric* of Probus, *i.e.*, Kilpatrick near the end of the northern wall.

Striking result! is it not? Father Malone assured the world that he had taken his stand at Usktown; and that

the discussion of St. Patrick's birthplace. But the fact is not without a more general bearing upon the history of the controversy; and, accordingly, may be appropriately referred to in the present context.

¹ *Irish Names of Places*, i., pp. 54-60.

² Cummings, *Cury and Gunwalloe*, p. 206.

³ Vol. i., p. 59.

'one yard nearer to Caledonia he would not budge.' But all the time, without knowing it, he was really at Kilpatrick. I have, therefore, no prejudice against the Burian reading; but, supported by such arguments, it must, of course, be rejected.

III.—THE NORTH WALES THEORY

It would, perhaps, be doing Father Alfred Barry an injustice to take his theorizing very seriously. The attempt which he made in the *I. E. RECORD* of December, 1893, to determine once more the oft-determined birthplace of St. Patrick, no doubt proceeded from a total misconception of the true state of the question. Apparently he knew nothing of the strength of the arguments in favour of Kilpatrick; nothing of the weight of external authority in its favour. He probably knows more about these matters now. Let us also hope that he has learned something about the topography of Alclyde.

It is to be hoped, moreover, that he now knows better than to quote that 'learned' authority, Father Malone, especially in reference to questions of Scottish history,¹ or to questions of British or Welsh etymology.² But, hoping apart, we may surely assume that Father Barry *knows* one thing, *i.e.*, that no writer should ever give a misleading reference. How then are we to account for the following case? He calmly assumes the existence of a 'Rock-of-Clwyd,' a rock which no one ever heard of until the present theorist created it to serve a purpose. He adds: 'This Rock-of-Clwyd was situated upon the banks of the River Clwyd in the vale of Clwyd, near the present town of Rhyl.'

After this circumstantial misstatement, he refers us to Father Malone's article in the *Dublin Review*,³ and to Camden's *Britannia*.⁴ Now, I will not be unjust to Father

¹ *L. c.*, p. 1123, where we are referred to the caricature *Sketch of Palladius*.

² *L. c.*, p. 1131, where he actually refers us to the article in the *Dublin Review* of October, 1836, containing Father Malone's *abandoned* blunders; and where he also favours us with some very independent etymology of his own.

³ 1887, p. 393.

⁴ Page 819.

Malone; and it is only fair to state that, while his language may have suggested this supposititious Rock-of-Clwyd, he certainly never mentions it in the course of the page referred to. As to Camden's *Britannia*, I have equally failed to find any mention of a 'Rock-of-Clwyd' in that immortal work. But in the very beginning of the description of Denbighshire,¹ I do find the following:—

We now come to the heart of this country [*i.e.*, Wales], where nature *having removed the hills on every side*, to show what she could do in this rugged country, has formed a most beautiful vale, reaching seventeen miles from south to north, and about five miles wide.

Father Barry asserts the presence of a Rock-of-Clwyd in the vale of Clwyd; Camden leads us to suppose that the vale is remarkably destitute of any such prominent object. The reader may be left to choose between these two authorities; but, personally, I prefer Camden.

But something worse follows; for Father Barry thus continues:—

And two hundred years after the birth of St. Patrick, the British King Rhydderch Heal, having conquered southern Scotland, gave that name (Rock of Clwyd), to the city, which he built upon the shores of the Northern Clyde.

And then we are referred to *Celtic Scotland*, Skene. The reference is significantly vague; and not without reason. I know my *Celtic Scotland* well; and I can assure the reader that not one of the above assertions—'the conquest' of southern Scotland, the 'giving the name' to Alclyde, or the 'building' of the city—is to found in Skene. If Father Barry can find such statements in our Scotch historian, I promise to believe, not only in the theorist's hypothesis, but also in his method of citing 'authorities.' The truth is something very different from this rash misrepresentation. In the *Four Ancient Books of Wales* to which Dr. Skene refers his readers, Rhydderch Hael is represented as a prince of North Britain, from the upper

¹ Vol. iii., p. 307, in the magnificent folio edit. in four vols.

regions of the Clyde.¹ In *Celtic Scotland*,² Skene distinctly asserts that the struggle which resulted in the elevation of Rhydderch to be king of all Strathclyde was a *domestic* struggle among the Britons themselves, between the Christian and paganizing parties. Not a word is said about Rhydderch Hael 'building' or 'naming' the northern capital. Such ideas are wildly absurd; and, what is more to the purpose, Skene consistently supposes the pre-existence both of the strong fortress and of the name. I need say no more, unless it be at Father Barry's express invitation, in which case I may have an opportunity of correcting some more of his mistakes. In the meantime my readers may recognise in him another example of the trustworthiness of our 'Modern Guides to St. Patrick's birthplace.'

IV.—THE SPANISH THEORY

With regard to the Spanish hypothesis, the latest, and perhaps the strangest outcome of the rage for theorizing, I regard it as a good joke *spoiled*. Had Dr. O'Brien been content to treat his own speculation as a travesty on the efforts of previous theorists, he might have won the credit of being a successful satirist: as it is, he must be put down as another unsuccessful theorist, for he has carried the joke too far:—

Nam, si ludere perseveras,
Non ludis.

But, on reading over his own articles in a calmer mood, he will probably realise something of his own rashness. Does he still 'assume that Irish and Iberian are the same language'? If so, I must recommend him to acquire some acquaintance with the elements of modern philology. He will find some good introductory hints on the Iberian question in Taylor's *Origin of the Aryan*.³ He may also consult with advantage the introduction to Van Eys's little

¹ *L. c.*, vol. i., p. 173.

² Vol. i., pp. 156-158.

³ See especially ch. iv., par 4, p. 219

Basque Grammar. A perusal of these works will bring home to him the true character of his assumption. Again, does he still think that it is 'dishonest' to translate *parentes* as parents? If so, what is it to speak of the *Clodianus* over and over again as '(another) Clyde'?¹ Does he still accuse Cardinal Moran of having written what was 'utterly and absolutely false'? If so, is it not time that irresponsible theorists were taught to entertain some respect for genuine Irish scholars? And does he still think it necessary to go to Spain in order to discover boars? I can assure him that they could have been found much nearer home.²

Several of Dr. O'Brien's mistakes have been already noticed by Father Malone. I repeat that I will not be unfair to this writer. While hopelessly unable, or unwilling, to see his own errors, he can sometimes correct those of others. Here are some of his criticisms:—

To account for Emporia and Vich our ingenious writer gives a peculiar reading to the words *enim prope* by Emporia, and translates *vico* by Vich. Now for a reply. Firstly. All the biographers of our saint have placed his residence in the *Bonaventaberniae*, and never in *vico* or in *enim prope*.³

This assertion is, of course, notoriously incorrect, so far as the word (?) *Bonaventaberniae* is concerned. Father Malone is responsible for thus running different words together, and so producing an Aristophanic, many-jointed polysyllable, as elegant as it is convincing. But the appeal to 'all the biographers of our saint' is certainly conclusive against Dr. O'Brien, as the biographers so consistently support the Alclyde tradition. It is, however, equally conclusive against Father Malone himself.

Secondly. If a transcriber, through inadvertence or ignorance, gives a wrong reading, a fundamental canon for amending

¹ It puzzles me to understand how anyone who had ever heard of Clodius (i.e., Claudius) could fail to recognise in Clodianus a pure Roman appellation. The native name of the river may have been represented by one of those modern names mentioned in that very Smith's *Dictionary* to which Dr. O'Brien appeals.

² The reader must not suspect me of intending to repeat a worn-out joke. The matter here alluded to was made the subject of a joke by Stuart in his *Caledonia Romana*. The wild boar is an object frequently represented on the legendary stones found in the neighbourhood of the Antonine Wall.

³ I. E. RECORD, August, 1899, pp. 98, 99.

it is to alter as few letters or parts of a letter as possible, especially when the reading is given without a doubt expressed. . . . Such liberty with a text is unpardonable.

. . . The life-long companions and fellow-labourers of our saint, forsooth, did not understand the story of his life as well as the writer in the I. E. RECORD. . . .!

What extraordinary *Caiphisms*! ¹ How can the writer of these words fail to see their application to his own case? Of course he hits his adversary hard; but does he not see that he can only wound that adversary by striking through *himself*? I do not think that any moral theologian will refuse him the requisite permission. Dr. O'Brien and Father Malone are equally wrong, both in their methods and in their results. The gratuitous assumptions of each may be regarded as an effective, if unconscious travesty of the speculations of the other.

Before concluding, perhaps I may be permitted to give Dr. O'Brien and the rest of the theorists an object-lesson in the working of their own methods. The Spanish theory tells us that *Emthur* (or *Nemthur*), *Cluade*, and *Britanniac* must be read *Emporiae*, *Clodianus*, and *Bretonia*, simply to suit a theory. Let the theorists now follow me from Spain to Italy, and trust themselves to my guidance. It is only a little trip across the 'Tyrrhene Sea,' and I promise to land them at the very latest birthplace of St. Patrick—at *Thurium*, on the *Crathis*, in *Brettiana* or *Bruttium*.

(1) For *Emthur* we should read *Thurium*, or *Thurii*, the name of an important city in South Italy. *Em*, in the name *Emthur*, is explained by some as a mere Celtic prefix.² It might also be explained as a corrupt form of the Celtic article *an*, or of the Latin preposition *in*, coalescing with the following word. Instances of such coalescence are of frequent occurrence. *Thur*, which then remains as the only real element requiring explanation, is obviously *Thurii*, or *Thurium*.

(2) For *Cluade* we should read *Crathis*, the well-known river that flows through Bruttium. Bede gives the form

¹ Cf. St. John, xi. 49-51.

² *Dublin Review*, April, 1880, p. 306.

Cluith.¹ Again, it is a commonplace of philology that the letters *r* and *l* frequently interchange. The Irish language itself affords instances. I might cite a number of cases in which the initial *Cl* represents *Cr* in other tongues; but one case is very striking: compare the Irish word *Clap-sholas*, twilight, with the Latin *Crepusculum*. Instead of the Clyde, therefore, we must obviously think of the *Crathis*.

(3) For *Britanniae* we should read *Brettiana*; that is, *Bruttium*. Let us turn to the indispensable Smith,² who tells us: 'Polybius, in more than one passage, calls it η Βροττιανή χώρα.' We all know how easily an adjective form like Βρεττιανή, *Brettiana*, becomes a substantive; and what more natural than that *Brettiana* should be corrupted into the more familiar *Britannia*, or *Britanniae*? Hence, *Britanniae* is obviously *Brettiana* or *Bruttium*.

In the immediate neighbourhood of this new claimant we have the 'Tyrrhene Sea;' we have *Letha*; i.e., Latium, or even Italy. Indeed, we have a good deal more than any man had a right to expect. The invaluable Smith again tells us that *Thurii* 'is noticed by Procopius as still existing in the sixth century . . . The period of its final decay is uncertain.' These facts fit in beautifully with its being St. Patrick's birthplace, and yet being subsequently ignored by our ancient Irish scribes. Lastly, Smith adds that 'the exact site of *Thurii* has not yet been identified.' Why, this is precisely what a crowd of learned theorists assure us with regard to St. Patrick's birthplace (apart, of course, from the particular determination of each individual theorist!). Their inference is irresistible: therefore, *Thurii* and the birthplace are one.

As for me, I believe that the above theory is decidedly 'ingenious;' nay, more, I believe it is the most plausible theory yet advanced. Still I cannot accept it as true, for I am prevented by two things—a sense of truth and a sense

¹ *H. E.*, lib. i., cap. 12.

² *Dictionary of Geography*, art. 'Bruttium.'

³ i. 56, ix. 27.

of humour. Yet my hypothesis, although not seriously advanced, may fulfil one useful function ; it may serve to show our theorists that their work is nothing to be proud of, and that any ordinary person, if he choose to devote himself to such trifling, may easily weave such fictions, not merely

Stans pede in uno,

but with no support whatever, except, of course, the graceful and slender support of Smith's *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography*.

V.—CONCLUSION

And now that we have reviewed the history of Patrician theorizing, what does the reader think of the matter? Is it too much to say that it is about the most disedifying and discreditable chapter in the history of Irish thought?

Observe the presumption and folly of the theorists. They seem to have no idea of the true state of the question, of the weight of intrinsic evidence and of extrinsic authority in favour of the Scottish view. Yet they never take the trouble to inquire. They ignore or scorn the traditions of two nations and of two Churches; they attack these traditions with every wild and false objection which perverted ingenuity can suggest, or cherished ignorance can permit; and, finally, they set forth in the character of discoverers, apparently guided in their search by the paradoxical maxim: 'The less likely, the more probable.' Words which naturally refer to Britain must be made to refer to France, or Spain, or any place except that which the name most reasonably suggests. Words naturally referring to the Clyde must not mean the Clyde, but the Clwyd, or the *Clodianus*, or anything except what we know them to mean. Distinct references to the name of Dumbarton must be dismissed as blunders of ignorant scribes; and this by men who themselves show such wonderful facility for blundering and betraying ignorance in almost every branch of knowledge, even the most elementary! Simple addition

is not too simple, obvious geographical facts are not too obvious, to escape being made the subject of ridiculous mistakes. Even in Lanigan, scholar though he was, these faults are apparent; but in his later followers and recent imitators they have become so unpleasantly prominent that we feel they are no longer tolerable. And yet these recent theorists seem to take themselves and each other quite seriously, and even refer to each other as 'learned.'¹ Indeed, they so freely bestow this epithet that their reckless generosity is apt to suggest the cheapness of the gift. Still they never accept each other's arguments or conclusions, so that their mutual admiration seems a little unreal.

In the meantime, note how our national apostle is being treated. He has been offered about among the nations of the earth as if he were some 'commodity' which we were anxious to get rid of. He has been offered to France, and then withdrawn; he has been offered to Bath, and then withdrawn; he has been offered by various irresponsible persons to North Wales, to South Wales, and now at last to Spain! Our critics have remorselessly driven him from place to place and from country to country, until they have made him the very 'Wandering Jew' of hagiography. Is it not time to put an end to this wanton irreverence?

And the net result of all this theorizing has simply been to make the Irish race a laughing-stock among the nations:

*Quidquid delirant critici, ridetur Hiberni.*²

On meeting a well-read foreigner, one is almost afraid of being asked the mocking question: 'Well! where was your national apostle born *last*?' And what must be the opinion generally entertained of Irish scholarship, when our self-

¹ It is only fair to except Dr. O'Brien from this statement. I am not aware that he has ever called anyone else 'learned.' I suppose, after the above remarks, I need not expect to be described as 'learned' by those here referred to; but I wish it to be understood that I make no pretence of scholarship. I have common sense enough to follow the best and most learned guides in the present question, and that is more to the purpose. I also claim to be honest and painstaking—qualities which, if not so brilliant as 'ingenuity,' are more trustworthy.

² I beg to call the attention of our critical friends to this new 'reading' of Horace. I have, unfortunately, no manuscript authority for the change—but that, of course, is a mere detail.

appointed guides, the 'Patrician' theorists, posing before the world as our teachers, are guilty of such frequent and flagrant blunders? Is it not time to put an end to proceedings which are so discreditable to the Irish race?

I have, therefore, no hesitation in declaring that this absurd craze for theorizing is at once a scandal and a nuisance: a scandal to be zealously repressed, and a nuisance to be rigorously abated. And the only effectual remedy is to tell our would-be instructors that the time for theorizing is gone by; that we have accepted the direction of better and more efficient guides, those whose authority has been quoted at the head of this article; that, led by them, and convinced by the proofs which they adduce, we now receive with becoming reverence the consentient traditions of two nations, and unhesitatingly acknowledge the birthplace of St. Patrick to be at Kilpatrick, near Dumbarton, in the present country of Scotland.

GERALD STACK.

NOTE.—If any of those to whom my words refer think that their theories have not been fully disposed of, I shall be happy to devote more particular attention to any author who may make such a complaint. I have still many mistakes to point out in every one of the authors in question. Moreover, I have by no means exhausted the proofs in favour of the claims of Kilpatrick. On the other hand, I am quite conscious that there may be certain errors on minor points in the course of the present series of articles. In collating and combining, or even in revising such an amount of matter, some lapse of hand or eye may have occurred occasionally. If any such mistake be pointed out to me, I shall be glad to correct it. And if, by any chance, I have done any injustice to those whose proceedings have in general so justly provoked the expression of my disapprobation, I will make every reparation in my power. The cause which I defend is far too good for me to suffer it to be connected with the commission of any injustice, however slight or however unintentional.

One last word: a word of caution. A Catholic Truth Society has been established in Ireland, and it will probably have to deal before long with the subject of St. Patrick. Will the opportunity thus afforded be turned to proper account by laying before our people a simple statement of the true state of the matter; or shall we see it abused by some self-sufficient and incompetent person? The affair is quite beyond my influence and outside my province; but I may be suffered to allude to what is, at least, a possible danger.

FATHER MARQUETTE, S.J., DISCOVERER OF THE MISSISSIPPI

FOURTH AND LAST MISSION

ON the 15th October, Father Marquette, accompanied by two brave Frenchmen, James and Peter, one of whom had been with him on the Mississippi voyage, sat out from St. Francis Xavier's, and again made their way across Sturgeon Bay from Lake Michigan. Here he met with some Indian families in whose company he performed the rest of the journey, availing himself of every opportunity to instruct them, and, when necessary, to correct and admonish.

It can be easily imagined that the journey along the shores of the Great Lake at such an advanced season of the year was wearisome and trying to a degree, especially to one barely recovered from a long exhausting illness. The voyage from Green Bay to the Chicago River, a distance of two hundred and sixty miles, lasted forty days. In these the same journey occupies from twelve to twenty-four hours, according as it is performed by land or water. Snow, wind, and high seas often detained the travellers for days at one place. When, on the 23rd November, they reached the mouth of the River Racine, the snow was already a foot deep, and from that time the earth retained its winter mantle; one of the many proofs that the climate was colder two hundred years ago than it is at present. They were delayed for three days at the mouth of Racine River, and here Father Marquette suffered another attack of dysentery. In spite of all the privations of this mid-winter journey, he was able to offer the Holy Sacrifice twice, the second time being on the feast of his great patron, St. Francis Xavier. The ice was then already forming along the shore and increasing the danger of further travel; but the next day, December 4th, they happily reached the mouth of the Chicago River, which was frozen to the depth of six inches.

For six whole days our poor travellers had to remain here, sleeping under the most miserable shelter. But the only thing which grieved the servant of Mary was the impossibility of saying Mass on the feast of her Immaculate Conception on account of the stormy weather. On the 11th, they set to work to push the canoe and the luggage over the ice; and two days later Father Marquette reached his winter quarters, only two hours' journey from the mouth of the Chicago River, and near the portage from its south arm to the River Illinois. The state of his health forbade all thought of further travel. The Indians continued their homeward journey, after having received from James and Peter an ell of tobacco in exchange for three buffalo skins which, says the diary, 'gave good service through the winter.'

Father Marquette found his quarters in the hut built for him by his faithful companions comfortable beyond expectation, at least, so he wrote in his diary. From the octave of December 8, he was able, here in the lonely wilderness, to offer daily the adorable Sacrifice of the Mass. His malady, aggravated by the diet, soon assumed a chronic form, the result of which it was not difficult to foresee. He declared to his companions with the greatest certainty, that this would be his last journey, and that he would die before its completion. In preparation for his passage to a better world, he again performed the spiritual exercises with great devotion, and in default of a larger flock, he laboured with holy zeal to guide his two companions in the path of perfection, and made them approach the Holy Sacraments twice a week. These two men formed the first Christian congregation assembled on the spot, or at least in the vicinity, of where the City of Chicago now stands with its thirty Catholic churches.

All prospect of opening the Illinois mission grew fainter and fainter. Nothing now remained to the sick priest but to return to St. Francis Xavier's, in order to die in the arms of his brethren. Had he not given convincing proof to the Indians that his good-will to keep his promise was not wanting? But these arguments were not sufficient for his

zeal. In the beginning of February, he and his companions redoubled their prayers to the Immaculate Mother of God to obtain even the temporary restoration of his health. And, behold! the confiding trust of these three holy souls was rewarded. Father Marquette's illness abated; by degrees, he grew stronger, and in Holy Week, safely reached his journey's end, the great settlement of the Kaskaskia Indians.

Seldom was the first preaching of the Gospel among the Indians attended with such success as in this particular instance. Father Marquette was received as an angel from heaven. His short mission was, so James and Peter declared, one unbroken triumph. Father Marquette's diary ends on April 6th. Wherever he went, teaching and preaching, he was received with the greatest enthusiasm. The first general assembly was held on Maunday Thursday in a lovely plain near the village. According to custom, the ground was covered with mats and bearskin. On outstretched ropes, floated pieces of silk, and facing the four points of the earth were four large pictures of the Blessed Virgin which the devoted priest had brought for the churches which he hoped to erect. Round him sat no less than five hundred chiefs, and outside these were the young men, fifteen hundred in number, and then a countless crowd of women and children. The messenger of the Gospel then addressed his congregation from the altar which had been erected in their midst. The object of his coming, the principles of Christianity, the great atonement for sin offered by Christ on Calvary—these were the subjects of his discourse to which the Indians listened with the deepest reverence. The appearance of the pale emaciated priest who looked like one returned from the gates of death but who spoke with the strength and fire of an inspired apostle, of itself alone made a great impression on these wild souls. After the sermon, Father Marquette offered the most Holy Sacrifice in the presence of the wondering, awe-struck gathering. On Easter Sunday, in the same place, and with the same surroundings, he again said Mass; and with this most solemn act of religion inaugurated the

founding of the new mission, which in accordance with his vow, he dedicated to the Immaculate Mother of God; and this was the closing act of his short but glorious missionary career. The brief respite granted to him was at an end. His cruel malady again clutched him, forcing him to shorten his stay among his new flock. The Indians besought him to return soon, and he consoled them as best he could by promising that even if he did not return that another father would take his place. A great crowd of these poor savages insisted on accompanying their beloved Black Robe, for a considerable part of his homeward journey. Whenever a portage was reached, they strove amongst themselves for the honour of carrying their father's luggage.

Whether the journey to Lake Michigan was by the earlier route, or as some think by that of St. Joseph's River, cannot now be determined; but one thing is certain, its goal was St. Ignatius' mission. The way thither led along the eastern shore of the lake, a route hitherto never travelled by Frenchmen, but which our travellers chose as being far safer and pleasanter for canoes. Father Marquette's strength failed so rapidly that very soon his companions gave up all hope of his ever reaching St. Ignatius alive. He was so weak as to be unable to move without assistance, but in all his sufferings his marvellous patience never failed him. Seeing his friends so cast down and dejected at the thought of losing him, he tried to console them, cheering them with his loving words, and assuring them that God would not forsake them in their loneliness. As he lay in the frail canoe, slowly guiding by the interminable sandy banks, or stretched on a mat in the lonely night-camp, he was ever communing with his Divine Master, whom he loved so tenderly. From time to time fervent ejaculations escaped his lips: *Credo quod Redemptor mens vivit*. 'I know that my Redeemer liveth.' *Maria, Mater Gratiae, Mater Dei, memento mei*. 'Mary, Mother of Grace, Mother of God, remember me.'

Each day, at his request, a meditation on death was read to him, taken from some which he had written himself.

Although the mists of death were already dimming his eyes, still he insisted on fulfilling the priestly obligation of daily office. Only on the last day of his life did he omit it at the earnest entreaties of those around him. A few days before his death he blessed some water, to be reserved for use at the moment of his supreme agony and at his burial, and he gave instruction as to the manner of using it.

On Friday, the 18th May, he announced in joyful tones that on the following day he would be delivered from all earthly pain and sorrow. Knowing that his companions would be utterly dazed with grief, he gave the most minute directions about his burial, telling them to erect a cross over his grave. Three hours before he died he reminded them to ring his little Mass-bell while they were carrying him to his last resting-place. He spoke with such calmness and forethought, as if he were giving instructions for the burial of another.

On the 19th May, the travellers reached the mouth of a river bearing the Indian name of Ininiwindibeganing, which means the place of skulls (Calvary, Golgotha), situated about forty miles north of the present town of Muskegon. A sandhill on the bank of this river seemed to the dying priest a suitable spot for his last resting-place; and pointing to it, he said 'My place will be there.' The day being still young, and the weather favourable for further advance, the two oarsmen paid no heed to his remark, but continued on their way. However, soon a strong contrary wind arose, forcing them to return to the spot indicated by the priest. Here they landed, and lighted a small fire to warm the poor invalid, for the north wind at that season of the year still blows with much force. They contrived with the help of mats to erect a rude shelter, under which they arranged as comfortable a couch as circumstances permitted. The poor fellow scarcely knew what they were doing. The grief which filled their hearts almost deprived them of reason. The certainty that they were about to lose the dearly-loved father who for six months had shared with them so many fatigues and dangers, and that they would be left alone in the wilderness, completely unmanned them.

Nearly half of the long expanse of the lake still lay between them and their countrymen at St. Ignatius, and the whole route (two hundred miles) was quite unknown to them. On that great peninsula of Lower Michigan, then uninhabited, they were, perhaps, the only human beings. Often and ardently Father Marquette wished to end his life like the great Apostle of the Indies, his desire was now about to be fulfilled. Under the bark roof, gazing out at the wide expanse of waters, he lay for a long time while his companions were unpacking; and who can doubt that the moments were passed in closest communion with the God with whom his ever unclouded mind was unceasingly occupied during those last days.

When at last they came to him, weary with grief and in deep despair, the tender father comforted his children, and exhorted them to trust in God's protection for their further journey; he tenderly roused their fainting spirits, and renewed their courage. Then he thanked them for all the loving services they had rendered him on the long voyage, asked their pardon for all the trouble he had given, and commissioned them to ask pardon in his name of all the fathers and brothers of his Order on the Ottawa mission. At his exhortation, they went to confession once more, and received absolution for the last time from the beloved father. He gave them a paper on which he had written all the faults he had committed since his own last confession, this was to be given to his Superior to induce him to pray more fervently for him. Lastly, he promised them that he would not forget his children in heaven. Then, knowing how thoroughly exhausted they were, he gave them the last proof of his tender compassion by ordering them to take some rest. He assured them that his hour had not yet come, and promised to call them when the time was at hand. The worn-out voyagers reluctantly obeyed, and their eyes, heavy from weeping, soon closed in sleep. They had slept about three hours when they were awakened by the priest's call. The supreme moment was at hand. His wonderful calmness and recollection remained unbroken. He took a last farewell of those two devoted friends, and as

they knelt at his feet, dissolved in tears, he asked for holy water and his reliquary. Taking the crucifix, which he always carried on his heart, he gave it to one of them that he might hold it raised before his eyes. Then, making one last effort, he clasped his hands, and from that moment kept his eyes fixed on the image of his crucified Saviour. In a distinct voice he made his confession of faith, and thanked God for the grace of being allowed to die in the Society of Jesus, and especially for the favour which he had always desired of dying in a miserable hut in the midst of the wilderness far from all earthly aid or comfort. Then he remained silent for some time holding interior converse with God. Just before he entered into his agony, he exclaimed, 'Mother of God, remember me.' He had begged his companions, as soon as they saw him in his last agony, to remember to say the holy names of Jesus, Mary, Joseph, in case he was unable to do so himself. Mindful of the injunction, one of the men, in a loud voice pronounced the holy names, which the dying priest repeated several times distinctly. Then, as if some celestial vision had unfolded before him, he raised his eyes above the crucifix, and kept his gaze fixed with a look of intense rapture; and so he expired with a smiling joyful, countenance, without the least convulsion, as calmly as if he were falling into a deep sleep. The soul, in which were united in exquisite proportions the tender piety of an Aloysius or Stanislaus and the apostolic spirit of a Francis Xavier, had gone home to his eternal reward.

After his poor companions had wept over the lifeless body of their idolized father, they arranged it as he had ordered, and bore it reverently to the grave made on the sand hill pointed out by him, ringing, as they went, the Mass bell. When his precious remains were laid in the earth, they erected on the little hill a cross, tall enough to be seen from the lake.

For some days after Father Marquette's death, one of the young men who were with him, was so terribly depressed, and suffered from such pain in his chest, that he could scarcely breathe, and was unable to eat. The day at last arrived on which they were to leave the spot now so dear to them. He remained apart, suffering great

anguish, while his companion was busy putting the things into the canoe. Suddenly it occurred to him to go to the grave of the saintly father, and beg of him to intercede for him with the Blessed Virgin, as he had promised. Kneeling, he said a short prayer, and then reverently taking some earth from the grave, he laid it on his breast. Instantly the pain and oppression ceased, his deep depression and sorrow vanished, and a calm and peace filled his heart.

So far we have followed the account of Père Dablon who, without the least doubt, had all the particulars from Father Marquette's travelling companions. Now let us hear what the Ottawa Indians of Michigan, at the present day, have to tell of the traditions of their fathers concerning Father Marquette's grave :—

The great Black Robe had not long been buried on the Golgotha Hill, when the mouth of the river began to fill with sand. At last the river ceased to flow here, and sought a new outlet at a great distance from the Black Robe's grave. As it oftened happened, that heathen Indians encamped at this spot, offered heathen sacrifices, and filled the air with the wild uproar of their orgies, hence it was that the servant of Jesus Christ, who in life abhorred such practices, would not allow them near his grave, and so compelled the river to find an outlet far from the spot. The Indians can no longer land there, and the Black Robe's resting-place remains undisturbed by heathen horrors.

So runs the Indian tradition. Let us also hear what history tells of the fate of the lonely grave on Lake Michigan :—

The hill of Calvary did not long hide the precious remains. The missionary who had travelled so far and wide during life had to make one more canoe journey after death, and indeed the only one he had ever made along the unexplored stretches of the Great Lake.

In the spring of 1677, a strong band of Christian Indians on their return from the winter hunt in south Lower Michigan, landed at the mouth of Père Marquette's river (its present name). After serious consideration, they came to the conclusion that it was their duty to exhume the remains of the beloved Black Robe, who had been their teacher at La Pointe, and carry them to St. Ignatius, where they dwelt. They acted as they would have done in a similar case to their own highly honoured dead.

Although they found the body in a state of great pre-

servation, being merely somewhat shrivelled, they dismembered it, and carefully cleaning and drying the bones, they laid them in a large bark vessel, which was then placed in a canoe. They left Golgotha Hill on May 19, two years after Father Marquette's death, and nineteen days later the long funeral procession of thirty canoes reached the mission of St. Ignatius. A crowd of the Iroquois Indians, who twenty-five years before had burned alive the missionaries who had ventured among them, followed in the wake: they too wanted to render the last honours to the dead Black Robe.

Arrived at St. Ignatius, no one stirred from the canoes until the priests of the mission came down and put the usual questions. On the bank, which rose in terraces, were ranged all the French then at St. Ignatius, and all the Indians belonging to the mission, Hurons, and Ottawas, warriors, old men, women, and children. Before them lay the small but picturesque bay with the flotilla of canoes arranged in exquisite order, gently heaving on its mirror-like surface. The *De Profundis* having been sung, the receptacle containing the bones of the founder of the mission was given into the custody of the priests, and solemnly translated to the little chapel close by. Here they remained until the following day, when they were placed in a small vault under the church. The Indians often came to offer their prayers at his tomb, and remarkable answers to prayer were not wanting.

Is the grave of the holy missionary, the last resting-place of the great traveller, still held in honour? Do pilgrims still come to honour his memory and to pray for his eternal repose, or, perhaps, to invoke his intercession? The pilgrims may, indeed, come, but they will not find his grave. The little chapel of St. Ignatius' mission has vanished, and left no trace; the spot where it stood is unknown.

Thirty-one years after the founder's death, the first mission of St. Ignatius ceased to exist. The Christian Indians who dwelt there were induced by the Colonial Government to take up their abode at the newly-established

post of Detroit. Among the population which remained at St. Ignatius' stiff-necked heathens, French traders and adventurers, often worse than heathens, the priests' efforts were of no avail. The Jesuits were obliged to abandon the mission; and, fearing lest the little chapel might be desecrated, with sad hearts they set fire to it, in 1706. Probably about seven years later the trading post and mission of Michilmackinac were established, not on the old site in Upper Michigan, but on the opposite shore of the southern peninsula.

The suppression of the Jesuits in France, and the surrender of Canada to England, which took place almost at the same time, destroyed this second mission. Among the Indian-Canadian population which now forms the congregation of the third mission in Upper Michigan, no tradition seems to exist regarding the site of the chapel which was burnt, or Father Marquette's grave. The same veil of oblivion had nearly covered his fame as discoverer of the Mississippi. The manuscript of his report, for reasons best known to the French Government, was allowed to lie hidden in the archives of Paris. An abstract of it published by Thevenot, in 1682, in some unaccountable manner, remained unnoticed. Lassalle reached the mouth of the Mississippi nine years after Marquette and Jolliet had voyaged on its mighty waters, and his friends, Jesuit haters, used their utmost endeavours to spread the belief that the account of its earlier discovery was only a Jesuit myth.

The historian Charlevoix was the first, who, more than sixty years after Father Marquette's death, brought to light the services of his forgotten brother Jesuit. The entire and un mutilated account of his voyage was only published in 1852 in New York, by the historian of the Indian missions, John Gilmary Shea, together with a map copied from one drawn by Father Marquette, and long preserved in Quebec.

E. LEAHY.

THE CHURCH AND SCIENCE

DR. MIVART, in former days, did many things for which Catholics must be ever grateful to him. Catholic writers have been able to point to him with pride as a learned member of the Church. Catholic apologists have been able to appeal to him as a zealous worker in the cause of science. Now, however, all is changed. His former work for Catholicity renders all the more painful his recent incursions into the domain of theology.¹ With many of these we have nothing to do here. We desire to call attention to one theory which seems to us to be the source of all his errors. He has laid down the principle, that with affairs of science, even when taught in Sacred Scripture, Church authorities have no concern. Their office is confined to purely spiritual matters. Even in these, if we were to accept the theories of Dr. Mivart, the power of the Church would be very limited indeed. For him the case of Galileo has defeated for ever the claims of the Church to teach the truths of science. How false this position is we mean to show in the present article. We shall even make clear that the error of the Roman Congregations has been merely an illustration of a great Catholic truth.

In carrying out our purpose it is well to leave aside all unnecessary questions, to state briefly and clearly the claims of the Church, and to strengthen them by some reasons which to us seem convincing.

Three great classes of truths present themselves for our consideration. There are some truths which are purely scientific. In every branch of science we happen on these. The many remedies which medical science has discovered in its ever-glorious work of alleviating human pain are illustrations. The many truths of pure politics also afford

¹ Vide *The Nineteenth Century*, and *The Fortnightly Review*, January, 1900.

examples. All these are completely outside the domain of the Church. No Catholic claims for her the right of giving an authoritative decision on them. When Christ told His Apostles and their successors to teach all nations, He never meant that these truths should come under their jurisdiction. In these, consequently, Catholic scientists are as free as those who are outside the fold of the Church.

There are other truths which are purely supernatural. These are questions which directly affect faith and morals. The command of the Decalogue, 'Thou shalt keep holy the Sabbath day,' is one of them. The doctrines about our supernatural destination are other examples. They are manifold, and all come under the teaching authority of Holy Church. In principle, at least, we do not think that Dr. Mivart would deny the existence of this authority. It is writ broadly on the pages of Sacred Scripture and ecclesiastical history. When our Lord said to His Apostles, 'Preach the Gospel to every creature,' He, surely, included in the power thus given the right to teach these truths. This power has been exercised by ecclesiastical authority during the nineteen centuries that have rolled by since the God-man was born.

There are other truths which are of a mixed nature. They have spiritual and scientific aspects. We do not mean to deny that there is a science of spiritual things. We use the word 'scientific' in the sense which Dr. Mivart, and indeed men generally give the term. These great scientific truths may have a spiritual aspect in two ways. From the nature of things there may exist an intrinsic connection between them and spiritual affairs. Who will deny that the doctrine of free will has in this way a spiritual aspect, since it is the very foundation of human responsibility, of human virtue, and of human crime? Or who will deny that the nature of inspiration and the meaning of the text of Sacred Scripture have, in the present order, essential relations with the supernatural destiny of the human race? Other scientific truths have only an extrinsic connection with supernatural things. The extrinsic connection which

Dr. Mivart speaks specially of is that they are found in Sacred Scripture. If God, who knows all truth, has communicated to man, by supernatural revelation, doctrines which of themselves belong to the world of science, do they not thereby obtain a connection with the supernatural order? Does not the existence of such persons as Herod and Pontius Pilate belong to such truths? Do not the statements which Sacred Scripture makes about the original formation of the earth illustrate also this class? It is of such scientific truths, connected, intrinsically or extrinsically with the supernatural order, that we wish specially to speak.

Has, then, the Church a right to make her voice heard on these matters? Is it within her province to give binding decisions in their regard? Not only revelation, as contained in Sacred Scripture and the tradition of the Church, but also reason itself tells us that she has this power. Our Lord gave His Church a commission to teach authentically, as His representative on earth, all matters of faith and morals. This power implies authority to teach definitely in all matters so connected with faith and morals that their denial carries with it a denial of these supernatural truths, and their assertion exclusively harmonizes with them. It would be quite impossible for the Church to carry on her divine mission of teaching the faith, unless she can settle those scientific questions which are necessarily connected with faith. Truth is consistent both in conclusions and principles. If conclusions be laid down as true, the principles on which they are based must be also laid down as true. Those principles which lead to a destruction of the truth must be thrust aside. Those principles which alone harmonize with truth must be upheld. The Church, then, having got charge from God over the divine truths of faiths, thereby has also got charge over all those truths that are necessarily connected with them, in so far as they are connected with them. We say 'in so far as they are connected with them,' because the Church has received no commission to teach science as such, so she can treat of scientific matters only in so far as they have relations with her own affairs.

This argument applies principally to those scientific truths that are intrinsically connected with faith and morals. In those matters which have received through divine revelation an extrinsic connection with the supernatural order, there is greater reason still for demanding for the Church the right to speak with authority. When God makes manifest, by supernatural revelation, any truth, no matter to what branch of learning it may belong, we are bound to give to it an assent of faith. The very nature of faith, which is an assent to revealed truths on the authority of God revealing, proclaims this. These truths, then, though purely scientific previous to their revelation, after their revelation become the object of our faith. Christ has given to the Church the right of teaching the faith, and so to it He has given charge over these scientific truths which He has revealed. How false, then, is the statement of Dr. Mivart, that 'God has taught us, through history, that it is not to ecclesiastical congregations, but to men of science, that He has committed the elucidation of scientific questions, whether such questions are, or are not, treated of by Scripture, the fathers, the Church's common teaching,' &c. If in Sacred Scripture—the inspired word of God—we find any doctrine, whether theological, historical, or philosophical, it matters not, it is within the right of the Church to give a decision on it whereby we may regulate our faith.

Some illustrations will help to make our principles so clear that anyone who professes himself a Catholic must give them his whole-hearted adhesion. Let us first take the doctrine of the Incarnation. It is from revelation, and from revelation alone, we can know whether or not God has become man. As a matter of fact, we do know that the Son of God has assumed human nature, thereby depriving it of its own personality, and giving to it the divine personality. Undoubtedly, the Church had a perfect right to define this doctrine of the divinity of Christ. But this decision involves many scientific questions. The possibility of human nature without human personality is involved. The historical question of the existence of Christ is involved. Hence the Church is within its right when it decides these questions

Why, then, is it not within its right when it decides other scientific matters connected with faith? Clearly, no reason can be given to the contrary. Again, the Church has the power to decide the doctrine of the Trinity. But does not that imply power to settle the many scientific questions which the doctrine of the Trinity presupposes? Some of these questions are the meaning of personality, the correct notions of nature, the possibility of one nature with a threefold personality. The Church has, again, rightfully decided the doctrine of Transubstantiation. It has, consequently, rightfully decided the scientific questions connected with it. It has principally decided in this connection that accidents of bread and wine can remain without their connatural substances. These and many similar examples show clearly that any person who desires to deprive the Church of the power of speaking with authority on questions intimately connected with faith must logically wish to deprive her of that power over faith and morals which every Catholic attributes to her.

We conclude, then, that the Church has the right in question. We conclude also that the Church has received from Christ authority to determine what matters belong entirely to the supernatural order, what affairs are purely scientific, and what truths are mixed. Every judge, by reason of his office, possesses a right similar to this. He has power not only to decide the cases which are brought before his court, but also to determine what cases do, and what cases do not, come under his jurisdiction. Unauthorized individuals may canvass the matter, learned advocates may discuss the *pros* and *cons* before the court; but it is only the judge himself who has an authoritative voice in deciding whether the case comes under his power or not. When he has decided, all parties must abide by his decision, unless, indeed, they wish to appeal to a higher tribunal. The Church, in like manner, has a right to determine what cases come under its jurisdiction. Before the decision is given individuals may differ on the question as to whether a certain thing does or does not belong to the Church's

province. When, however, a final decision has been given, all must submit, there being no higher tribunal on earth to which man can appeal.

Before we proceed further, it is well to answer one or two objections which are sometimes urged against the claims we have so far defended for the Catholic Church. Does not the exercise of the power we speak of bring endless confusion into scientific matters? Does it not take from men of science all freedom of thought and of investigation in matters that are peculiarly their own? Does it not, in fact, retard all progress in affairs that mean so much for the human race? It is only men who do not understand the claims of the Church who can put forward such objections. In the first place, the Church makes no claim in matters of science which do not bear intimate relations with faith and morals. In all such truths men of science have all the liberty that their hearts can desire. In the second place, in those scientific matters over which the Church has power, she has this only by reason of her divine mission to teach the faith. She, acting as God's official truth-bearer in matters of faith, can teach the truth in all matters necessarily connected with the faith. Truth is no obstacle to true progress. It is the surest guide to the faltering steps of erring man. Men of science, then, ought rather thank the Church for the inestimable gift of truth which she can place at their disposal than blame her for her interference in a province which they falsely deem entirely their own.

Another difficulty which arises here is derived from a parity between faith and the natural sciences. In the natural sciences each science confines itself to its own sphere. It investigates the truths that belong directly to itself, and these truths alone. Any other truths which it may require, it does not itself investigate; it depends on the investigations of that science to which they properly belong. The lawyer goes to the doctor for his medicine, the doctor to the lawyer for his law. So, too, it ought to be with faith. Faith has its own interpreter—the Church. It is the duty of the Church to confine itself to matters that directly belong to faith. Any other truths that it

may require it must obtain from the science to which they belong. To that science the Church must leave the discovery of these truths.

How false is this position is clear from what we have already said. The Church cannot define her own doctrines without the power of deciding many questions that have scientific aspects. She could not define the Trinity unless she defines that three persons can have one nature. She could not define the doctrine of Transubstantiation unless she defines that accidents can be without their proper subject. Is she then to await the conclusions of science on these matters, though the same God who taught her these truths of faith taught her also these truths of science. Assuredly not. The eternal interests of man are higher than the temporal interests of science. The testimony of God is weightier than the testimony of men of science. Let, then, the greater interests and the greater authority prevail. Man will thereby gain, not only the inestimable gifts of faith, but also many useful lessons of science.

Nor, in truth, is the position of our opponents valid in reference to natural sciences. Their relations to one another are not so absolutely limited as they would have us believe. No doubt many matters exclusively belong to one or another science. Many matters, however, have common aspects. In these there must be mutual aid. Each science must gratefully receive from the others the new lights which it can throw on these common affairs. Reasons found decisive for one science will settle, for another, a matter common to both. So it is too with the Church and natural science. Each aids the other. The Church gladly welcomes the discoveries of science, and endeavours to bring her doctrines into harmony with them. Of course, she needs caution, for many things are put forward in the name of science which are only the fancies of the faddist or tentative hypotheses put forward to explain certain phenomena. On the other hand, science ought gladly welcome the teaching of the Church, which throws light on many of the darksome ways of scientific in-

vestigation. In fact, in this matter there is more room for gratitude on the part of science than on the part of the Church, because Christ has given the Church the prerogative of infallibility in faith and matters connected with faith, a prerogative which no natural science, no matter how noble its end, can claim. When the Church exercises this infallible power on questions connected with faith, she places many scientific questions beyond all doubt. For this special benefit men of science must have special gratitude towards the Church, as the infallible interpreter of God's word.

Dr. Mivart states that in the opinion of Catholic ecclesiastics 'the criterion of scientific truth is not authority, but evidence.' He quotes these words from Father Hill, S.J. He forgets, however, to tell his readers in what sense and with what limitations this is their opinion. Catholic philosophers, ancient and modern, teach that evidence is the criterion of the truths of science, if they be treated scientifically. They do not maintain that authority may not be a criterion of the truths of science, if they be learned by an individual from other than scientific methods. A man of the world, for instance, who pretends to no special knowledge of science and scientific methods, prudently accepts, on the authority of men of science, their scientific conclusions. So, too, we all, scientists and non-scientists, prudently accept, and indeed are bound to accept, the truths of science which God has directly or indirectly revealed as they are taught by God's official interpreter of His word, the Catholic Church.

This consideration opens up another matter which we cannot afford to pass by in silence. Just as, in questions which directly belong to faith and morals, the Church on different occasions speaks with different voices; so it is, too, in matters scientific which have a supernatural aspect. At one time she speaks with a provisional voice; at another time she speaks with a voice which is not meant to be infallible. When she gives an infallible decision on any doctrine her decree is irrevocable. She has spoken under the guidance of the Divine Spirit, which prevents her

from falling into error. So her decision is unchangingly true. Far more frequently still the Church gives authoritative decisions on questions of faith and morals, and on questions closely connected with them, which do not purport to be final and irrevocable. They are like the decisions of any human authority which, though not claiming the gift of infallibility, has still real jurisdiction which enables it to give an authoritative decision even in matters concerning life and death. In giving these revocable decisions the Church does not use her prerogative of infallibility: still she uses her authentic teaching power. We are not free, consequently, to deride these decisions of ecclesiastical authority.

It is the duty of the Church herself, whose authorities know their own minds, to indicate when she wishes to speak with an irrevocable decree, and when she wishes to speak with a revocable yet authoritative voice. Outsiders have no right to determine this. The Church alone is able to do it. In many ways she expresses her intention on this matter. The tribunal from which her decrees emanate makes manifest her mind. The words which she employs are frequently an indication of her mind. The special form in which her decrees are promulgated are a similar indication. The tribunal from which they emanate also manifests her will. Her children know well the intention of their Mother Church. Suffice it for us to indicate that no insuperable difficulty can arise from doubt about her will.

Many considerations determine the Church to decide a question, at one time by an infallible definition, and at another time by a provisional decree. These considerations can be classed under two heads: the development of doctrine, and the opportuneness of a final decision. Frequently a doctrine is not sufficiently developed to enable the Church to give an infallible decision. Christ Himself did not explicitly teach all the doctrines of Christianity, nor did the Holy Ghost explicitly teach the Apostles all truth. In the beginning the germs of doctrine were planted, which under the ever-abiding Spirit of God will ever grow and bloom into new flowers of religious thought. Frequently, too, a doctrine may be sufficiently developed, yet it may be,

for one reason or another, inopportune to define it infallibly. In both these cases it may still be necessary to repress wrong tendencies. The Church may give a provisional authoritative decision which will produce this effect. This explains how futile are the views of those who say that if the Church be infallible why has she not already finally decided every question under the sun which in any way belongs to faith and morals? She is prevented from doing so by yet insufficient development of doctrine or unseasonableness of a final decision. Of this, however, we may be certain: that the Church will, under the guidance of the Holy Ghost, be able to encounter all dangers and to decide every doctrine in accordance with the exigencies of the case.

A very different kind of assent is given when the Church issues an infallible decision from that which is demanded when only a revocable decree has been promulgated. An internal irrevocable assent, either of divine or of ecclesiastical faith, must be given when the Church has exercised her infallibility. When the Church has given an authoritative, though not infallible, decision, an irrevocable internal assent is not demanded. At most an internal revocable assent is required. Many theologians think that external assent suffices. They consider that if we treat with external respect such decisions in matters of doctrine, we have done all that external authority can demand. We cannot, however, accept this view as sufficient. No doubt no intellectual assent can be given to any teaching without an intellectual motive. But the Church does not leave us without an intellectual motive. External arguments, within due limits, are reasonable motives for assent to truth. Now, in matters which directly or indirectly belong to faith, the Church has received from God power to teach. It has received charge over the deposit of faith. It devotes its energies to deep study of the truths contained therein. It is, then, the greatest authority on earth in its own province. Its teaching, consequently, carries with it an external intellectual motive of assent. She has, therefore, in matters which are within her own domain the authority, not only of official position, but also of knowledge. When she, then, commands

us to reject any teaching, and at the same time gives us an intellectual motive for assent, why are we not bound to obey her by really and truly rejecting that doctrine?

We must not, however, urge this view too far. The Church cannot command an internal assent without a sufficient intellectual motive therefor. Again, the decrees in question are not infallible. Hence, if there be reasons, known to an individual, which counterbalance the authority of the Church, he may, while showing external respect for the Church, refuse to give an internal assent. This can easily happen when new discoveries in science are made which show that the provisional teaching of the Church was false. Greater subsequent development in ecclesiastical matters may have the same effect. We are not prepared to deny either that, even at the time of the promulgation of the decree by the Church, an individual may have arguments which he reasonably thinks sufficient to counterbalance the external motive of Church authority. Both these cases are extremely rare. So rare are they, that, instead of weakening Church influence, they serve, by contrast, to show more clearly the great authority which attaches to her well-considered decisions in matters appertaining to faith and morals. Since, however, the decrees we speak of are not infallible, rare cases may and have occurred in which mistakes were made. It is perfectly lawful in such cases for an individual to withdraw assent already given, or refuse to give assent at all, if he is in possession of reasonable arguments against the decision of the Church.

This leads us to Dr. Mivart's conclusions from Galileo's condemnation. Only one of these is of much importance in our present discussion. His conclusion, that the decision of the Holy Office about the meaning of Sacred Scripture may be quite erroneous, is not only admitted, but strongly asserted by every Catholic theologian. The Holy Office has not received from Christ the prerogative of infallibility. Hence a decision given by it may be false.

His conclusion that men of physical science may have imparted to them truer religious perceptions than any Roman congregation, is not inconsistent, in particular

cases, with Catholic teaching. We cannot admit, however, that men of science, as a body, speaking in reference to a body of religious truths, have truer religious perceptions than the Roman Congregations. On the contrary, men whose special office it is to teach the faith, and whose lives are spent in preparation for the faithful observance of their duties, cannot but, even from a natural point of view, have truer notions of religious matters than men whose thoughts are devoted to other matters.

The conclusion, however, of Dr. Mivart, that Church authorities, because of the error committed in the case of Galileo, have thereby lost all claim to authoritatively interpret Sacred Scripture, especially in its relations to physical science, must be strenuously denied.

In order to make this the more clear, we think it well to state what we believe took place in reference to Galileo. In the first place we think it absolutely certain that Galileo's teaching was condemned because the Roman Congregations thought that it was opposed to Sacred Scripture. The Inquisition expressly declared that his doctrine, 'that the sun is the centre of the world,' was 'false and contrary to the Sacred and Divine Scriptures.' We think that Catholic apologists who deny this, and seek external reasons for the condemnation, instead of assisting the Church, do her immense harm.

In the second place, we confidently assert, that the decrees of the Congregation, though approved by the Pope as President of the Holy Office, were not intended as infallible declarations; they were intended simply as provisional decisions on an important question. This is clear from the fact that they were, and remained, decrees of the Congregations to which no Catholic thinks of attributing infallibility. Dr. Mivart himself does not seem to deny this. He asserts that 'non-Catholics may well ask, if the Pope had but to occupy a certain chair in order to decide infallibly, why did he not get into that chair?' The reply to the question has been given already. We introduce it here merely to show that Dr. Mivart seems to admit that there was no intention of giving an infallible decision.

This being the state of the case, we ask, does it follow that, because of the error committed then, the Congregations, and generally ecclesiastical authorities, have proved their claim untenable? They certainly have not. They have simply proved that when a provisional decision has been given it may be wrong—a conclusion which the case of Galileo was not required to prove, a conclusion which every Catholic maintains. The error does not prove that, when the Church gives a final, irrevocable decision by its competent tribunals, its decrees are without authority.¹ It does not prove either that respect must not be had for the provisional teaching of the Church, for it does not show that in matters which are either directly or indirectly religious, men of religious training are devoid of the authority of knowledge and of official position which enable them to exact an assent from those who are subject to them. The very rareness of such mistakes only confirms the great weight of authority which goes with their decisions. No judge in the temporal order loses his authority because he has happened to make a few mistakes. How much more ought a Roman Congregation not lose its authority, which, not merely for a few years, but even for centuries, has kept itself remarkably free from error?

Dr. Mivart seems to think that Galileo was not sincere in submitting to the Holy Office. We rather think that Galileo saw only too clearly that his own proofs for the Copernican theory were then not such as to place the question beyond all doubt. He then decided that the authority of the Roman Congregations, even from the point of view of knowledge, was a greater intellectual motive than his reasons for his theory. For him, scientist as he was, what appeared the greater intellectual motive carried the day, and he renounced his former views. This view we

¹ These tribunals are—(1) the Pope speaking *ex cathedra*; (2) the bishops of the Catholic world assembled under the Pope in general council; (3) the bishops of the Catholic world with the Pope at their head, but not in council assembled, teaching a doctrine as infallibly the doctrine of Christ. Only these have the gift of infallibility. No Roman Congregation, even though the Pope be its president, can lay claim to this prerogative. No church dignitary under the Pope, no matter how high his station be, has any right to this power. Nor can it be delegated to any inferior by its proper tribunals.

prefer to take than to assert that Galileo committed the crime of insincerity in obeying the decisions of ecclesiastical authority. We have too much respect for Galileo to accuse him of a crime which has not been proved.

We have selected this question for discussion rather than many other subjects which Dr. Mivart's articles raise, for two reasons. In the first place, there are some indications that many Catholics are unconsciously in error in this matter. In the second place, we believe that the first error on Dr. Mivart's part was to deny to the Church all authority in scientific matters which are contained even in Sacred Scripture. It was not difficult then to deny to the Church the right of interpreting Sacred Scripture. It was then easy to cast doubt on many passages of Sacred Scripture. It was not difficult to deny the truth of the Evangelists' narratives of the resurrection of our Lord. It was not difficult even to cast doubts on the virginity of our Blessed Lady, and the absence of St. Joseph's natural paternity of Christ. One error leads to another; one denial of Catholic teaching leads to many more. In establishing the one doctrine which Dr. Mivart seems to have first denied, we have removed the foundation of many succeeding errors. It is our sincere hope that Dr. Mivart will soon see his way to accept, as a devoted child of Mother Church, the doctrines which she presents to all her children. His loyal obedience would gladden the hearts of many who now mourn. His humble submission would render happy the declining years of his own life, which devoted its energies to the sacred cause of science.

JOHN M. HARTY.

Notes and Queries

THEOLOGY

QUASI DOMICILE: HOW AND WHEN IT IS LOST BY SERVANTS

REV. DEAR SIR,—Will you kindly give your opinion on the following case? Julia, a domestic servant, has been in service in the parish of X for seven months. Her parents have a domicile in another diocese. She engaged to marry a man in the parish of Z, also in another diocese. When she applied to the parish priest of X to have the marriage celebrated in his church, he made her promise to return to her master's house, and sleep there on the night of the marriage, probably in order to secure that her residence in his parish would be a quasi domicile. After the marriage, Julia did not return to her master's house, having previously sent away all her belongings. Was her marriage valid?

Suppose the priest asked her to leave her trunk in her master's house, and return for it on her way back from the church, would her marriage be valid, if she agreed to and carried out that promise?

Kindly allow me to add that I infer from the statements of certain writers that in their opinion no domestic servant whose parents have a domicile elsewhere can acquire a quasi domicile *in ordine ad matrimonium*, because it is argued that when she crosses the threshold of her master's house to proceed to the church, with intention of not returning to that house, she loses her quasi domicile.

I think that regard should be had to the distinction between the *habitatio* (her master's house) and the *locus habitationis* (the parish). It is the latter that is mentioned in the Instruction sent to the Irish bishops:—‘Ad constituendum quasi domicilium, duo haec simul requiruntur, habitatio nempe in eo loco, ubi matrimonium contrahitur, atque animus ibidem permanendi,’¹ etc. Now, the *loco ubi matrimonium contrahitur* is not the house she lives in, but the parish; therefore, I think it could be argued

¹ Vid. *Acta et Decreta* of the Maynooth Synod, p. 354.

that she holds her quasi domicile until she leaves the parish after the marriage.

The diversity of opinion on the matter of quasi domicile of domestic servants which still exists must be my excuse for bringing the matter forward again.

PRESBYTER.

We see no sufficient reason to question the validity of this marriage. We think that Julia retained her quasi domicile in the parish X until she finally left that parish after her marriage. What was necessary and sufficient for the retention of her quasi domicile, and for the validity of her marriage, was that she should not leave the parish—without the intention of returning—until the marriage had been celebrated. We understand that the girl came direct from her place of service to the Church to get married, and we have, therefore, no doubt as to the validity of the marriage.

As we have some reason to think, however, that the parish priest, who had to deal with this case, is not alone in taking with regard to domicile a view different from ours, it may be worth while to define more fully the question proposed, and our reply.

1. If this girl did not, at the time of her marriage, retain her parental, or any other, domicile outside the parish X, her marriage in the parish X, before the parish priest (or his delegate), was undoubtedly valid. For, then, she retained her quasi domicile in that parish or had become a *vaga*; in either case the parish priest was her *proprius parochus*. We may assume, however, that the girl retained, during the time of her service, her parental domicile. Our correspondent, with the facts before him, manifestly supposes that she did. We must accept his judgment on that point. Moreover, the retention or loss of her parental domicile does not affect our view as to the validity of the marriage.

2. We also assume, of course, that the *sponsus* was not a *vagus*. If he were, the parish priest of X could, *eo ipso*, apart from all other considerations, assist validly at the marriage; further, we take it that the parish priest of

X acted in his own name, and not in virtue of delegation from a *proprius parochus* of either of the parties.

3. Again, it is here taken for granted, on the authority of our correspondent, that Julia's seven months' residence in the parish X had all the conditions necessary to constitute a quasi domicili; nor, indeed, is there any reason for doubt on this point. Further, we gather that Julia did not leave the parish X in the interval between her final departure from the house of her service and the time of her marriage. For, if she left the parish X, with the intention of not returning, she undoubtedly lost her quasi domicile the moment she left the parish; nor could she recover it, even though she changed her mind and returned on the very day of her departure to await her approaching marriage.

4. Lastly, it may be well to add that we take Julia's departure from her master's house, on the morning of her marriage, to have been final and *absolute*. For, if she had even a conditional intention of returning to her service, in the event of the marriage being unexpectedly postponed or abandoned, no one could reasonably question the existence of her quasi domicile, up to the moment of her marriage.

The validity of the marriage then turns on this—Did Julia lose her quasi domicile at the moment at which she left her master's house with the intention of never returning to it? Or, on the contrary, did she retain her quasi domicile until she finally had crossed the confines of the parish X, on her way to her new home? In the former view the marriage would be invalid; in the latter, it would be valid.

The parish priest of X inclined, apparently, to the view that Julia would lose her quasi domicile, in crossing, for the last time, the threshold of her master's house. And, in order to secure the validity of the marriage, he exacted a promise from Julia that after her marriage she should return, at least for one day, to her place of service. Now, when was this promise made? If Julia, say a week before her marriage, and before leaving her service, came to the parish priest, and if he required her to promise to remain in her place of service until

the very morning of her marriage, or even if he asked her to promise to return to her master's house for a day after the marriage, we can understand the object, though we do not recognise the necessity, of the stipulation under which he consented to assist at the marriage. Probably this is what really happened. But, if—and our correspondent's statement does not absolutely exclude the hypothesis—the intention to return for a day to her master's house was formed, and the promise to do so was given only when she had already come to the church to get married and had, in the opinion of the parish priest, lost her quasi domicile, the precaution taken by the parish priest seems to have been quite useless.

For if Julia had, as he feared, lost her quasi domicile, the only way of recovering it was to take up her residence *de novo* in her master's house, or in some other place within the parish, with the intention of remaining there for, at least, six months. Julia's promise, therefore, its sincerity or insincerity, its fulfilment or violation, could, in the hypothesis just made, have had no effect on the validity of her marriage.

But, the main question is, was the parish priest right in thinking that Julia would lose her quasi domicile the moment she left her master's house on the morning of her marriage with the intention of never returning to that house? We think not. She lost her quasi domicile only at that moment at which *she left the parish*, after her marriage, with the intention of returning no more. Two things are sufficient to constitute a matrimonial quasi domicile: (1) *Factum commorationis in loco ubi matrimonium contrahitur*; (2) *Animus ibidem permanendi per majorem anni partem*. Once a quasi domicile has been acquired, it is retained until *both* of these conditions have ceased to exist. Julia fulfilled both conditions when she began, or, at all events, before she completed, her seven months' service. At the moment of her marriage, one, at all events, of these conditions still remained; she was still in the parish, and had never yet left it with the intention of not returning. She, therefore, retained her quasi domicile.

It is, we think, a mistake to suppose, as some appear to suppose, that in acquiring a domicile or quasi domicile in a parish, one's intention of remaining must be attached to a particular definite house. What is necessary is an intention of remaining like an ordinary inhabitant in the parish. And so, when there is question of losing a domicile or quasi domicile, one does not lose his domicile or quasi domicile until he actually and finally leaves the parish.

Hence, to illustrate our view: if a man comes to live in a parish, intending to remain eight months, for example; takes a certain house for four months; intends to change, and does change into another house in the same parish for the remaining four months, that man has a quasi domicile in the parish during the whole eight months, even while he was moving into the new house. Again, if a servant has agreed to serve in a certain house, say for nine months, and has acquired a quasi domicile, he retains that quasi domicile, if, by reason of some unexpected misunderstanding with his master, he changes to another place in the same parish, or if he goes into lodgings in that parish while he is looking out for a new place, or arranging for his marriage.

We do not raise the question whether a man may not live, even for years, in a parish without acquiring a quasi domicile, if he wanders about the parish *more vagi aut itinerantis*. Whatever may be said on that point—and it does not bear on the present case—our assertion just now regards those only who cannot be said, in any sense, to lead a wandering life or to be mere travellers in the parish.¹

Now, if our notion be correct, and if, therefore, Julia's quasi domicile was not as it were attached to her master's house, but to the parish, so that she might have taken another place in the parish or gone into lodgings in the parish without losing her quasi domicile, it is perfectly clear that she retained her quasi domicile on the morning of her marriage, and that the marriage was valid, even though she intended to proceed, and did proceed, directly after the marriage ceremony to her husband's home in another diocese.

¹ Conf. Murray, *De Imped. Mat.*, n. 359, 6°, footnote.

As we have already said, we have reason to think that the parish priest who was concerned in this case is not singular in his view of domicile and quasi domicile. Possibly, this notion, erroneous, as we think, has arisen from the fact that authors generally tacitly assume, rather than expressly assert, the teaching that we have been laying down. We may, however, refer, by way of example, to Konings, who clearly enough expresses his mind when he describes a *vagus* as follows :—

Ut *vagus* quis dicatur relate ad parochiam, nec opus quidem est ut domicilium in remota seu externa aliqua regione quaerat: sed generatim satis est quod *priori parochia relicta* nondum in alia sedem defixeret.¹

Dr. Murray, defining domicile, writes in the same sense:—

Quod efficit domicilium [aut quasi domicilium] in aliqua *parochia habitatio est in illa cum intentione in eadem perpetuo [aut per semestrem] habitandi.*²

It will be observed that, in the words we have italicized, the authors quoted assume that domicile and quasi domicile are attached to the *parish*, not necessarily to a particular residence. There can be no doubt as to Dr. Murray's opinion, for in the context referred to he expressly taught that a man might have and retain the same domicile in a parish, even though he repeatedly changed his residence in the parish within a brief period.

In addition to what we have said it will suffice to quote the authority of Feije in favour of the view we have put forward. Discussing the conditions for acquiring and losing a quasi domicile, he decides a case, which in all essentials covers the case with which we are now dealing. He writes as follows :—

Attamen sedulo curandum est ut parochianus vel parochiana non deserat suum quasi domicilium ante diem celebrationis matrimonii, sed *maneant in parochia* sive in eodem ex. gr. famulatu sive *in alia domo intra parochiam*, usque ad contractum in ea matrimonium; secus enim quasi domicilium dispareret. Non

¹ 1614, q. 2. The italics in this and the following quotations are ours

² Vide *De Imped. Mat.*, n. 359, 6.

tamen officeret si intenderit discedere post contractum matrimonium; nam quasi domicilium non amittit 'cum ex eo loco discedere constituit sed tunc cum revera discesserit non reversurus.'¹

On the one hand, therefore, according to Feije, a servant loses his quasi domicile, if he goes, no matter for how short a time, outside his parish with the intention of not returning. On the other hand, provided he remains within his parish, he retains his quasi domicile, even though he leaves his place of service without any intention of returning to it, and stays in another house, a lodging-house, for example, awaiting the day of his marriage. The point that Feije makes perfectly clear is, that a servant does not lose his quasi domicile the moment that he finally leaves his master's house; he retains it while he remains within the parish.

Applying this to the case before us, it is evident that, according to Feije, Julia retained her quasi domicile at the moment of her marriage, and that her marriage was, therefore, valid.

We agree with our correspondent that this teaching of Feije is quite in accord also with the Instruction transmitted to the Irish bishops to which he refers above. According to the Instruction there must be, to constitute a quasi domicile, '*actualis habitatio in loco ubi contrahitur*,' i.e., of course, in the parish, and the '*animus ibidem permanendi per majorem anni partem*.' Once these two conditions are secured one's quasi domicile will remain until both conditions have disappeared. Therefore, as long as *habitatio in parochia* remains, so long does the quasi domicile remain.

Perhaps we should add one word more to meet the point of another correspondent. We have made two assertions above—1) that a servant having a quasi domicile, who leaves her master's house, *finally* and *absolutely*, with the intention of getting married, and goes direct to the church, or into lodgings for a few days in the same parish, retains her quasi domicile at the

¹ Vide *De Imped. et Dispens.*, 229, 3, Conf. N. *Revue Théologique*, xxvii. p. 228, *et seq.*, where a similar case is solved in the same way.

time of her marriage; (2) that the same servant, if she leaves her place of service without any intention of marriage, and takes service in another place in the same parish, say for a month, also retains her quasi domicile. We are aware, however, that some who accept the first statement, hesitate to accept the second. But to us seems that the two assertions must stand or fall together. For either one's quasi domicile is necessarily attached to one definite place of residence in a parish, or it is not. If a quasi domicile is necessarily attached to a definite residence, then one's quasi domicile is lost the moment one *finally* and *absolutely* quits that residence, it matters not for what purpose—marriage or any other. If a quasi domicile is not necessarily attached to one definite place of residence in a parish, and if one can *finally* and *absolutely* leave the place in which one has been living and still retain a quasi domicile on the way to the parish church to get married, why can one not retain a quasi domicile on the way to new situation in the same parish?

The supplemental question asked by our correspondent 'Presbyter' is already answered in what we have said.

D. MANNIX.

LITURGY

THE SUSPENSION OF INDULGENCES DURING THE HOLY YEAR

THERE are two kinds of jubilees—the *ordinary* jubilee, celebrated every twenty-five years, and the *extraordinary*, celebrated on occasions deemed suitable by the Holy See. The ordinary jubilee is confined to Rome for one whole year, which is called the Holy Year. It begins at Vespertime on the eve of Christmas in the year preceding the Holy Year, and closes at the same time on the eve of the same feast in the Holy Year. In the year following the Holy Year the jubilee is generally granted to the whole world but, as a rule, for a period not exceeding six months. The extraordinary jubilee, on the other hand, is granted

simultaneously to Rome and to the rest of the world, and its celebration in a particular diocese is generally confined to a period of fourteen or fifteen days.

The first ordinary jubilee of which we have written record was celebrated in the year 1300, when Boniface VIII. was Pope. Towards the close of the year 1299 a rumour—universally believed in Rome and Italy, and even in the South of France—was spread about, to the effect that in the year 1200 extraordinary indulgences had been granted to all who visited during the year the Basilica of St. Peter's, and that a similar indulgence had been granted on the century years preceding, and promised for the century years to come. The rumour reached the ears of Boniface. He ordered the archives of the Vatican to be carefully searched; but no documentary proof of this concession could be discovered. No jubilee, therefore, was proclaimed by the Pope; yet, notwithstanding, when the 1st of January in the year 1300 came, immense crowds, not merely from Rome, but from distant parts as well, began to flock to St. Peter's. Boniface, noticing the earnestness of the faithful, and realizing how much good might be effected through this movement, issued, on the 22nd of February, 1300, a bull granting a plenary indulgence to all who should visit Rome, and there fulfil certain easy conditions. In this bull, moreover, it was ordained that a similar indulgence should be granted every hundredth year, on the same conditions. Thus the matter rested until the year 1342.

In that year Clement VI. ascended the Papal throne. The Babylonian captivity of the Papacy was in its middle course; Rome was deserted; the gorgeous ceremonies of brighter days were seen no more; the tombs of the Apostles were unvisited; and ecclesiastical Rome, humanly speaking, seemed destined to disappear. Whether it was owing to an inspiration from heaven, or to a desire to see their city once more recognised as the centre of Christendom and the attraction of pilgrims, the Romans conceived the happy idea of petitioning the newly-elected Pope to allow the jubilee to be celebrated every fiftieth year instead of every hundredth. They represented to him, among other things,

that, if the jubilee were celebrated only every hundredth year, very many must die without having had an opportunity of participating in its favours. The petition was granted, and in the year 1343, Clement VI. issued a bull proclaiming a jubilee for the year 1350. The bull was re-issued in 1349, and the zeal and piety of the Roman people were rewarded by the vast crowds of pilgrims from all parts of the world who flocked to Rome during the Holy Year of 1350.

In 1389 another change was made in the interval separating two jubilees. Urban VI., whose election gave rise to the great Western Schism, in that year issued a bull proclaiming a jubilee for the following year, 1390, and ordaining that in future the interval between two jubilees should be thirty-three years, in memory of the time which Christ is said to have spent on earth. In accordance with this arrangement, a jubilee was celebrated in 1423, under Martin V. ; but at the approach of 1450, Nicholas V., who was then Pope, determined to abolish the rather awkward interval of thirty-three years, and to substitute for it the interval of fifty years, introduced just a century previously by Clement VI. Accordingly, in the year 1450, a jubilee was celebrated, the most successful yet witnessed, and a decree issued that the ordinary jubilee should be celebrated only every fiftieth year.

But just as the interval of a hundred years between two jubilees appeared too long for Clement VI. and the Roman people of his time, so did the interval of fifty years appear too long to Paul II. and his contemporaries. The chief reason for reducing the interval from one hundred to fifty years was, that many must necessarily die without having had an opportunity of gaining the privileges of the jubilee ; but the same is true, though, of course, not to the same extent, if the interval be fifty. Therefore, Paul II., by a bull issued on the 19th of April, 1470, restricted the interval to twenty-five years, and proclaimed a jubilee for the year 1475. Paul II., however, did not live to celebrate the jubilee of 1475. He died in 1471, and his successor, Sixtus IV., had the privilege of presiding at the celebration of the Jubilee in Rome.

The object which the Popes had in view in confining the jubilee to Rome was to induce as many as possible to come to the Holy City, and thereby testify to the world their faith in Christ and His holy Church, in His vice-gerent the Pope, and in the ample powers of binding and loosing which Christ has conceded to him. Up to the time of Sixtus IV. the only inducement held out to the faithful to visit Rome and the tombs of the Apostles was the extraordinary favours they should receive in return for their visit. But Sixtus went a step further. It occurred to him, it would seem, that as long as the faithful could gain at home the very generous indulgences granted by the Church for certain prayers and good works, they would feel less inclined to visit Rome to gain the indulgences of the jubilee. Accordingly, in proclaiming the jubilee of 1475, Sixtus suspended, during the Holy Year, all the indulgences hitherto attached to visits to certain churches, to the recital of certain prayers, or to the performance of certain good works. As this is the first occasion on which the ordinary indulgences were suspended during the Holy Year, we may here interrupt our brief outline of the history of the Christian jubilee to discuss the question which forms the primary subject of this paper.

In the Brief suspending the indulgences throughout the world during the present Holy Year, his Holiness, after an exhortation to Catholics to visit Rome during the year, says :—

Quod cum tam salutare ac frugiferum appareat, sane cupimus ut urbs Roma toto anno proximo maiore qua fieri potest frequentia mortalium celebretur : ob eamque rem peregrinationis romane cupidis velut stimulos addituri, admissorum expiandorum privilegia, quae liberalitate indulgentiaque Ecclesiae passim concessa sunt, intermitteri volumus : videlicet, quod plures decessores Nostri in caussis similibus consuevere, Indulgentias usitatas apostolica auctoritate ad totum Annum sacrum suspendimus.

The first of the predecessors of Leo XIII. to suspend ordinary indulgences during the Holy Year was, as has just been stated, Sixtus IV. His example was not, however, at

once followed. The next ordinary jubilee after the time of Sixtus was celebrated in the year 1500, when Alexander VI. was Pope. Not only did Alexander not suspend the ordinary indulgences during the Holy Year, but he allowed the faithful in every part of the world to gain the indulgence of the jubilee during the Holy Year, without visiting Rome, as well as to gain the ordinary indulgences attached by the Church to prayers and works of piety. But in most of the ordinary jubilees celebrated since the time of Alexander, the custom introduced by Sixtus IV. has been maintained, and nearly all indulgences have been suspended, in this sense, that the living could not gain them, and apply them to themselves, and in this sense only. Later on we shall have occasion to return to this subject, and to speak more fully on it.

But not all indulgences are suspended during the Holy Year, even in the restricted sense in which this suspension of indulgences is to be understood. The Papal Brief goes on to say :—

Verumtamen prudenti quadam temperatione modoque adhibito ut infra scriptum est.

Integras atque immutatas permanere volumus et decernimus.

I. Indulgentias in articulo mortis concessas.

Among the most important and most highly prized of the indulgences which we gain for ourselves are those granted for the hour of death. The Church is too tender a mother to deprive her children for even an hour, not to speak of a year, of this, her last and crowning consolation, which she imparts to them at the moment when they are passing from her jurisdiction. Nor is it merely the plenary indulgence at the hour of death granted by Benedict XIV., and solemnly conferred by a priest according to a fixed formula, that the Holy Father permits to remain 'entire and unchanged;' but, in addition, all the indulgences granted for the hour of death, whatever may be the conditions for gaining them, or the 'title' on which they are granted. This is indicated by the plural number *indulgentias . . . concessas*; but it is also known from the general custom

followed when indulgences are suspended. Hence persons having beads, crosses, medals, &c., to which is attached a plenary indulgence for the hour of death, can rest assured that, should God call them during this year, they have the same claim to the plenary indulgence as they depart this life as they would have had this been any other year.

II. Eam, qua fruuntur ex auctoritate Benedicti XIII decessoris Nostri, quotquot ac sacri aeris pulsum de genu vel stantes *Salutationem angelicam*, aliamve pro temporis ratione precationem recitaverint :

III. Indulgentiam decem annorum totidemque quadragenarum Pii IX auctoritate an. MDCCCLXXVI iis tributam qui pie templa visitent in quibus Sacramentum augustum quadraginta horarum spatio adorandum proponitur :

IV. Illas item Innocentii XI et Innocentii XII decessorum Nostrorum decreto iis constitutas, qui Sacramentum augustum, cum ad aegrotos defertur, comitentur, vel cereum aut facem per alios deferendam ea occasione mittant.

It is hardly necessary to make any remark on any one of these three paragraphs. The indulgence mentioned in the last paragraph is rarely, if ever, within the reach of the faithful in this country. The indulgence granted to those who visit a church wherein the Blessed Sacrament is exposed for the Forty Hours' Adoration is gained only where the Blessed Sacrament is exposed for forty hours consecutively, or where a special concession has been made, allowing without detriment to the indulgences the reposition in the evening and the exposition in the morning of the Most Holy Sacrament. This special concession has not, as far as we know, been granted to more than a few dioceses in Ireland.

V. Indulgentiam alias concessam adeuntibus pietatis causa templum sanctae Mariae Angelorum Ordinis Fratrum Minorum extra Assisii moenia a vespere Calendarum Augusti ad solis occasum diei insequentis.

This is the famous 'Portiuncula Indulgence,' or indulgence of the Portiuncula, the most extraordinary of all indulgences, as it is said to have been promised by Christ Himself. It is not within the scope of the present article to discuss the nature of the indulgences suspended, or

allowed to remain during the present year, nor to set forth the conditions on which the latter class may be gained. We call special attention to this paragraph for the purpose of stating that this indulgence, in our opinion, remains attached during this year as usual, not merely to the 'Portiuncula' itself, but to all the other churches in christendom to which, by the favour of the Apostolic See, it has been extended.

VI. Indulgentias, quas S. R. E. Cardinales Legati a latere, apostolicae Sedis Nuntii, item Episcopi in usu Pontificalium aut impertienda benedictione aliave forma consueta largiri solent.

Cardinals, nuntios, legates *a latere*, archbishops, and bishops can grant certain indulgences, varying in extent, from forty days to 'seven years and seven quarantines.' Such indulgences, this paragraph states, can be granted, and gained during the present year. But the plenary indulgence attached to the papal blessing, whether given by prelates or priests at the close of a mission or of a charity sermon, would seem to be among the indulgences suspended during this year. On this point Beringer writes as follows :—

La suspense s'étend même à l'Indulgence plénière attachée à la bénédiction papale que les évêques, archevêques, etc., ont coutume de donner.

VII. Indulgentias Altarium Privilegiatorum pro fidelibus defunctis, aliasque eodem modo pro solis defunctis concessas : item quaecumque vivis quidem concessae sint, sed hac dumtaxat causa ut defunctis per modum suffragii directi applicari valeant. Quas omnes et singulas volumus non prodesse vivis, prodesse defunctis.

As this is a jubilee year for the Church militant, so, according to the desire of the Holy Father, should it be a jubilee year, or year of rejoicing, for the Church suffering. Indulgences are suspended during the Holy Year in order to induce as many of the faithful as possible to visit Rome, and there gain the exceptional privileges attached to such a pilgrimage at such a time. But the souls in purgatory are not in a position to share in these privileges. Hence, not only are none of the indulgences hitherto applicable to

these holy souls suspended during this year, but, in addition, all indulgences which at other times the faithful could gain only for themselves, they can now gain for the souls in purgatory. It appears, therefore, that, notwithstanding the so-called suspension of indulgences during the year, no indulgences at all are suspended. We can during this year gain all the indulgences which we might gain at any other time ; but during this year we must apply to the souls in purgatory, as to one or more of them, all the indulgences, with the exception of those mentioned in the preceding paragraphs, which we previously applied to ourselves. Otherwise we do not gain them. We should not, then, on account of this suspension of indulgences, omit any of our accustomed prayers or good works on the plea that no indulgence is attached to them. The usual indulgences are attached to them, and will go to relieve our friends who are expiating their faults in purgatory.

D. O'LOAN.

DOCUMENTS

SUSPENSION OF INDULGENCES DURING THE HOLY YEAR. THE FACULTIES OF BISHOPS

Ex Secretaria

S. C. Prop. Fidei.

ROMÆ, Die 8 Januarii 1900.

ILLME. ET REVME. DOMINE,

Ad omnem perplexitatem e medio tollendam circa interpretationem Apostolicæ Constitutionis 'Quod Pontificum' prid, Kal-præteriti Octobris editæ super suspensione indulgentiarum et facultatum, vertente hoc anno universalis Jubilæi; curæ mihi est universos sacrorum Antistites Sacrae huic Congregationi subjectos certiores reddere:

I. Omnes facultates Episcopis aut locorum Ordinariis *pro foro externo* concessas, vertente hoc jubilarî anno perdurare:

II. Facultates *pro foro interno* ab hoc S. Consilio Christiano Nomini Propagando concessas, uti Summus Pontifex in Audientia diei 6 vertentis Januarii benigne indulsit, adhiberi pariter posse decurrente Jubilæi tempore, in casu gravis incommodi.

Haec dum Amplitudini Tuæ, pro meo munere, significo Deum precor ut Te diutissime sospitet.

M. Card. LEDOCHOWSKI, *Praef.*

ALOISIUS VECCIA, *Secretarius.*

CONSECRATION OF MANKIND TO THE SACRED HEART. RENEWAL OF THE INDULGENCE. POWER GRANTED TO MAKE THE SOLEMN CONSECRATION THIS YEAR IN PLACES WHERE NOTIFICATION OF THE PRIVILEGE ARRIVED TOO LATE LAST YEAR. LETTER FROM THE SACRED CONGREGATION OF RITES

QUAM encyclicis Litteris *Annum Sacrum* datis die 25 mensis Maii hujus anni '*de hominibus* Sacratissimo Cordi Jesu devovendis' Ssmus. Dominus Noster Leo PP. XIII. spem expressit atque fiduciam fore ut maxima inde bona, nedum in singulis verum etiam in universam christianam Familiam derivarent; eam singularis quidam christiani populi consensus ac prompta voluntas confirmavit atque auxit. Nam simul ut supremi Pastoris audita vox est compellantis-orbem ut divinam caritatis Victimam sibi demereret totumque se Illi manciparet, statim populus

romanus imprimis, exinde vero non Italia solum, sed omnis Europa dissitaeque quamplures regiones visae sunt quasi mutuo certare, ut Summi Pontificis votis ac voluntati sese morigeras exhiberent. Quae omnia quanto gaudio cumularint Sanctissimum Patrem satis quidem significavi litteris diei 21 mensis Julii hujus anni, quibus ipsius Pontificis nutu ac nomine Tibi et singulis e tuo Clero magnopere gratulabar, agebamque gratias.

Nunc vero allatum est memoratas encyclicas Litteras ad remotiores regiones quasdam serius pervenisse quam definitum rei peragenda tempus postularet. Quamobrem Sanctitati Suae supplices preces oblatae sunt ut harum etiam pio desiderio satisfaceret, facta ipsis potestate sese devovendi Sacratissimo Cordi Jesu iisdem conditionibus ac si cum ceteris legitimo tempore solemne hoc religionis testimonium edidissent. Cui petitioni Beatissimus Pater benigne annuens, quin etiam largius indulgens, concessit ut non modo fideles, ad quos encyclicae Litterae tardius pervenerunt, sed omnes qui consecrationis iteraverint formam die solemni Sanctissimo Cordi Jesu sacra proximi anni, vel dominica proxime sequenti, ac cetera praescripta servaverint, de privilegio prorsus singulari iisdem fruantur indulgentiis, quae in memoratis Apostolicis Litteris expressae sunt.

Ex his facile intelligi potest, quam curae sit Summo Pontifici haec forma pietatis atque omnium quotquot in orbe sunt dedicatio Sacratissimo Cordi Jesu. Confidit enim Beatissimus Pater, sicut edixit tum denique fore ut sanentur tot vulnera inflicta hominum societati, ut jus omne ad pristinae auctoritatis exemplum revirescat, ut restituantur ornamenta pacis, quum *omnis lingua confiteatur quia Dominus Jesus Christus in gloria est Dei Patris*.

Spem certam foveo, singulos Antistites de studio atque industria, cujus tam praeclarum specimen huc usque ediderunt, nihil cessuros in posterum ut quamplurimi Ecclesiae filii utentes ad salutem apostolicae liberalitatis munere, acquirantur Christo, et *hauriant aquas in quando de fontibus Salvatoris*.

Interim Eminentiae Vestrae Manus humillime deosculor.

Eminentiae Vestrae

C. Episcopus Praenestinus Card. MAZZELLA, S. R. C., Praef.

D. PANICI, S. R. C., Secretarius.

Romae, ex Secretaria

Sacror. Rituum Congregationis .

Die 27 Mensis Novembris anno 1899.

Emo. et Revmo. Dno. MICHAELI CARDINALI LOGUE.

NOTICES OF BOOKS

MY NEW CURATE. A Story Gathered from the Stray Leaves of an Old Diary. By Rev. P. A. Sheehan, P.P., Doneraile. Author of *Geoffrey Austin*, and *The Triumph of Failure*. Boston: Marlier, Callanan & Co. 1899. London Agents, Art and Book Co. Price 6s.

THE author of *Geoffrey Austin* and *The Triumph of Failure* needs no introduction to the readers of the I. E. RECORD. Long before he had acquired fame as a writer of fiction he had contributed valuable articles to the pages of this review, and in those early days gave full promise of the gifts which seem now to have reached all the fulness of maturity. *Geoffrey Austin* dealt with student life in our Catholic colleges, and brought home with force to those, who are charged with the direction of such institutions, the terrible responsibilities they incur when they neglect the religious side of young men's education, and fail in that most sacred part of their duty which consists in bringing into play all the finer and higher influences of religion on the souls confided by Christian parents to their care. At the time of the publication of this work we were of opinion that the picture was somewhat overdrawn, and the induction from certain specific cases made too complete. The fate of *Geoffrey Austin* helped, however, to direct public attention to a danger which the secular machinery of our educational methods contributed in no small degree to aggravate. In so far, we have no doubt, the main object of the writer was achieved.

In *The Triumph of Failure* we witnessed the results of the evil system so graphically set before us in *Geoffrey Austin*. We followed the efforts of human reason and of earthly wisdom to supplant and to surpass the wisdom of the Gospel. We saw a proud spirit struggling between the attractions of independent philosophy and his abject surroundings, wrestling with fortune, and beaten in the contest; but from the wreck of his hopes and the ruin of his intellectual castles we saw him rise and return to the home from which he had strayed.

Both these works displayed uncommon earnestness, a thorough realization of the danger to our boys and young men of the system of education they depicted, and an intense desire to see

the remedy applied wherever and whenever it was required. They revealed their author as a man of wide culture, of acute and penetrating observation, of a kindly heart. Many passages in them were marked by what may be called great literary eloquence; and although they touched almost the whole gamut of human passions and sentiments, the most scrupulous critic would seek in vain through their pages for a sentence, or even an expression, unworthy of the priestly character of their author.

Notwithstanding all these good qualities, it was generally observed that many of the scenes described in these two volumes were unreal, and to some extent exaggerated; that a little more measure and restraint would take nothing from the eloquence and add much to the fascination of the narrative; and that the artistic combination of philosophy with fiction required to be so shaded that the philosophy should not be too obtrusive nor the fiction too thinly disguised.

In *My New Curate* we notice none of these defects. It is, of its kind, almost a perfect book. Its attractions are so great that it is sure to win its way through its own merits. It may not become so widely known as the *Vicar of Wakefield*, or the *Vicaire Savoyard*, but to Catholic readers it will prove infinitely more attractive than either one or the other. It is far more real and far more true to its object than the letters of Yves Le Querdec. This arises from the fact that Father Sheehan, unlike the French author, who is a layman, lived through what he describes. Indeed, the note of personal experience is felt all through the book. The ideal is held up to us in vivid light, but it is so well supported and so completely wrapped in probabilities and realities that we easily mistake it for the real.

The diary of an imaginary parish priest, working in the seaside village of Kilronan, away on the west coast of Ireland, supplies the various chapters of this captivating story. His worthy curate, Father Tom Laverty, whose motto in life was 'to leave things as they were,' and to ejaculate 'Cui bono?' whenever any improvement was suggested, was transferred to a distant parish, and a new curate, Father Edward Letheby, was appointed in his place. The improvements wrought in the parish by this zealous priest, whose tact and ability are suggested for imitation, occupy the chief place in the volume. The lives of the two priests are full of incidents that attract attention, and the various characters in the parish have the mirror held before them. W.

must refer our readers to the work itself for a full appreciation of its worth. No selection of extracts taken out of the context would give an idea of the brilliant flashes of description, of the quiet humour, of the deep insight into human nature, and particularly clerical human nature, of the practical common sense, of the wide and varied knowledge, and of the fine flavour of religion which constitute in combination the charm of these pages. The various incidents that arise even in the course of a single year in a remote parish, give the author an opportunity of touching on all sorts of questions—house furniture, church furniture, sacrifices, altars, servants, the poor, the middle class, the rich, the sick, the indifferent, the members of secret societies, the material welfare of the parish, the attitude of the priest towards political and social organizations. And it is all done with ability and refinement, charity never failing even when a wholesome lesson is imparted.

We have said enough to justify the hope that this beautiful book may find a place not only in the library of every priest, but in every library throughout the land. One of its best features is that it may be read with equal profit by young and old, by parish priest, curate, and student, by the laity of every degree; and we have no doubt that in all cases its effect will be to draw closer the bonds that unite priests and people not only in our own country, but wherever it is read. We congratulate the author on the success he has achieved, and on the honour that his work reflects on the priesthood of Ireland. We trust that his example may stimulate others to labour for the same good cause in fields that are still unexplored; and we wish him length of years to wear his laurels, and strength to do further service in the domain that he has made his own.

We should not conclude without a word of congratulation to the Boston publishers. The paper, letterpress and binding, far surpass anything we have yet seen from America. The illustrations by Louis Meynell are worthy of the book, and make it doubly valuable.

J. F. H.

THE KING OF CLADDAGH. A Story of the Cromwellian Occupation of Galway. By Thomas Fitzpatrick, LL.D. London: Sands & Co. 1899.

MR. FITZPATRICK has placed the Catholics of Ireland under a deep debt of gratitude to him for this beautiful book. At a time when we hear complaints on all sides of the steady influx of pestilential books and periodicals from beyond the Channel, it is but natural that we should give the most cordial welcome to a book which, though published in London, is Irish and Catholic in every page. It is, moreover, a clever book, and, even from a literary point of view, will easily hold its own when compared with *The Two Chiefs of Dunboy*, or with any of the recent historical novels that have been most in vogue.

Mr. Fitzpatrick has an intimate knowledge of the lives, and character, and history of the people of Galway. His book deals with one of the most exciting and tragic periods in the history of the 'Citie of the Tribes.' It is full of dramatic episodes, of touching and pathetic scenes, of passages that may well draw tears to the eyes of the Catholic who sees re-enacted before him the deeds of patient heroism and of unconquerable devotion to the faith that characterized the people of Galway in the days of Cromwell. The story is true to history in every essential of a work of the kind; and many persons who would hesitate to face an historical treatise on the doings of Cromwell's representatives in Connaught will be readily induced to read the account of their methods and doings as they are represented in this book.

We congratulate the author of *The King of Claddagh* most sincerely. We would fail in our own duty if we did not acknowledge with the utmost satisfaction the noble Catholic tone that pervades the work from beginning to end. We recommend it particularly to those of our brethren who have charge of parish libraries. We should like to see it widely disseminated through the people. We have frequently heard priests asking for some books of fiction that are Catholic without being dull; that are clever as well as pure, instructive and fascinating at the same time. Here is one, and no mistake.

[Several book-notices are, unfortunately, crushed out this month. We shall endeavour to make compensation in our March number.—ED. I. E. R.]



THE PRIMATIAL SEE AND ITS CATHEDRAL

THAT a severe and protracted controversy regarding the primatial rights of Armagh should arise between that see and the see of Dublin, shortly after the English invasion, was inevitable under the circumstances. The English prelates who succeeded St. Laurence O'Toole found an extraordinary arrangement prevailing in the government of the Irish Church, for which, at that time, there was hardly a parallel to be found in the whole Christian world. The rights which they, as archbishops, possessed by Canon Law, in common with the Archbishops of Cashel and Tuam, were overruled by and crushed under the weight of that concentrated spiritual authority which by the tradition of centuries was vested in the successor of St. Patrick. The Primate of Armagh could, at any time he wished, visit their dioceses with his cross carried before him, inquire into their internal concerns, upset their decisions, receive appeals, call synods and councils over their heads, and levy contributions and dues for his own church—a state of things which was to them an intolerable yoke, to be shaken off at the earliest opportunity.

It should be clearly understood from the outset that the contest which ensued, and was carried on, with intervals of rest, for three centuries before the Reformation, was not a contest for the primacy. Ecclesiastical historians have confused our ideas a good deal on this point by inaccurate

titles and headings. Father Carew, for instance, in his *Ecclesiastical History of Ireland*, describes the controversy as one 'concerning their respective claims to the primacy'—a description the inaccuracy of which is easily borne out by the instances which he adduces in his account of it. The only approach to such an assumption, in those days, is where Archbishop Allen notes, in his Register, that when he was in Rome he was examining some old documents, and found that, in 1353, Pope Innocent VI. had decided that 'each of these prelates should be primate; while, for distinction of style, the Primate of Armagh should entitle himself *Primate of All Ireland*;' but the Metropolitan of Dublin should subscribe himself *Primate of Ireland*.

Though this alleged discovery of Archbishop Allen was the strongest argument that Archbishop Talbot could bring in his time, in support of his contention, it is open to the gravest suspicion. John de St. Paul, who was archbishop in 1353, entered on the usual contest with Armagh. The king interfered in favour of Dublin, but the matter does not seem to have been carried to Rome. The word *primas* is not in John de St. Paul's epitaph, where we should naturally expect to find it, signalizing his victory. The alleged decree is not to be found in any collection of documents. Is it at all likely that a matter of such paramount importance could have escaped the knowledge of succeeding archbishops, and have passed so completely from memory, that Archbishop Allen in the sixteenth century, could jot it down from memory as a new discovery? We are forced to conclude that the fallacious distinction was a *lapsus memoriæ*, and arose in Allen's imagination. The pre-Reformation archbishops of Dublin neither denied the primacy of Armagh nor tried to set up a primacy of their own; in fact, they always tacitly acknowledged their secondary place as regarded Armagh. The only instance, as far as we know, of a Dublin prelate being styled primate, is in a grant of land by a certain Jordan de Esueke to Fulk de Saundford, Archbishop of Dublin, where we notice the entirely exceptional title of *totius Hibernie primati*.¹ The exception

¹ *Crede Mihi*, p. 81.

here proves the rule with a vengeance. The title is not to be found anywhere else among the numerous grants made to the Archbishop; it is given a century previous to the alleged permission of Innocent VI.; and, lastly, what shows that it is not a reliable historical monument, is that, instead of the modest '*Hiberniae primas*,' it affects the '*totius Hiberniae primas*.'

In fact, Allen himself failed to profit by the supposed decree he unearthed in Rome, for he was worsted in a question of precedence in Dublin with George Cromer, Archbishop of Armagh. Nor did his successor, the notorious George Browne, act on it, for he never assumed the title of primate till it was taken by Edward VI. from Armagh and transferred by letters patent to him. Whence, then, are we to derive the origin of the fact that the archbishops of Dublin, in more recent times, have assumed the title of primate? With the exception of a mere reference by Father Purcell, the Franciscan, to the distinction we have already mentioned, in 1617, we must step forward a century and a-half to the time of Peter Talbot, Archbishop of Dublin, to a time preceded by a long period of persecution, during which the knowledge of several traditional usages had been obliterated. Peter Talbot was consecrated at Antwerp, on the 9th of May, 1669. On the 15th of the same month he wrote three letters from Brussels, in all of which he signs himself simply '*Petrus Dublinensis*,' after the example of all his predecessors. On the 30th, he writes a letter from London, in which the signature is '*P. T. Arch. Dubl. Hib. Primas*,'¹ the first instance, as far as we are aware, of any archbishop of Dublin assuming the title of primate. It is clear from his subsequent controversy with the Venerable Archbishop Plunket, that he wanted to have supreme control over the Irish clergy. In his hands the controversy assumed an entirely new character. For the first time in history, Dublin contested for supremacy with Armagh. In the pamphlet Talbot wrote in defence of his side of the question, the

¹ *Spicilegium Ossoriense*, vol. i., p. 480.

singular want of acquaintance with Irish history, shown in the trifling nature of his historical arguments makes us believe that he relied far more on his argument, *a ratione*, viz., that there were good reasons for giving the primacy to Dublin, as being more acceptable to the civil government. The result was, as might have been expected, an authoritative decision in favour of Armagh; and, to fix the matter clearly in the minds of the clergy, the Congregation, with the approbation of the Pope, ordered the following words to be inserted in the Office of St. Patrick:—‘*Armachanam sedem, Romani Pontificis auctoritate, totius insulae principem, metropolim constituit.*’ In spite of this, the fallacious distinction between the *totius Hiberniae primas* and the *Hiberniae primas*, the offspring of Allen’s imagination, continued its misleading work during the following century, in which it was very generally used; and the acme of confusion of terms was reached in 1788. In that year the four archbishops wrote a joint letter to his Holiness, each signing himself *primas*; while the *Hiberniae primas* of Dr. Troy takes precedence over the *totius Hiberniae primas* of the Archbishop of Armagh.¹

Turning back to the point from which we started—that is, to the end of the twelfth and the early part of the thirteenth century—it is clear that the contest on the part of the archbishops of Dublin was for a limit of the extraordinary patriarchal rather than primatial powers (as Gillebert phrased it at the Council of Kells) possessed by the Archbishop of Armagh; while, on the latter’s part, it was to preserve inviolate the immemorial rights of his see, which he had sworn at his consecration to defend.

It was not a racial question, such as might be surmised at first sight, Dublin being English, and Armagh essentially Irish. It was not a race estrangement such as drove the Danish bishops of Dublin over to Canterbury for consecration, and led them to look upon that see as their metro-

¹ *Spicilegium Ossoriense*, vol. iii., p. 422,

politan. The contest was waged between English prelates on both sides, and did not assume an acute form till English prelates ruled both the sees. Accordingly, we may regard it as a conflict of principle which naturally arose when the generally received usages of the Church as regards the hierarchy of jurisdiction, introduced into this country at the time of the English invasion, came into collision with usages, customs, and rights having the sanction of antiquity and the sympathetic support of the Irish clergy and laity.

This sympathy with the traditional usages receives a rather amusing confirmation from the conduct of many of the Irish bishops regarding the Synod of Kells, at which Cardinal Paparo announced the erection of two new archbishoprics, and distributed four palliums to the four sees. St. Malachy had been sent over to Rome to ask for two, Armagh and Cashel; the latter having been shortly before erected into an archbishopric. Several of the bishops, especially those of the northern dioceses, were dismayed at the Pope's generosity in giving more palliums than were asked for, considering it derogatory to the ancient dignity of Armagh, and in disgust abstained from taking any part in the proceedings.

That the ancient system had its drawbacks and defects, like every other system under the sun, is undeniable; but we can insist, on the other hand, that under good and zealous prelates, it brought the Irish Church safely through many a crisis in her history, and was the system in vogue when she was at the zenith of her missionary glory. If it had been essentially defective and indefensible, the Pope would not have been slow in reforming it, urged, as they were, by the reiterated petitions of the archbishops of Dublin. In fact, we may attribute the loss of the ancient power of the see of Armagh not to enactments, but to disuse and the gradual abandonment and diminution of primateal power throughout the Church, when direct communication with the City of the Popes became easier.

The lay primacy which held in Ireland during the eleventh century has received peculiar and unjust promi-

nence, owing to St. Bernard's vigorous denunciation of it, in his *Life of St. Malachy*. Similar causes produce similar results. The anarchy resulting from the destruction of the civil power in other countries generally led to the seizing of episcopal sees by laymen, just as the lay primacy in Ireland may be traced, as almost as to a direct cause, to the upheaval of the ancient order of things brought about by the ravages of the Danes. In this connection, the gloomy picture drawn by St. Boniface of the state of the Frankish Kingdom in the eighth century will serve to correct the ordinary notion that the scandal was confined to Ireland. According to him, the Franks, for more than eighty years, had never had an archbishop, had never seen a synod; the canonical rights of the Church had perished; nearly all the episcopal sees had fallen into the possession of laymen. It is curious to note how in Ireland the lay primacy was not an unmixed evil. Although laymen they were *litterati*, even according to St. Bernard; and consequently, we find to our satisfaction that the great School of Armagh continued to flourish during their incumbency. On more than one occasion the lay primate was successful in appeasing those blood-feuds which were continually disturbing the peace of the country.

As a matter of course, other scandals arose out of it. An ecclesiastic could not engage in a 'war' for the recovery of his dues; but it did not seem unnatural to the lay primate to enforce his rights with spear and battle-axe, after an ignominious failure in the gentler art of persuasion—a method, too, which, in those simple and war-like times, probably enhanced more than it diminished the reverence felt for the primatial see.

This naturally brings us to the subject of the primatial dues, the *cattle-cess*, or 'Law of St. Patrick,' by which the whole island was placed under contribution to the see of Armagh. Beginning in 734, during the incumbency of Primate Congus, it continued till long after the English invasion, but ceased as soon as the English prelates succeeded to the see. Two kings gave it their royal sanction—Felim, King of Munster, in 822, and the famous Brian Boru, in

1006, the record of the latter sanction being preserved in the *Book of Armagh*, in Brian's chaplain's handwriting. To add solemnity to their collecting tours, the primates were in the habit of carrying with them the shrine of St. Patrick, *cum Lege et vexillis Patricii*; and, as a rule, their success was certain, as the following quotations from the annalists will show:—

945. The full of the [bell of] Finnfadhach of silver was given by the Cinel-Eoghain for the blessing of Patrick and his successor; *i.e.*, Joseph.

973. Dubhdalethe, successor of Patrick, made a circuit of Munster, and obtained his demand.

985. Maelseachlainn submitted to the demand of Patrick; *i.e.*, the visitation of Meath, both Church and State, and a banquet for every fort from Maelseachlainn himself, besides seven cumhals [*i.e.*, twenty-one cows, or an equivalent], and every other demand in full.

1050. Dubhdalethe [one of the lay-primates], successor of Patrick, made a visitation of the Cinel-Eoghain, and brought 300 cows from them.

1068. Maelisu [lay primate], son of Amalgaid, successor of Patrick, made a visitation of Munster for the first time, and he obtained a full visitation tribute, both in screaballs [silver pennies] and offerings.

1106. Ceallach [St. Celsus] made a visitation of Munster for the first time, and he obtained a full tribute, namely, seven cows and seven sheep, and half an ounce of silver from every cantred in Munster, besides many jewels.

1150. The successor of Patrick [Gelasius] and the clergy of Patrick made a visitation of the Tir-Eoghain, and they obtained their full tribute of cows; *i.e.*, a cow from every house of a biatach and freeman, a horse from every chieftain, and twenty cows from the King himself.

It would be unjust to attribute this extraordinary custom to avarice. It is only fair to the prelates who made the collection, to the kings who sanctioned it, and to the people who contributed so liberally, to seek the reason of it in the necessity of keeping in repair the cathedral, built, in the first instance, by St. Patrick; in the rebuilding of it on many occasions after its accidental destruction by fire, and in the heavy expenses incurred in keeping up the famous School of Armagh, at one time said to contain seven thousand students, and in which scholars from all parts

were, according to the old Irish tradition, fed, lodged, and taught gratuitously. One of the three divisions of ancient Armagh was known by the name of the *Trian Sassain*, or Saxon Third, from the great number of Anglo-Saxon scholars who lived there. What gives colour to the supposition that the tribute was levied to meet extraordinary, and not ordinary expenses is, that it was made at irregular intervals, and that the record of a great conflagration in Armagh is sometimes, shortly afterwards, followed by a record of the Primate making his collection in Munster, Connaught, or Tyrone.

The patriarchal supremacy of Armagh has furnished one of the arguments to Protestant controversialists for their theory of the independence of Rome of the early Irish Church. As conclusive evidence to the contrary has been brought to bear in recent times on this important point by Catholic controversialists and historians, who have clearly proved intercourse between Ireland and Rome, difference and submission to Rome on ecclesiastical questions and perfect conformity with Rome in matters of dogma, it is beside our purpose to add any contribution to the Catholic side of the question, except to say that if the Protestant argument holds good as regards Ireland, it will hold good of many other countries as well. That intercourse with Rome was fitful and uncertain, that disciplinary arrangements existed differing from those in Rome, that the election of bishops was confirmed by the metropolitan without reference to Rome—could not all this be said of France, Spain, Germany, even parts of Italy, when the invasions of Goths, Vandals, and other barbarians had reduced once orderly Christian lands to a state bordering on heathendom? But what makes the case of Ireland stand out in clear contrast from the others, and offers it as a fair target for the advocates of the independence hypothesis, is that, owing to its insular and remote position and to the hold the Danes had on it, after civil order had been restored in the other countries of Europe, it held an anomalous position for a long time, being the last to be brought into disciplinary conformity with the rest of the Church.

There is one difficulty, however, that deserves more exhaustive treatment at the hands of Catholic scholarship than it has hitherto received, viz., the breaks in the episcopal succession to the primate see, which occurred even long before the coming of the Danes. Though the succession of the abbots of Armagh, successors of St. Patrick, was most regular, the succession of archbishops was very irregular, owing to the fact that several of these abbots did not receive episcopal consecration. These presbyter-abbots, then, exercised quasi-episcopal and, we may truly add, quasi-patriarchal jurisdiction over the whole country—a terrible confusion of the hierarchy of jurisdiction as generally understood. The following attempt at a solution of the difficulty is humbly put forward as suggestive rather than conclusive, as more or less of an indication of the lines along which the Catholic historian could make his inquiry.

Ireland received the faith at a time when the old-established order of things under the Roman Empire of the West was being blotted out by the barbarian hordes which overran and conquered Europe. Owing to the chaos, the practical heathendom, the upheaval of settled institutions and the constant state of warfare that followed in their wake, Ireland, from its remote situation, could not receive from the Mother Church that attention to the development of her ecclesiastical polity, which she would certainly have enjoyed, if the old civil order of things had remained as it was under the empire, the polity of the Church being closely modelled on that of the Roman civil power. From the state of the times there was, therefore, a check, an arrest of growth, a fixture of type which remained unchanged from the fifth to the twelfth century, aided, no doubt, by the conservative instincts of the people, and that peculiar veneration for their national apostle which led them to regard as sinful the least deviation, even in external matters, from the paths he trod.

Though it may be inaccurate and misleading to state that St. Patrick founded the Church in this country on a monastic basis, there can be no doubt that the monastic

element and the founding of religious communities living under rule, entered largely into his work. Mabillon holds that he introduced the rule of St. Martin of Tours, and induced the bishops he consecrated to embrace it. St. Patrick saw that monastic communities, affording mutual protection to the members, were peculiarly suitable to the work of Christianizing a country parcelled out among independent clans and constantly distracted by fierce tribal wars. It thus came to pass that the position of an abbot, whether he were a bishop or not, became very important, and that, though the episcopal rank was clearly recognised, the abbot, successor of some missionary saint who had founded the monastery as a centre of light and learning to the country around, loomed large before the imagination. This would be especially true of the successor of St. Patrick in the abbey or religious community he had founded at Armagh, his metropolitan see, so that whether the priest elected as abbot received episcopal consecration or not, his jurisdiction as successor of the national apostle would not be called in question. Bede noticed a similar anomaly in the position of the Abbot of Iona, who exercised quasi-episcopal jurisdiction over Scotland and part of northern England, having bishops subject to him. This explanation may help to lessen the surprise we feel when we come across the puzzling entries in the annalists, that such and such a one succeeded to the 'abbacy of Armagh,' meaning the primacy.

Through all its vicissitudes, in spite of repeated burnings, Danish incursions, sieges, devastations, and plunderings, in spite of the scandal of the lay primates, and unworthy contests for the succession, Armagh steadily retained its ecclesiastical supremacy, and the reverence and affection of the Irish people. The *Tripartite Life* says of Armagh that in it 'was fixed the metropolis of the kingdom and the supreme administration of the Irish Church;' Probus has of it: 'Ubi sedes episcopatus et regiminis est Hiberniae;' and Jocelyn: 'Sedes illa totius Hiberniae primaria metropolis.' It is only when we come to the times of the English prelates that we find Armagh declining in prestige. The county of Louth having been added to the see on the plea

of poverty, an unfortunate distinction soon arose between the new and the older parts of the diocese. The county Louth, called Armagh *inter Anglicos*, and the county Armagh with parts of Tyrone, called Armagh *inter Hibernicos*, had, as might be expected, very little mutual fellow-feeling, accentuated by the fact that the English prelates favoured the *inter Anglicos* parts, living as much as they could in or near Drogheda, and holding all their synods in the Church of St. Peter's in that town, to the detriment of Armagh. The tone of the Anglo-Irish prelate regarding the *inter Hibernicos* parts was echoed, in later times, by the venerable Primate, Richard Creagh, who declared, at his examination in the Tower, that he had not wished to be sent to Armagh, 'among barbarous, wild, and uncivil folk.' As to synods, it is a remarkable fact that the last national synod convened in Armagh was the one called together by Primate Gelasius, in 1170, to debate questions connected with the English invasion.

Armagh, too, ceased to be, as formerly, an honoured place of burial. 'My body and my soul to God and to St. Patrick,' said Brian Boru before his last mortal combat, 'and that I am to be carried to Ard Macha;' and in pursuance of his will the Primate and clergy of Armagh came to Swords, and carried his body back in solemn procession to the Cathedral of Armagh, where for twelve nights they chanted the Office of the Dead over his remains. But time-honoured traditions were laid aside in this respect, even by Irish primates, who, after the introduction of the Cistercian Order into Ireland, generally chose the Abbey of Mellifont as their last resting-place, while the English primates chose St. Peter's Church, Drogheda, which, to all intents and purposes, was their pro-cathedral. Yet the traditional veneration for the primatial city seems to have lingered on in the hearts of the people; for in an Irish poem of the fourteenth century, by O'Dugan, chief poet of the O'Kelly, it is thus referred to:—

Head of Erin is great Ard Macha;
 Not nobler are her high chieftains.
 The men of the world get their knowledge there.

Coming to modern times, it is sad to have to record that for three centuries the primates were banished from the primatial city. Some were effectively kept out of the diocese altogether, having, consequently, to do their work by vicars-general; while others, even in comparatively peaceful times, were obliged to live in obscure and remote places, to avoid exciting the jealousy of the authorities. Of one, in the last century, it is related that he lived in a farmer's house at Ballymascanlan, and in his dress and appearance could not be distinguished from an ordinary individual of the peasant class. Yet, on one occasion, he had to fly from his usual place of abode, as four magistrates, armed with warrants for his arrest, were in search of him. To Catholics living in the South of Ireland persecution is now a faded memory. The case is quite the contrary in the North, where it is still vividly remembered. Up to the beginning of the seventeenth century, the Catholic religion was more or less tolerated in Armagh, and, though the primates were exiled, the ordinary priests were left in peace. But the Plantation of Ulster, filling the city and county with a hostile and bigoted Protestant population, was the means of lighting a fire of persecution that burned fiercely for two centuries, and of which witnesses are still living who saw the last expiring embers.

The old Cathedral of St. Patrick, like all the other cathedrals in the country, was taken out of Catholic hands, and has been used for Protestant worship ever since. Burned down by Sir Phelim O'Neill, in the rising of 1641, it was rebuilt, as it stands now, by Dr. Margetson, the Protestant Primate, in 1679, with the exception of the tower, built by Dr. Robinson in the last century. To the latter Protestant primate the town of Armagh must for ever stand indebted. By a liberal use of his own money, and an enlightened paternal despotism over his town tenants, he raised it in seven years from a village of mud huts to the position of a well-built town of stone and mortar. To him are also due the noble public Library, the Observatory, and several other material benefits too numerous to mention. But these improvements, so beneficial to the

Protestant party, brought no amelioration to the lot of the suffering Catholics ; in fact, they only increased the jealousy with which the presence of Catholics in the town was regarded, as the idea arose of making Armagh a stronghold of Protestant power, Protestant practice, and Protestant thought and influence. The Cathedral, the Episcopal Palace, the Royal School, the Library, the Observatory, and the Museum combined to give Armagh a quasi-university character, and exercised a potent and consolidated influence in favour of Protestant ascendancy. The Catholics were humbled to the dust. Without power or knowledge, or influence or wealth, they were the prey of the Orange party, which flourished in the city and county, and the object of dastardly outrages, well remembered to the present day. There are good reasons for believing that the Catholic laity in the North of Ireland suffered more severely towards the end of the last century and the beginning of the present, owing to the rise of the Orange Society, than they did under the earlier persecutions by the state, for the latter aimed generally at the priests. One favourite form of fanatical outrage was the burning of the miserable thatched chapels and the wooden structures erected for saying Mass in the 'Mass-gardens.' Just as in other parts of Ireland the 'Mass-rock' and 'Mass-house' are traditionally remembered, in county Armagh the 'Mass-gardens,' in contiguity to the present chapels, are still pointed out. As to education, there was none for the poorer Catholics, who almost universally were unable to read or write. Up to the time of Catholic Emancipation the Primate dared not perform any episcopal function in the city, nor within three miles of it ; and the houses where he used to confirm, outside the three-mile limit, are still in existence. Whether this extraordinary survival of persecution was due to some penal law in existence at the time, or simply to Orange fanaticism, is still a moot point well worth investigation. Up to the opening of the present noble cathedral, the only place of worship for the Catholics of Armagh was what is known at present as 'the Old Chapel,' a plain T chapel, like all the other Catholic chapels erected in the last century.

Such was the state of Catholic life in Armagh when Dr. Crolly, with characteristic boldness and far-reaching ideas, established his residence there, shortly after Catholic Emancipation. Having, as his first care, provided for the wants of the aspirants to the priesthood by the erection of an ecclesiastical seminary, Dr. Crolly turned his thoughts to the erection of a noble cathedral that would embody the aspirations of the regenerated Catholicism of Ireland, and symbolize the triumph of right over might. His cathedral should be massive, beautiful, sublime, dominating the landscape round Armagh as a sign that the Catholic faith, having been humbled to the dust, had been able to raise her head once more.

The great difficulty that presented itself was a suitable site. All the land in the town, and nearly all round about, is 'see-land;' that is, belonging to the Protestant Primate; and it would have been in vain to apply in that quarter. But, most providentially, a hill towards the north of the town, although almost surrounded by see-land, was in possession of others, and was secured after long negotiations. There can be no doubt that this was the hill to which St. Patrick carried the fawn, when Daire had given him the rath-encircled hill of Ard Macha, and on which, it was afterwards said, miraculous sights were seen—prophetic, no doubt, of its present use.

Dr. Crolly laid the foundation-stone of the cathedral on St. Patrick's Day, 1840, just sixty years ago, amid a vast concourse of people filled with wild enthusiasm. Slowly, but steadily, the gigantic building rose; the funds coming in as the work went on, collected weekly in Armagh itself, and sent in at regular intervals by the priests, who went about collecting both at home and abroad. Every diocese in Ireland was visited, amongst which, Wexford deserves special mention for its generous response. A large amount also was collected from the Irish in Glasgow and other parts of Scotland. The Irish in England, especially the working classes, gave generously out of their small means. Dr. Crolly himself worked indefatigably, and did not disdain to go through the country and make his appeal in person.

When he went round, it could be truly said in the words of the old annalists, describing the collecting tours of the primates of their days—'St. Patrick's Law held Ireland.'

Unfortunately, the famine years put a stop to the work. The nation was then, in sorrow, engaged on the more pressing work of feeding the starving multitudes, and the building operations had to cease. Shortly after this terrible time Dr. Crolly departed this life, and, according to his often-expressed desire, was buried in the still unfinished cathedral, the first primate buried in Armagh since the time of Brian Boru. The work of building was energetically renewed by Dr. Dixon, who, in addition to the usual method of sending priests round to collect, organized a great bazaar which realized £7,000. It should be also mentioned, in justice to the people of Armagh, that the weekly door-to-door collections made there, were kept up with very little interruption for the space of thirty years. Dr. Dixon did not live to see the work complete, though he worked hard for many years and devoted all his energy to it. He was buried, at his own desire, under the shadow of the unfinished building, in the cemetery of the nuns of the Sacred Heart. At last, in 1873, Primate M'Gettigan was able to open the cathedral for divine worship, thirty-three years after Dr. Crolly had laid the foundation-stone. The great Father Burke preached the dedication sermon, and it was computed that one hundred thousand persons were present, in or around the cathedral, drawn thither from all parts of the country by a spirit of enthusiastic faith.

A large share of that political power, so long held exclusively by the Protestant faction, has now, in the course of events, come into the hands of the Catholics of Armagh. They may be trusted to use that power with discretion, and in their wisdom and moderation, inaugurate a reign of good-will and peace in lieu of the party-spirit of bygone years. Divine Providence has wrought a change in their favour, which they will accept with thankfulness and utilize to the common advantage of all classes. Guided in their counsels by the present illustrious occupant of the primatial see, they will show by their zeal for the glory of God's

House that they are not unworthy children of those who, amid many trials, erected their glorious cathedral ; and they will recall in some measure, by their culture and intellectual advancement, the time when Armagh was the renowned school for the students of distant lands, 'where the men of the world got their knowledge.' They have an exemplar of all that is good, noble, and great in their primate, whose illustrious deeds have caused the Supreme Pontiff to create him Cardinal, the first occupant of the see of Armagh elevated to that dignity. The spiritual jurisdiction of the primacy has, indeed, in modern times, been reduced so much that it is more a name than a reality—*magni nominis umbra* ; but it has been fitly replaced, in the present instance, by a spiritual influence, so wide and so far-reaching that the canonical power of the primates of old pales into insignificance before it. Gael of the Gael, speaking the native tongue, a hard-working friend of the poor, as shown by his enormous labours during two famines, he is a type not to be easily mistaken for anything un-Irish, and his words are received with dutiful respect wherever the Gael is to be found, for they are felt to embody the true feelings and aspirations of the Irish race. Under his magnetic sway, Armagh is again taking her place before the world as the 'head of Erin,'—head of the men of Erin at home, and head of the men of Erin abroad, who love their motherland ; for with the exception of the Eternal City and the Holy Places, there is no place on earth to which the Irish heart at present bows with such reverential affection as to the ancient city of St. Patrick.

C. T. A.

GALWAY: PAST AND PRESENT

FUIT GALVIA. In an early number of the old Dublin *Nation* the 'Warden's House' is alluded to as 'that fine stone chronicle of Galway heroism.' It is, indeed, true that Galway contains only too many 'stone chronicles' of departed greatness. Its situation on the beautiful river which (as Mr. Blake-Forster aptly expresses it) *hyphens* the great picturesque lake to the fine, expansive bay, ought to have made it an important commercial capital. And such it was for centuries, as anyone may see even to this day, in its many quaint old buildings, and in its silent, and all but deserted streets, at one time the abode of wealth and fashion. Whether in the body of the town or in the outskirts, decline and dilapidation are painfully in evidence. In the suburbs there are whole streets of roofless or ruined houses. Within the circuit of the former walls, the contrast between past and present meets the eye at almost every turn. The places which in the earlier years of the nineteenth century contained the mansions of merchant princes and titled rank, are now little better than slums. Not a few of the black marble palaces are roofless and solitary, as are the artisans' quarters by the Eglinton Canal. Most of those once beautiful buildings are now cut up into wretched tenements. Even the public-house has disappeared from some streets once alive with trade and prosperity. At present nearly all the commercial life of the place is confined to the long jagged thoroughfare, through which passes the Galway and Salthill Tramway line. Along this line may be seen many of the great mansions which, more fortunate than those of the adjoining streets, have been fitted up as business houses. The most remarkable of these is the old four-storey building at the corner of Shop-street and Abbey Gate-street, still known as 'Lynch's Castle,' having been the residence of Thomas Lynch Fitz-Ambrose, Mayor of Galway, in 1654, in which year he was super-

seded by the Cromwellian military governor, Colonel Peter Stubbers. This really beautiful building remains in perfect preservation, and attracts the attention of the visitor by the many armorial carvings in the stone work. A butcher's shop and a grocery now occupy the basement. Beyond the Corrib, or Galway river, and following the Salthill line, is Dominick-street. This street was until recently a fashionable residential quarter. When, about forty years ago, a shop was opened in it, there was much indignation among the then stylish residents. Some half-dozen of the handsome marble-faced houses are still private residences; but all the rest have been converted into shops and stores of various kinds, the business of the town having, as already stated, moved from the off streets to the central thoroughfare.

The portion of Galway which first greets the eye of the visitor is, indeed, rather attractive. Leaving the railway station, we are at once in Eyre-square, which Miss Lawless, in her charming story of *Grania*, describes as 'the Belgrave or Grosvenor-square of the fashion or importance' of Galway. And, in sooth, Eyre-square would be no affront even to the neighbourhood of Belgravia. The greater part of the south side is occupied by the Midland Railway Hotel, a building large enough and fine enough for any fashionable quarter. There are, besides, five or six other hotels round the square, three banks, with a number of offices of various kinds. The outlook from the houses is very cheerful; but even here shops are making their appearance, although 'the square' is comparatively modern, having been brought into its present form within the passing century. In Hardiman's map of Galway (1820) it is called 'Meyrick-square.' There was a General Meyrick, commander of the forces in the West of Ireland, stationed in Galway about the opening of the century. This gentleman induced the townspeople to remove the fish market from Bridge-street, in the central thoroughfare, where it was both a nuisance and an obstruction, to its present situation, between the river and the old Spanish Parade. The change of name from Meyrick-square to Eyre-square was owing, I apprehend, to the improve-

ments made in that quarter by the Eyre family. Speaking of the improvements then recently made in Galway, Hardiman mentions 'the houses lately erected in the Square by Mr. Eyre.' In a note to page 281 the same historian says :—

A chalybeate spring (of the same class as the celebrated Scarborough waters), about 20 feet below the level of the street, outside the East Gate, was once in great repute here. A spa-house had formerly been erected over it by Mr. Eyre, the proprietor, and it was for some time much frequented by company.

The East Gate, we may add, was, after the entry of the Williamite army under Ginckle, in 1691, re-named 'William's Gate;' and we have still 'William's-street' and 'William's Gate-street.' The spa would be within the boundary of the square; but no traces of it remain at the present day.

As may be inferred from what has been said, this modern and rather attractive quarter lay without the ancient city walls. I find that, in 1630, 'the square plot at the green, outside the East Gate (since called Meyrick-square),' and at present Eyre-square, 'was set apart for the purpose of amusement and recreation; it was enclosed with wooden rails, and planted round with ash trees,' many of which were standing towards the end of the eighteenth century.

While Galway is not without its attractions for the mere sightseer—*e.g.*, the fine river views to be had from Wood-quay, or from the bridge at the Court House—its principal interest is for the student and the antiquarian. The history of the rise, of the prosperity, and of the sad decline of the 'Citie of the Tribes' is as eventful and as pathetic a record as one may find in the annals of Irish or even British towns. For pathetic, indeed, is the record which one may read for himself in almost every street and at every corner in the once prosperous town by the banks of the broad and rushing Corrib. At one time taking rank as the second town in Ireland for population and commercial importance, it has sunk to about the tenth or twelfth place as regards the number of inhabitants, while from the industrial point of view it has fallen far behind

many a village which, in the days of Galway's greatness, were hardly known to the geographer. In the year 1820 the inhabitants of Galway and the 'Liberties' numbered forty thousand; at present the population is little over one-third of that number, and the decline in trade and wealth is more melancholy still. When Hardiman wrote, in the year just mentioned, there were in operation 'twenty-three flour mills, six oat mills, two malt mills, three fulling mills, also a bleach mill and green.' He adds that such was the abundant supply of water-power from Lough Corrib that even in the driest seasons there was no sign of failure. The milling industry has suffered, perhaps, no more in Galway than throughout Ireland generally, but it appears to be far short of what it once was. This is not owing to any decline in the water power. The Corrib river is only partially utilized; and one may almost fancy it loudly upbraiding man's ingratitude for so much God-given power, as it rushes tumultuously to join the greater waste of waters, the noble bay. Galway is not so favourably situated for trade with England and Scotland as the ports on the eastern sea-board; but it has still the natural advantage above them all of being most favourably situated for 'trade with Europe and the Indies'—the trade to which it owed its earlier importance.

It is not of my present purpose to discuss the causes which have led to this sadly altered state of affairs. But I cannot refrain from remarking the very great contrast between the earlier and the later attitude of the Government towards this port. So long as there was danger from abroad, the rulers of Ireland manifested continuous solicitude for the welfare of the inhabitants, no less than for the defence of the town against foreign invasion. We may go so far as to say that Galway was for centuries the spoilt darling of Ireland's Saxon masters. From the time of Edward III. (1361) to that of James II. (1687) as many as thirteen royal charters were granted to Galway, each conferring some new privileges, or confirming or extending privileges already conferred. Another noteworthy feature in the annals of Galway is to be found in the numerous

visits paid to the town by the lord-deputy or the lords-justices for the time being ; and these visits were particularly frequent in ages when the journey between the metropolis and the town was regarded as of so much difficulty and danger that it was the practice to make wills before setting out. It was then considered by the Government that the interests of the Empire and the safety and prosperity of Galway were intimately connected : the loss of Galway might mean the loss of the province, if not of the entire island.

Nor was the care and attention of Government thrown away upon the merchant-princes of Galway. Through the long and chequered history, from the first appearance of the De Burgos to the year of the Legislative Union, through all vicissitudes of fortune, the people of that town have ever been characterised by 'loyalty.' To those who take their Irish history from the columns of prints hostile 'to the Irish idea,' this may appear an extravagant, if not an utterly groundless, allegation. Let me, however, produce the evidence of the painstaking and erudite historian of Galway :—

During the troubles [of 1798] the inhabitants of Galway remained loyal—not an individual suffered for rebellious proceedings.

On the landing of the French at Killala, in August, 1798, the gallant and humane general [afterwards lord] Hutchinson commanded in the town ; and being, at the time, entirely destitute of resources to enable him to march against the enemy, the merchants, in the space of an hour, made up a sum of fifteen hundred guineas with which they presented him, and by which he was enabled to join General Lake, with the troops under his command, to meet the enemy. The town yeomanry also joined their forces, and had their share of the disgraceful defeat at Castlebar. During their absence the town was left without military protection, and the Catholic clergy were indefatigable in their exertions to preserve the public peace. On this occasion one of the regulars of St. Augustine presented a novel spectacle—a friar standing sentinel on the West Bridge to prevent the entrance of disaffected persons to a place where, within the memory of many then living, he would himself have been doomed to transportation or death for daring to appear or return . . . The question of Legislative Union between the two countries

soon after began to agitate the kingdom ; and the promises made by Mr. Pitt and Lord Cornwallis to the Catholics of Ireland secured many of the inhabitants of Galway in its favour. An address was accordingly voted by them in February, 1799, in which the necessity of that measure was maintained with remarkable energy of expression.

It is possible that this declaration of the Galway burgesses of 1799 may prove as startling to the inhabitants of the present day, as it will, no doubt, to readers elsewhere :—

In the constitution of the Empire, as it now stands [say the Galway men of that time], we discover the seeds of party animosity and national jealousy—a Protestant Parliament and Catholic people ; hence religious dissension and civil discord. Two legislatures in the same Empire ! hence legal prejudices and commercial rivalry. By the settlement of 1782 the Irish Parliament acquired the right of independent legislation—a right equally unsafe to exercise, and not to exercise. To exercise it would have been to endanger the unanimity, and, therefore, to hazard the division of the Empire ; while by declining to exercise the right the Irish Parliament brought upon itself the imputation of abject submission to the British Legislature. This imputation begot contempt, that contempt discontent, and that discontent rebellion. For this radical defect in the polity of the Empire we see but one remedy, and that remedy is an union.

And what was the reward that the people of Galway had for this effusive manifestation of ‘loyalty’ ?—

Though the earliest and most successful efforts were made in its [the Union’s] favour by the Earl of Clanrickarde, the Archbishop of Tuam, and others in the county of Galway, it was, notwithstanding, the first part of Ireland proclaimed to be in a state of disturbance ; and as several persons openly asserted that such a measure was totally unnecessary at the time, they, consequently, concluded that it was resorted to for no other purpose than that of carrying the question of union by military coercion. However that may be, it is certain that the good people of Galway have been disappointed in their reliance on ministerial promises, and that, were the question to be agitated again, many of them would think and act in a very different manner on the occasion.¹

¹ Hardiman, p. 190, *et seq.*

Indeed, the good people of Galway had, all through their history, a weakness for 'loyalty,' as well as an ardent attachment to their ancient creed; and both traits are particularly observable throughout the troublous periods of the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries. Their fidelity to their creed, no less than to their king, involved the inhabitants in many a dark trouble, which might have been avoided had the sufferers allowed themselves to be influenced by inducements to temporize. During the domination of Cromwell, and again from the reign of William III. till towards the close of that of George II., all was done which, humanly speaking, could be done by the ruling power to exterminate the Catholic religion from every part of Ireland. In 1731, during the last outbreak of virulent persecution, it was found that there were residing in the town of Galway one thousand and thirty-seven heads of Catholic families, according to a return to the House of Lords. No wonder that their lordships, alluding to this return, were pleased to remark that 'the insolence of the Papists throughout the nation is very great.' It was surely an intolerable 'insolence' that the Papists were able to live in spite of so much repressive legislation.

For about six centuries Galway was, in fact, an English town on Irish soil; and, in the days of its prosperity, the inhabitants omitted no opportunity of proclaiming themselves 'a civil people,' having nothing in common with the wild Irish of Iar-Connaught, and almost scorned to acknowledge the earlier inhabitants as fellow-creatures. It is to be observed that the designation 'Citie of the Tribes,' is of comparatively recent origin. The Cromwellian soldiers were the first to speak of the 'families' of Galway as 'the tribes,' and although the Roundheads applied the name derisively, it came to be accepted by the people themselves as a title of honour. The 'tribe' names are usually fixed at fourteen, and referred to as the 'fourteen families;' not, indeed, that they were in any sense more aristocratic than many other families of the earlier period, but that these are more prominently associated with the municipal history of

Galway. It is sometimes assumed that these families or 'tribes' are of Spanish origin. This is a mistake. The town, no doubt, still presents many Spanish features. There are Spanish arches and Spanish courtyards, and there remains near the fish-market the Spanish Parade, where once the grandees and merchants did congregate. But all this is accounted for by the active trade carried on with Spain for several centuries. There was an earlier Galway of which little is known; but the Galway of history and of commercial greatness arose after the English occupation. The 'tribes' are in the main of British or Anglo-Norman origin. Mr. Blake-Forster¹ gives the following curious particulars of the fourteen families:—

NAMES	ATTRIBUTES	ORIGIN
Athy.	Suspicious.	Milesian.
Blake.	Positive.	British.
Bodkin.	Dangerous.	Italian.
Browne.	Brave.	Norman.
D'Arey.	Stout.	Norman.
Deane.	Devout.	Norman.
Ffaunt.	Barren.	Norman.
Ffrench.	Prating.	Norman.
Joyce.	Merry.	British.
Kirwan.	Stingy.	Milesian.
Lynch.	Proud.	Austrian.
Martin.	Litigious.	Norman.
Morris.	Plausible.	Norman.
Skerrett.	Obstinate.	Norman.

It will be seen that of the 'tribe' names eight are returned as Norman (in this case Anglo-Norman), two as British (that is, ancient British or Welsh), one Austrian, one Italian, and two are of the old Irish or Milesian stock who had managed to hold on.

The situation of Galway is admirably described by Story, who was chaplain attached to Ginckle's army during the siege of July, 1691:—

The town is situated at the foot of a narrow ridge of land, having Galway bay on the south and south-west, a large river coming from Lough Corbe on the west, and towards the

¹ *The Irish Chieftains*, p. 186.

north there lies a low bog through the midst of which there runs a narrow but deep river proceeding from the great one that slides by the town; this river and bog extend about a mile and a-half towards the north-east, and then end together, the river sinking underground at the foot of a large hill, but appears again at the foot of an old castle nigh Oranmore, where it runs into the utmost creek of the bay.

The Williamite historian had certainly a keen eye to the physical features of the localities he describes. The 'bog' to the north must have been an impassable morass at even a later period, although at present in part under tillage. The river—a branch of the Corrib or Galway river—runs through the midst of this flat, and disappears under the limestone ridge at Castle Gar to the east. There is thus formed a peninsula at the extreme end of which stood the walled town of Galway. This peninsular tract is really a plateau, varied by hillocks of limestone gravel, and nearly cut across to the east of the town by the inlet known as *Lough-a-thalia*, which is crossed by the railway almost at the entrance to the station. Four hundred years ago an attempt was made to cut through the narrow ridge at the head of this inlet, so as to bring it into direct communication with Lough Corrib; but the project was not carried to fulfilment. The abandoned work was long known as 'Lynch's folly,' the work having been begun in the mayoralty of Andrew Lynch Fitz-Stephen in 1498.

There is abundant evidence that Galway was a place of wealth, elegance, and refinement before the end of the Tudor period. Sir Henry Sidney, Lord Deputy in the time of Queen Elizabeth, declares that 'for urbanity and elegance of manners the inhabitants equalled those of the most refined community.' Sir William Pelham, Lord Justice of Ireland, who visited Galway, 1579, says:—'The townsmen and women present a more civil show of life than other towns in Ireland do.' Oliver St. John, in 1614, says:—

The merchants are rich, and great adventurers at the sea; commonalitie is composed of the descendants of the ancient English families of the town, and rarely admit any new English

among them, and never any of the Irish. They keep good hospitalitie, and are kind to strangers; and in the manner of entertainment, and, in fashinninge and apparallinge themselves and their wives, do most preserve the ancient manner and state, as much as any town that ever I saw . . . The town is small, but all in faire and statelie buildings. The fronts of the houses (towards the streets) are all of hewed stone uppe to the top; garnished with faire battlement, in an uniform course, as if the whole town had been built upon one modle. It is built uppon a rock, invironed almost with the sea and the river; compassed with a strong wall and good defences, after the ancient manner.

How many towns in the British islands merited a similar description in the reign of James I. of England? The historian Heylin mentions that 'an outlandish merchant, meeting with an Irishman, demanded in what part of Galloway Ireland stood, as if Galloway (Galway) had been the name of the island, and Ireland only the name of some town.'

Until the present century Galway was a city of hewn stone. In the neighbourhood may be seen many ancient quarries, showing, in horizontal strata, the dark, close-grained limestone or marble, which is capable of being carved or polished in a high degree. There is an unlimited supply, easily accessible from the port; and it is surely a wonder that more is not made of this advantage, even at the present day. Hardiman says:—

Blocks [of marble] weighing upwards of 4 tons, 18 or 20 ft. in length by 8 or 10 ft. in width, are frequently raised, particularly at Anglingham. Mr. Stanley Ireland, some years since, shipped several cargoes to London, Liverpool, Bristol, Cork, Dublin, &c. He also established a marble-yard in the town, and employed several, who wrought a variety of elegant monuments, plain and sculptured chimney-pieces, sideboards, &c.; but at present (1820) this trade is rather declining.¹

And I fear it must be added that the industry has since made but little progress compared with what it ought to have done.

¹ Page 288.

Mr. George H. Kinahan¹ gives the following particulars:—

A little north-east of Galway, at Anglingham [at the south-east corner of Lough Corrib], are the world-famed black marbles. The bed locally called the 'London Bed,' which, according to Mr. Sibthorpe, is the best black marble known, unfortunately has now a great clearing over it, and has dipped considerably below the level of Lough Corrib; so that it is nearly impossible to keep the water out [*i.e.*, without employing steam machinery]. In the same neighbourhood is an excellent grey stone, but only as yet worked for tanks and other local purposes. At the Merlin Park quarries [between Galway and Oranmore] is a bed of black stone, considered by Mr. Sibthorpe to be nearly equal to the Anglingham 'London Bed.'

Mr. Kinahan speaks even more earnestly of these quarries:—'An enterprising company might 'run a big thing in stones' from the port of Galway for the English markets, more especially as the freights from all the west coast of Ireland are low, most vessels having to leave it in ballast.'

The Jesuit College and Church, the Queen's College, the Model School, and the parapet of the great tower of St. Nicholas's Church, Galway, are built of the Anglingham 'grey.' In the western suburbs are quarries of red porphyritic granite, beautifully polished specimens of which may be seen in the more recently erected churches.

So early as 1178 the English made a hostile advance on Connaught. Roderic O'Connor, the last recognised monarch of Ireland, had concluded the treaty of Windsor with Henry II.; but, like his more powerful rival of England, the Irish King had unmanageable and ungrateful sons. At the instance of one of these, named Murrough, Milo de Cogan, in the year 1178, proceeded from Dublin, with five hundred men, but had to make an inglorious retreat from the west side of the Shannon.

In the following year, and in open violation of the Treaty of Windsor, Henry II. made a grant of the province of Connaught to William Fitz-Adelm de Burgo and his

¹ *Manual of the Geology of Ireland*, p. 381.

² *Proceedings of the Royal Dublin Society*, vol. v. (New Series), p. 492.

heirs; and the effect was that the province was embroiled in war and confusion for many a long year. To follow these melancholy proceedings would be out of place in an article like this. But one cannot forbear contrasting the peaceful end of the Irish monarch in the cloisters of Cong with the last hours of the greater warrior, the English king, who died with maledictions in his mouth against his own rebellious offspring.

In the long struggle for the supremacy of Connaught between the misguided O'Connors and the haughty De Burgos, the town and castle of Galway became of importance. At the time of the English invasion the castle and the town, such as it then was, belonged to the O'Flahertys,¹ who again acknowledged a sort of feudal dependence on the royal house of O'Connor. In 1232, Richard de Burgo succeeded in taking the castle. This fortress long known as the Red Earl's Castle, from the Red Earl of Ulster (heir to Walter de Burgo, who died 1271) has long since disappeared. The hold which the De Burgos had thus obtained, was strengthened when the O'Connor power sank to the dust in the bloody battle of Athenry (1316); and the dominion of the English settlers became assured in Galway. The De Burgos' over-lordship continued till the representative of the southern branch of the family was raised to the peerage in 1543. Henry VIII., having in 1541 been voted 'King of Ireland' by the Parliament of the Pale, issued a batch of patents 'raising' several Irish chieftains, native and Norman, to titles of nobility. In the patent of creation of Sir William de Burgo, the last *Mac William Eighter*, to be earl of Clanrickarde and baron 'Dunkyllen,' dated at Greenwich, 1st July, 1543, in lieu of all claims to profits from the town of Galway, there was granted an annual sum of thirty pounds a year from the royal treasury, and the third part of the first fruits, and the abbey of *Via Nova* or Clonfert. 'Thus ended the authority of this ancient and powerful family in Galway

¹ Mr. Blake-Forster says it had long previously to the Anglo-Norman settlement belonged to the Sept O'Halloran.

of which they were the principal founders and protectors, and afterwards governed with almost absolute control for upwards of two centuries.¹ At a later period, however, we find the earls of Clanrickarde exercising much influence in the town, particularly during the troubles of the seventeenth century.

Soon after the battle of Athenry (1316) we find the inhabitants of Galway engaged in erecting great buildings such as St. Nicholas's Church (1320), and the great West Bridge (1342). In 1375 the commercial importance is shown by the establishment in Galway of the king's staple for the sale of wool, woolfells, &c., Cork and Drogheda being the only other towns of Ireland then enjoying the same privilege. In 1396 a new and perpetual murage charter was granted to the inhabitants by Richard II. Previously to this charter the town was a corporation by prescription, the De Burgos appointing the magistrates. Not the least curious grant is that of 1461, by Edward IV. to 'Germyn Lynch, wardeyn and maistre worker of oure monies and coignes within oure castle of Dyvelin' (Dublin), to make all our monies in Galway.' Hardiman says that these 'coignes' have not been found. Very soon after, on Friday, 2nd June, in the year 1473, there was a terrible conflagration by which the town was nearly destroyed.

The space within the walls amounted to only 21a. 1r. 26p. Irish (about 35 acres statute). The fortifications were many times rebuilt or repaired. About the middle of the eighteenth century they were beginning to go to ruin. But it was found that they had already outlived their day, and no further attempt was made to repair them. In 1779 the abbey gate on the north side of the town was taken down, and by the beginning of the nineteenth century the walls had been almost entirely cleared out. Some remains exist as at the 'Lyons Tower' in Eglinton-street, near the post office, and the 'Spanish Arch' at the river and adjoining the Fish-market.

¹ Hardiman, p. 82.

Of the mediæval history of Galway no event is better known than the execution of his son by the warden or mayor, James Lynch Fitz-Stephen, in 1493. The story as it runs through many pages of Hardiman is a thrilling romance. He candidly tells us that the details are supplied from his own imagination to enliven the narrative; which, after all, is a blemish in a work of so much research, and containing quite a store of original documents. Apart from the products of fancy, the facts appear to be that young Lynch was found guilty of murdering a Spaniard named Gomez; that he was condemned to death by his father as chief magistrate; and that, no one being found willing to act as executioner, the unhappy father felt under the cruel necessity of hanging the unfortunate culprit from an upper window of his own house. A portion of the 'warden's house' exists, or has been re-erected beside the churchyard facing Lombard-street, with device and inscription commemorative of the stern justice of the 'Galway Brutus.' 'Few transactions,' says Hardiman, in a note to page 70, 'of so old a date stand better authenticated than that concerning young Lynch; for, independently of the general voice of tradition, it appears recorded in several ancient manuscripts many of which have passed through the hands of the author.' At the time he wrote this, James Hardiman, M.R.I.A., was 'Sub-commissioner of the Public Records' in Ireland.¹

It seems rather strange that Galway was not made the see of a bishop in those earlier times when dioceses were smaller and much more numerous. In the accounts of the difficulties arising out of trade jealousies between Limerick and Galway, we find the places repeatedly alluded to as 'the city' and 'the town.' Speed, the English antiquary, who visited Galway in 1610, says: 'the principal city of this province . . . is Galway, in Irish *Gallive*, built in manner much like a tower; it is dignified with a bishop's see, and is much frequented by merchants.' Speed, how-

¹ Subsequently, Mr. Hardiman was Librarian of Queen's College, Galway, from 1849 at his death in 1855.

ever, mistook the wardenship for the episcopal dignity, as will presently appear. The ecclesiastical history of the place shows that among the 'loyal' people of Galway there was very early developed a feeling which might not inaptly be regarded as the idea of Home Rule, or, let us say, domestic rule.

The year 1484 is marked by two events, both tending in this direction. On the 15th December of that year Richard III. granted a new charter, in which all previous grants to the inhabitants of Galway were confirmed; the King renewed the powers to levy tolls and customs which he directed should be applied to 'the murage and pavage' of the town; he also granted licence to elect yearly one mayor and two bailiffs, or sheriffs, and ordained that no person might enter the town, or exercise any function therein, without authority from the town magistrates, &c. In the same year the people of Galway prevailed upon Donat O'Murray, Archbishop of Tuam, to release the town from his jurisdiction, and to erect the Church of St. Nicholas into 'a collegiate of exempt jurisdiction,' to be governed by a warden and vicars, who were to be presented and solely elected by the inhabitants of the town.

In the earlier period Galway was included in the diocese of Annaghdown, which, in the year 1324, was united to the archdiocese of Tuam. Keating in his account of the great national synod, held at *Ceananus* (Kells), in the year 1157, from the Incarnation of our Lord, mentions among the bishops present Tuathal O'Conaty, Bishop of Jobh Bruin, that is, *Enach-duin* (Annaghdown).¹

As Archbishop O'Murray's concession required confirmation from the Holy See, a petition from the parishioners of the town was transmitted to Rome, in which they described themselves as 'modest and civil people,' and represented the inhabitants of the surrounding country as 'a savage race brought up in woods and mountains, unpolished and

¹ 1189. Concors, Bishop of Annaghdown, was present at the coronation of Richard I. Oliver J. Burke's *Catholic Archbishops of Tuam*. (O'Connor's Translation, p. 518.)

illiterate.' The 'modest and civil people' complain that they were often 'robbed and murdered' by the 'savage race,' and were likely to suffer many other losses and inconveniences if not speedily succoured; and they, therefore, pray that his Holiness would be pleased to sanction the institution of the archbishop. This petition was graciously received by the Pope (Innocent VIII.), who granted a bull of confirmation according to the prayer of the memorial.

In the *Catholic Directory*, for 1837,¹ I find the history of these events thus summarized :—

There was no bishopric in Galway until the abolition of the wardenship in 1831 . . . The town of Galway originally belonged to the diocese of Enach-dune,² and ancient bishopric united, in 1324, to the archiepiscopal see of Tuam . . . From 1578, the Protestant wardens were elected under the charter of Edward VI., and the Catholic wardens under the Bull of Pope Innocent VIII. James Vaughan was appointed for life, 1663 . . . Right Rev. George J. Browne was consecrated first Bishop (R. C.) of Galway in 1831.

It was in the reign of Edward VI. that the Collegiate Church of St. Nicholas was seized by the Reformers :—

The Catholic warden and vicars were dispossessed; and by letters patent, dated 29th April, 1551, the erection of the church into a collegiate by the Bull of Innocent VIII. was declared void, but it was, at the same time, re-established by virtue of the King's powers as supreme head of the Church. Patrick Kirwan, a layman, was appointed warden, and eight vicars were nominated.

It appears, however, that, in face of all difficulties, the Catholic succession of wardenship was kept up according to the bull of Pope Innocent VIII. till it gave place, in 1831, to a bishopric. What, subsequently, befell the good people of Galway, owing to their attachment to the ancient religion, I must for the present pass over. The narrative is too long and eventful to compress into the tail of an article. Nor can I dwell upon the sufferings which the same people

¹ Page 262.

² The lofty castle and ivy-clad abbey ruins of Annaghdown (*Enach-dune*), in a charming situation, on the eastern shores of Lough Corrib, can be seen from the deck of the Galway and Cong steamer.

endured in the cause of royalty during two memorable sieges in the sixteenth century. The horrors of the Cromwellian occupation could not be dealt with without going into a long recital of treachery, cruelty, and wrong-doing of the most revolting character.

There are, however, some incidents of the Restoration which I do not wish to pass without notice. This event produced quite a stampede of Cromwellians from Galway. Many, conscious of what they had deserved during the eight years of their ascendancy, fled the town as soon as the King's return was announced.

Charles II., while an exile, wrote from Jersey, on 4th February, 1649-50, a letter to the people of Galway, in which, among other complimentary things, he said :—

Wee assure you that wee are not only truly sensible of what you have alreadye done for our service ; but as that cittie of Galway is one of the principal citties that hath eminently continued their loyalltie and devotion to us, soe shall wee, in due time, conferre such priviledges and favor upon you as may be lasting monuments of your deserving above others, and of our particular grace and acceptation thereof, and soe wee bid you farewell.¹

The day [says Hardiman] on which this communication was received in Galway was one of the last days of its greatness and prosperity. For upwards of a century after this period war, pestilence, and persecution succeeded each other in rapid and melancholy succession.

The fine promises made by Charles in exile were not, perhaps, forgotten by Charles when on the throne ; but there was very little performance after all. True, he granted a new charter, on the 14th August, 1678, providing that the town, and all within two miles of it, should henceforth form a county of itself ; but a similar grant had been made under James I., in 1610. In 1683 the Corporation presented a royal congratulatory address to the King, on the occasion of his escape from the Rye House conspiracy. This address was rather the outcome of their 'loyalty' than of their gratitude ; for very little had been done towards

¹Corporation, Book A., in Library of Queen's College, Galway.

redressing the wrongs which the inhabitants had suffered on behalf of the reigning king and of his father.

It must be remembered that one of the first acts of Charles II., on coming to the throne, was an order to reinstate the inhabitants who had been driven from their homes during the Cromwellian occupation ; but very little came of this. For instance, one Robert Martin, of Ross, obtained an order from the King to be restored to the possession of his mansion house in Galway, which was then in possession of Edward Eyre, the Recorder, and one of the members recently elected to the new Parliament. Martin came to Galway to demand possession, which being refused he made complaint to the Lords Justices, alleging that the occupant, Mr. Eyre, not only refused to deliver up the house, but declared he 'did not value the King's order eighteen pence.' The Lords Justices directed the Attorney-General to lay the complaint before the Irish House of Commons, of which Mr. Eyre was a member. The accused read to the House a written statement, in which he emphatically denied the charge as propounded by Mr. Martin. He merely demanded whether the order had been confirmed by the Lords Justices, and, being informed that it was not so confirmed, he made the remark that it was not worth eighteen pence. The House at length resolved that there were no grounds for the complaint. Hardiman says that Martin's rather injudicious proceeding proved injurious to the old proprietors, and equally serviceable to the new. It prejudiced the Lords Justices against the former. The new settlers were continued in the Corporation, notwithstanding writs of *quo warranto* ; that is, we may suppose, all those who had not by their previous conduct rendered change of air beneficial. The 'law's delay' came to the aid of the new settlers, and proved a barrier to the restitution intended, to all appearance, by Charles II. in the earlier part of his reign. But we may well doubt whether the Merry Monarch was at any time very serious in his proposals to recompense those who suffered in his cause. It was an article of faith among the Stuarts, that loyalty and fidelity were obligations of so binding a character that the

faithful subject's simple duty was to suffer anything on behalf of his sovereign, without even hope or prospect of worldly recompense. At any rate, we know that Charles was not very careful to make amends to those who suffered for him in England. Why, then, expect him to inconvenience himself on account of 'the tribes' of Galway? His Majesty's chief concern, then, was to avoid the necessity of again setting out upon his travels, and to make life tolerable within the bounds of his own palace. It was not injured royalists, but court favourites, who had claims on the royal bounty; and when this object was to be accomplished, Charles could remember that there was a place called Galway, but to Galway's grave disadvantage.

There was a considerable amount of corporate property forfeited into the King's hands. It was, we may be sure expected that out of this some compensation would be made to the sufferers in this cause, or that, in any case the benefit would not be withdrawn from the people who had created the property. How little they who expected this, knew of the dynasty for which they had fought! How little they knew of the worthless prince for whose return they had sighed and rejoiced! By letters patent Charles II. granted to Elizabeth, widow of James Hamilton, esquire one of the grooms of his Majesty's bedchamber, this property which, although then, by a legal fiction, in his hands, he ought in justice and conscience—if Charles knew anything of either justice or conscience—to have held only in trust for the people of Galway. The recipient appointed one Matthew Quin as her agent, but when he attempted to exercise the powers so delegated to him he was put into prison by the mayor. Eventually the widow's claim was enforced by the chancery—a strange sort of equity, it seems. The Earl of Essex, who was then Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, was at first, as well he might be, opposed to the grant; but, in deference to the king's wishes, he acquiesced, not without much misgiving as to the justice of the cause he should have to enforce. In a communication to the Secretary in England he states: 'As to the affair of the town of Galway betwixt it and Mrs. Hamilton, &c., I

cannot but tell you that I apprehend this grant will be the ruin of the town.' If the people of Galway had in the first instance, declared against the claims of Charles to the throne they could not have been more shabbily treated. In 1684 Colonel Theodore Russell purchased from Mrs. Hamilton the charter market and petty dues for £2,500. He was then elected mayor for eleven years, and during this period he remained in exclusive receipt of those duties and customs. In other words, the townspeople were, for that long period, mulcted of all municipal emoluments in order that King Charles the Merry might be able to provide handsomely for a court dependent.

There were other accompaniments of the Restoration which bore heavily on the people of Galway. By the 'new rules' arising out of the Act of Explanation, 'the names of the mayor, sheriffs, recorder, or town clerk to be annually elected, were to be presented to the Lord Lieutenant'—an interference with freedom of election. Moreover, the Warden was to be nominated by the Lord Lieutenant. All officers of the Corporation were to take the oaths of supremacy and allegiance, and also a further oath—called the 'little oath'—against taking up arms against the King (abolished by 4 Geo. I., cap. 3). The Corporation test was, of course, not confined to Galway; but it was a particularly bitter pill for the old Catholic tribes, who had ventured so much, and suffered so much, in the cause of legitimate monarchy.

The brief reign of the last Stuart King raised their hopes, only to be more cruelly disappointed than ever. Then followed persecution and the royal boycotting of Irish trade. What is called the 'glorious' revolution proved to be ruin and degradation to the old merchant princes of Galway. But as persecution began to die out, the hopes and the fortunes of the *Gallivie* rose until, in the earlier years of the nineteenth century, the town had once more risen to something like its former prosperity. The close of the century approaches, and what a change! The vain-glorious assertion of the Roman emperor, that he found Rome a city of brick, and would leave it a city of marble,

may be reversed and applied to Galway. In the beginning of the century it was, indeed, 'a city of marble' and of commercial activity. The closing years of the century of 'Union' leave it a mournful spectacle of dilapidation and decline, of poverty and lack of occupation.

THOMAS FITZPATRICK.

ST. PATRICK'S BIRTHPLACE

SOME ten years ago there appeared in the I. E. RECORD for the first time a translation of a puzzling passage with which St. Patrick's *Confession* opens. It was this:—The saint having mentioned his father's name, said 'he was of the street Bona venta, of Ukstown, and he had, indeed, a farm hard by, where I was made captive.' Ever since this translation appeared we have not seen a writing calculated in the least to shake our conviction of its correctness.

In confirmation, then, of this translation, if confirmation were required, I shall draw out a few proofs in so far as they connect our saint with Wales; and as mostly all of what I have to write will be taken from the *Book of Armagh*, I take leave to make a few observations on that venerable relic.

The *Book of Armagh* was called 'St. Patrick's Canon, because it contained with many other interesting documents his version of the four Gospels. The book is valuable as well for its antiquity and the precise date of many of its documents, as for the care with which it was written and guarded. The book contains the so-called *Confession* of the saint. Its Life of St. Patrick was written out of pre-existing materials at the suggestion of Aed, Bishop of Sletty, who died in the seventh century; the annotations of Tirechan were dictated by Ultan, Bishop of Ardbreaccan, in the middle of the seventh century. The entire book was written out by an inimitably excellent scribe, and bishops even

delighted in the title of scribe, under the superintendence of Torbach, Archbishop of Armagh ('haerede Patricii dic-tante'). Now, Archbishop Torbach sat from the year 807 to 808. This year is the latest assigned to any document in the *Book of Armagh*; but though limited in that direction, it might be traceable back to the times of St. Patrick. Eight townlands, with a residence in Armagh, were assigned to the guardian of the book, who was called mayor in Irish, and hence his descendants were called McMoyres. An outrage offered to the book, even by a king, was punished with banishment. In fact, the book was a national muniment under the protection of the Church.

As against the *Book of Armagh* how comparatively valueless must be any statements, apart from their intrinsic worth, which were made subsequent to it. From such statements, uncontrolled by any authority, there have come down to us through Colgan six Lives of our national saint; they have been contemptuously styled 'fabulous' by the learned Tillemont. The original life in the *Book of Armagh* has been so overlaid by subsequent irreconcilable statements that the Bollandists, from time to time, have had to stay their pen in despair of being able to reconcile conflicting stories. The scholia on the metrical hymn of Fiacc, called the first Life, are no exception to these silly stories, but rather the cause of many of them.

Amongst those who accompanied our saint in his mission to Ireland was Lomman. The *Book of Armagh* makes mention of four of his brothers who also came on the Irish mission. These were Mugenoc, Broccan, Munis, and Brocaid. They are called Welsh by Dr. Todd. Lomman was left at the mouth of the Boyne by St. Patrick, and told to wait there forty days; the saint himself went towards Tara. He did not return at the end of forty days, and Lomman waited for forty days more. Then Lomman sailed up to Trim. Here he met with Fidelmid, who as being married to a British wife, and having had a British mother, was able to salute Lomman in the British language, and inquire of Lomman as to his race and religion. Lomman replied: 'I am Lomman, a Britain, a Christian, and a disciple of

Bishop Patrick.' In fuller explanation of Lomman's answer the writer in the *Book of Armagh* states: 'Progenies autem Lommani de Britonibus, id est, filius Golli; germana autem Patricii mater ejus.' This translated is, 'the race of Lomman, indeed, was of the Britons, that is, a son of Gollus.' The *filius Golli* qualifies *de Britonibus*. Of a like character is the first line in the Life of the saint in the supplemental leaves to the *Book of Armagh*. There St. Patrick is styled a 'Briton' (*Brito natione*), followed by *in Britanniis natus*. This qualifies the former phrase. There are only two portions of ('utriusque Britanniae'). England called *Britannia prima*, and Wales was *Britannia secunda*. As, then, *in Britanniis* was more particularly descriptive than *Brito natione*, so *filius Golli* was more particularly descriptive than *de Britonibus* preceding it.

Gollus, or more correctly Gallus, as suggested by Colgan was not a man's name in this instance. Lomman is represented by the Irish Lives and genealogists as the son of Darerca, alleged sister of St. Patrick. Now, neither of her husbands—for the Irish *Tripartite* states she was twice married—was called Gallus or Gollus. In the present instance *Gallus* meant a foreigner and Welshman. *Filius Galli*, standing for a Welshman, was like *filius hominis*, standing for man, or *ἄνθρωπος Ἀχαιοῦ*, for an Achean or Greek. *Gallus* was the Latin for *Gall*, which in Irish meant a foreigner, and in the seventh and eighth centuries a Welshman.

In the early ages of the Irish Celts they associated everything foreign with Gaul, or connected with Gaul, which stretched from the Alps to the Rhine. In course of time the term Gall was extended to the Danish invaders who were contradistinguished by the epithets of black and white Galls (Dubgall and Fingall); subsequently, the term was extended to anything foreign, as the so-called Reformation, from any part of England.¹ But originally *Gall* was

¹ Hence, a Protestant Church is called *teampul gallda* in Irish, and the Protestant religion, *creadam gallda*.

applied to those who came from Gaul immediately or mediately through Wales. Perhaps I can do nothing better than give on this matter the remarks of the profoundly learned Irish scholar, the Bishop of Cloyne (1748-1767). They may be read in the introduction to O'Reilly's Irish and English Dictionary :—

The Irish words *Gall*, a Gaul, and *Gaill*, Gauls, are Celtic words, upon which the Latin words *Gallus* and *Galli* have been formed.¹ Nothing is more evident than that the national name of the first Celts who came to Ireland, whether they came immediately from Gaul, or rather after remaining some time in the greater British isle, as Mr. Lhuyd gives good reasons for thinking, were *Gall* in the singular, and *Gaill* in the plural; though it is equally certain this same national name of *Gall* was applied by the old natives to other colonies that followed those primitive Celts into Ireland from different parts of the Continent, and was applied to English adventurers. This must have proceeded both from their forgetting their origin, on account of their national name, from *Gaill* into *Gaedhill*, and also from the knowledge they traditionally preserved of the Gaulish nation, of its extent as well as of its vicinity to the British Isles. All these circumstances occasioned that the Celtiberians imagined that the stranger who came amongst them, whether immediately from Britain or otherwise, must have originally proceeded from Gaul.

There are some, however, who would not, as the learned bishop, trace the Irish word *Gall* to so remote a source; they would assign it to the coming of a colony of Gauls who, a few centuries before the Christian era, came to Ireland in order to help in the restoration of an Irish prince to his hereditary kingdom. All, however, agree in stating that *Gall* meant a foreigner, and was expressed in Latin by *Gallus* or *Gallicus*. This term was quite commonly applied to the Welsh, especially after the name 'Gaul' gave way to that of Frank. Wales, which was colonized by Gauls or Gallo-Belgians, adhered to the word *Gall* and its inflexions. Hence we learn from Lhuyd's *Archæologia*² that the Welsh express *Guydhilig* (from *Gaill*) by *Gallus* or *Gallicus*. Even in the fourteenth century, when

¹ Cæsar's *Commentaries*, Book i. 1: 'Qui ipsorum lingue Celtae nostra Galli appellantur.'

² *Compar. Etymol.*, p. xxiii., cxi. 3.

Wales had lost its national independence, the Welshman wished to be called a *Gallicus*; for Clyn the annalist, speaking of Sir Matthew Mylborne, states that he was an Englishman, but would be called a Welshman, *Gallicus*.¹ Mindful of the original connection or descent even the Frenchman of the present day expresses the words Wales, of Wales, Welshman, by *Gaule, de Galles, and Gaulois*. Though *Gallus* could be applied to a Frenchman, yet it did not, and could not, so apply in the phrase under consideration: *filius Galli de Britonibus*.

The *Life of St. Ailbe* supplies additional proof that *Gallus* represented no man's name in particular, but a Welshman. St. Ailbe, after receiving consecration in Rome, left for Ireland. In journeying homewards he preached the Gospel to different infidel nations. He made a special stay in a country which appears to have been Brittany, for he built a monastery there, and then went to Dole, where Sampson was archbishop. St. Ailbe left in charge of the monastery children of *Gall* (*filius Ghuill*). Sampson, who with his missionaries came to Dole, had been Archbishop of St. David's. The children of *Gall* left by St. Ailbe in the monastery must be either those who accompanied him to Rome as he journeyed through Menevia, or some of the Welsh with Archbishop Sampson at Dole.²

As bearing on this matter, and as illustrative of the meaning and inflexions of *Gall* (*Gallus*), I may mention that there is an island on Lough Corrib which was called *Inis Goill crabhtigh*, now shortened into Inchaguile, which means 'the island of the devout foreigner.' The devout foreigner is said to have been a nephew of St. Patrick. His name was Lugnad. Dr. Petrie discovered a tombstone in the island which he judged to be as old as the sixth century,³ and on the flag there appeared this inscription: 'The flag of Lugnaedon, son of Limania.'⁴ In making mention of

¹ 'Nacione Anglicus, sed usu loquendi Gallicus, loquens tantum Galliam.'—*Annals*, an. 1325.

² *Vid. Rees' Welsh Saints*.

³ *Transactions, Royal Irish Academy*, vol. xx.

⁴ The *Book of Leinster* states that Lugnat was son of Darerca.

Inisaguile I merely wish to draw attention to the meaning and inflexion of *Gall*.

Once more I would appeal to the *Book of Armagh*. Its writer speaks of the multitude by whom St. Patrick was accompanied when coming as a missionary to Ireland. He speaks of them as *Gallis*, who consisted of bishops (probably *in fieri*), priests, deacons, subdeacons, exorcists, door-keepers, and lectors; he gives the names of fifty persons under the heading *Gallis*. In the next line there is a small list of Frenchmen, numbering twelve, under the heading *de nominibus Francorum Patricii*. We are, therefore, driven to conclude that the *Franci* were different in nationality from the *Gallis*; the more especially as amongst these are numbered Brocaid and Lomman, who are proved to have been Welsh.¹

Agreeably to these statements in the *Book of Armagh*, in reference to St. Patrick's coming with the Welsh (*Gallis*), is the glossary of the prince-bishop, Cormac MacCullenan. His gloss on the word *Cruimthir* runs thus:—

That is the Gaelic of *presbyter*. *Prempter*, then, is the Welsh. Now, *prempster* in the Welsh is *cruimthir* in the Gaelic, and *cruimthir* is not a proper translation of *presbyter*, but is of *prempster*. Now, the Britons who were with Patrick at the preaching, it is they who translated it.² The Welsh, then, mentioned in the old glossary are the *Galli* mentioned in the *Book of Armagh*.

In connection with St. Patrick's passage to Ireland, I may remark that, according to the *Book of Armagh*, he judged that on landing near Wicklow he could do nothing more perfect (*perfectius*), than go and convert his former pagan taskmaster. Now if he were a native of Dunbarton he could easily have crossed over fourteen miles of water to Fairhead, and then be within a few miles by land from his taskmaster's dwelling in Antrim: thus he would have spared himself hundreds of miles by land, and hundreds on hundreds of miles by water, to use the words of the

¹ Fol. 9 bb.

² *L. Breac*, p. 264.

Druidical prophecy, 'over the raging sea.' The saint, if embarking from Dunbarton, could, in accepting presents from his mother, have partially stayed¹ her weeping and tears by pointing to the mere span of water that separated his native from his missionary country. But he did not, and could not have done so; for he embarked from the coast of Wales, his native country. Having now shown the connection of St. Patrick's alleged sister, of his nephews, and of his missionary retinue with Wales, I proceed to prove his own connection with it, by reference to the *Book of Armagh*, while in the entire Book there is not the remotest allusion to Alclyde or Caledonia.

Once on a time, after the year 460, at least,² St. Patrick administered the Sacrament of Confirmation to his newly-baptized converts. At the same time their country was raided by the soldiers and followers of Coroticus; and while the lately baptized were clad in the white garments of neophytes, and their foreheads glistened with the sacred chrism, they were, without distinction of age or sex, partially slain, and partially carried away captives amongst the Scots and Picts. Having heard of the irreligious outrage, our national saint on the following day sent a priest with other clerics to demand restitution of the plundered property and the undisposed-of captives; but the demand was treated with mockery by the representatives and soldiers of Coroticus.

We may infer very probably that the scene of the outrages lay on the northern coast of Ireland, and directly opposite the Scottish coast. It is not quite certain that Coroticus was personally engaged in ravaging the Irish coast: for our national saint in the letter which he addressed to him states that the messengers, previously dispatched on the day after the outrage on the same errand, were sent to the soldiers, who treated it with derision; and in another part of the letter our saint associated with the inhuman outrage Coroticus, not physically, but morally (*Jubente Corotico*).

¹ 'Cum fletu et lacrymis,' *Confession*.

² For at this time our saint, having come on his mission in the year 432, made use of the services of a priest whom he had trained from infancy.

However, St. Patrick in his letter to Coroticus upbraided sternly the soldiers for being the companions of the Scots and Picts.

Before proceeding further we may ask who were the Scots and Picts.

Firstly, in regard to the Scots, their native home was Ireland. From the days of St. Patrick till the eleventh century, the land of the Scots was called Scotia, Ireland, or Hibernia; but in the eleventh century the name changed. Owing to the short passage of fourteen miles of water between Fairhead and Kantyre—a distance nearly equal to what separates Clare from Kerry—the Scots freely and in crowds passed over to the opposite coast year after year; so that in the course of centuries they outnumbered the Picts, Britons, and the Saxons; and, finally, gave the name of Scotland to their adopted country. Ever since North Britain has been called Scotia or Scotland, while Ireland has been called Hibernia and the Greater Scotia.

There was one unpleasant result from this change in the name of Scotia. Some bold Scotchmen, such as Camerarius and Thomas Dempster claimed all the Irish saints as Scotch. All the Irish, as already observed, were called Scots from the fifth to the eleventh century; and as the bold Scotch writers maintained that Scotia was the name for Scotland, they claimed for Scotland, and the claim was admitted for some time, all the saints and scholars who covered Ireland with imperishable renown during the middle ages. Such has been the wholesale grabbing of Scotch writers!

The Scots, then, mentioned by St. Patrick were the pagan Irish who were yearly passing, and for a few centuries before his time had passed over to the western coast of Scotland.

Secondly, the home of the Picts generally lay in the northern part of Scotland. All the tribes north of the Roman wall drawn from the Forth to the Clyde were included under the general name of Picts. But as the Scots from Ireland effected a settlement on the western coast, so the Picts coming down from their mountain

homes established a settlement in the south-west of Scotland, in Galloway. The Pagan Picts of Galloway were evangelized by St. Ninian, about the year 400: he died about the year 430. The effect of his preaching was not lasting; for, within a generation after the death of Ninian, St. Patrick designated the people of Galloway as apostate Picts.

It will be of use to our purpose to consider the position and condition of the Strathclyde Britons, surrounded by the Picts and Scots on the north and west, and by the Saxons on the south and east: they were situated in the Roman province of Valentia. I may mention that the British island was composed of *Britannia Prima*, which lay south of the Thames; *Britannia Secunda*, nearly co-extensive with Wales; of *Maxima Caesariensis*, which stretched to the Humber; and of *Flavia Caesariensis*, which extended to the Tweed. While the two *Britanniae* were subdued and Romanized in the middle of the first century, the other divisions were only later brought under Roman subjection. A part of Scotland on to the Clyde was claimed as Roman territory, and fortified by a chain of forts extending from the Forth across to the Clyde: at another time the boundary wall was brought down to the Solway, while the intervening space between it and the Clyde had to be left to the riot and plunder of the Scots and Picts. But they would not be confined within the narrow space; they made devastating raids on the Roman province south of the Tweed. Nor were they alone in these raids: for Ammianus Marcellinus¹ informs us that so early as the year 360 they were joined by the Saxons and Attacotti in the work of destruction. On that account the bravest of the Roman generals was sent against them. They were defeated and routed with slaughter;² the wall at the Clyde was repaired and fortified; and in the year 369, for the first time, the space between the Tweed and the Clyde was formed into a fifth division of the Roman province. It got

¹ xxvi. 4: 'Picti, Saxonesque et Scoti et Attacotti Britannos aerumnis vexavere continuis.'

² 'Orcades, incaluit Pictorum sanguine Thule; Scotorum cumulos flevit glacialis Ierne.' Claudian, viii. 26.

the name of Valentia in honour of the Emperor Valens, in whose reign the successful expedition was undertaken.

Quiet and order, however, were not lasting in the newly-established province of Valentia. For the usurper Maximus withdrew the legions which had been left in defence of the Roman fortifications, and the result of the withdrawal was the devastation by the Picts and Scots in the year 387. A similar effect from a like cause was the result in the years 396, 402, 407, and in 409. And when in the year 410 the Emperor Honorius withdrew for ever all the legions from the British island, and left the Britons to shift for themselves, the old Britons of Valentia, surrounded by the apostate and pagan Picts and by the pagan Scots and Saxons, were practically barbarous and pagan.

The nominal Christian, Coroticus, who raided the Irish coast, was a British prince whose principality stretched along the Irish sea; and as Wales and Strathclyde were the only places where the Britons held sway when St. Patrick hurled his excommunication, we must seek there for the home of Coroticus. At the same time a glance at the intellectual and religious aspect of the saint's surroundings as described by himself, will aid our inquiry.

We learn from the *Confession* of St. Patrick that he was a Romanized Briton, and that in his infancy and youth he spoke the Latin language. He wrote it very imperfectly, because, as he states, his captivity interfered with his education; and yet he felt the necessity of addressing a Latin letter to Coroticus, only because, we must suppose, he was a Romanized Briton, and unable to understand any other language. Not only Coroticus, but his soldiers and all his subjects were supposed to understand the Latin tongue; for our saint commissioned the bearer of his letter to Coroticus to read his scathing denunciations before the assembled people (*omnibus plebibus*) and, as the *Book of Armagh* informs us, even in the market-place (*in foro*.) Now a people speaking the Latin language could not then have been found in Alclyde or Dunbarton. Our authority for this statement is a Scotchman, no partial witness. These are the words of Dr. Skene:—‘The inhabitants of

the district in which Alcluaid was situated were a Welsh-speaking people.'¹ This was only natural; for as the historian states, the remote parts of the British province—the north and west—were only slightly brought under Roman influence; so that when the Romans withdrew for ever from the island, in the year 410, they left a 'people not speaking the Roman language, but preserving their own laws, customs, and characteristics.'²

Now, if we turn to South Wales, a different picture is presented to us. There the Romans effected a settlement so early as the middle of the first century. The Severn and the sea marked out Wales as the second province in the island (*Britannia secunda*). Hence Juvenal, alluding to the Roman settlements in Kent and Wales, calls their inhabitants the people of both Britains (*populos utriusque Britanniae*). In the capital alone of Wales, Caerleon, was placed the legion, which gave a name to the place; and it consisted together with its complement of cavalry of seven thousand men. Here, and in the surrounding towns, were introduced Roman laws, habits, and language. There was no intermixture with, or interruption from, Picts or Scots. Here, too, were the *forum*, the baths, and the amphitheatre, which passed under the name of Arthur's Round Table. South Wales was so thoroughly Romanized that after the departure of the Roman soldiers the native princes were called Romans. Such was Ambrosius Aurelius who gained a famous victory over the Saxons at the mouth of the Severn. His parents, in the words of Gildas, were adorned with the purple.³ And Venerable Bede, repeating the statement of Gildas, more fully explains it by saying that Ambrosius's parents bore the name and distinctions of royalty.⁴ And Nennius, speaking of Ambrose, states that his father was Consul of the Roman nation.⁵

The princes, soldiers, and people of South Wales were

¹ *Celtic Scotland*, vol. ii., p. 436.

² *Ibid.*, vol. i., pp. 120, 121.

³ *Hist. Brit.*, ch. xxv.

⁴ 'Regium nomen et insigne ferentibus.' (*Histor. Ecclesiastica*.)

⁵ 'Unus de consulibus gentis Romanicæ,' ch. lvi.

the men to whom a Latin address was applicable and necessary. And in proof of their Romanized character, we may adopt the language of the Scottish Skene :—

The effects on the provincials of the fertile, accessible, and completely subjugated districts were more deep and lasting. To a great extent they lost their nationality, and became Roman citizens . . . those in the northern and western portions were more in the position of native tribes under a foreign rule than of the civilized inhabitants of a province.

The intellectual aspect, then, of Alclyde, capital of Strathclyde, forbids the supposition of a Latin letter having been addressed to the Strathclyde Britons by St. Patrick : it was quite otherwise in regard to South Wales.

SYLVESTER MALONE.

[We are obliged to hold over the concluding part of Fr. Malone's paper till next month.—Ed. I. E. R.]

THE JUBILEE OF THE HOLY YEAR

THE PRIVILEGE OF GAINING IT WITHOUT GOING TO ROME

[We have the permission of the Archbishop of Dublin to print, as follows, the principal passages of a letter which has been addressed by his Grace within the last few days to the clergy of his diocese for their information on this important practical matter.—ED. I. E. R.]

The points as to which information may be sought for are the following :—

I. The persons who are privileged to gain the Jubilee this year without going to Rome.

II. The conditions on which such persons can gain the Jubilee.

III. Whether they can gain the Jubilee Indulgence more than once.

IV. Whether they can have the advantage of the other privileges of the Jubilee more than once.

I.—AS TO THE PERSONS WHO ARE PRIVILEGED TO GAIN THE JUBILEE THIS YEAR WITHOUT GOING TO ROME

I may begin by pointing out that the cases in which the Jubilee can, for the present, be gained without going to Rome are of two kinds : (a) a special case, expressly provided for in the Apostolic Letter of the Sovereign Pontiff (*Properante ad exitum saeculo*) in which the Jubilee was published on the 11th of May, last year; (b) a number of exceptional cases for which provision was made in a subsequent Apostolic Letter of the 1st of November.

It will be convenient to deal, in the first place, with the cases under this second heading.

§ 1. *The cases provided for in the Apostolic Letter of the
1st of November, 1899*

These cases may be grouped as follows :—

1. Nuns, and, generally speaking, women or girls resident in Convents or in similar Institutions; also cloistered Anchorets and Hermits, including members of certain Religious Orders of men, as, for instance, some of the Cistercians;

2. Those who are in prison or in captivity;

3. Those whose condition of health hinders them from journeying to Rome; including under this head, all persons who have completed their seventieth year.

It is useful for the clergy to have at hand the words of the Apostolic Letter, in which the various classes of persons thus grouped are enumerated. The document is printed in the I. E. RECORD for last month,¹ but it may be well to transcribe certain portions of it here.

1. The five following paragraphs specify in detail the various classes of persons grouped under the first of the three headings above :—

I. *Moniales omnes, quotquot solemnita vota religionis ediderunt et in monasteriis degunt sub claustris perpetui disciplina; item quae tyrocinium exercent, quaeve in monasteriis, aut educationis aut alia de causa legitima, commorantur. Pariter Monasteriorum hujusmodi Moniales quae stipis colligendae gratia septa religiosa egrediuntur.*

II. *Oblatae, vitae societate coniunctae, quarum Instituta fuerint ab Apostolica Sede, vel ratione stabili, vel ad experimentum probata, una cum suis novitiis atque educandis puellis, aliisque communi cum ipsis contubernio utentibus, quamquam severiori claustris lege non adstringantur.*

III. *Tertiariae sub uno eodemque tecto communiter viventes, cum suis pariter novitiis atque educandis puellis, aliisque cum ipsis una degentibus, etsi severiore claustris lege minime teneantur, earumque Institutum nec unquam ad hunc diem ab Apostolica Sede approbatum fuerit, nec ut approbatum in posterum haberi debeat vi praesentis concessionis.*

IV. *Puellae ac mulieres in gynaeceis seu Conservatoriis de-*

¹ I. E. RECORD, January, 1900, pp. 82-86.

gentes, quamvis nec Moniales, nec Oblatae, nec Tertiariae, nullisque claustris legibus obnoxiae sint.

V. Idem concedimus Anachoretis atque Eremitis, non quidem eis qui nullis clausurae legibus adstricti, vel in collegio et societate, vel solitarii sub Ordinariorum regimine certisque legibus aut regulis obtemperantes vivunt: sed eis qui in continua, licet non omnimodo perpetua, clausura et solitudine deditam contemplationi vitam agunt, etiamsi monasticum aut regularem Ordinem profiteantur, ut Cistercienses aliquot, Chartusienses, Monachi et Eremitae sancti Romualdi solent.

2. The following paragraph regards the cases comprised under the second of the three headings above:—

VI. Ad utriusque sexus Christifideles eamdem concessionis gratiam extendimus, qui captivi in hostium potestate versantur, ad eosque ubique locorum, qui ex civilibus aut criminalibus causis in carcere detinentur; item qui exilii poenam aut deportationis luunt: qui in trirēmibus aut alibi ad opus damnati reperiuntur; denique ad religiosos viros qui suis in coenobiis sub custodia retinentur, vel qui ex rectorum praecepto certam habent sedem, quasi exilii aut deportationis loco assignatam.

3. Finally, the following paragraph regards the cases comprised under the third of the three headings above:—

VII. Eamdem concessionem communem esse pariter volumus utriusque sexus infirmis cuiusvis ordinis et conditionis, vel qui iam extra Urbem in morbum aliquem inciderint, cuius causa, intra Iubilaei annum, Urbem adire, medici iudicio, non possint, vel qui, licet convalescerint, non sine tamen gravi incommodo romanum iter aggredi possint, vel qui omnino dare se in iter imbecilla ex habitu valetudine prohibeantur. Horum denique numero senes haberi volumus, qui septuagesimum aetatis suae annum excesserint.

All persons comprised within any of the descriptions thus given have the privilege of gaining the Jubilee of the present year without going to Rome.

His Holiness, in accordance with traditional form, states in the Apostolic Letter of last November that he is moved to make this special concession for the sake of those who, in any of the ways enumerated, are hindered from making the journey to Rome, but who would willingly make that journey if no obstacle stood in the way.

According to some writers on the Jubilee, such a declaration of the Sovereign Pontiff is to be understood as *limiting the privilege* to those who, in addition to belonging to one or another of the various classes enumerated, are moreover in the pious disposition of mind thus described in the Apostolic Letter. According to others, the privilege is granted to all persons included in any of those classes,—so that, in this view, the reference to the desire of some of those persons to make the journey to Rome, if they were free to do so, should be understood rather as *a statement of the motive* that has led the Holy Father to make the concession than as limiting the concession in any way.

In the absence of an authoritative decision, it is not easy to speak with confidence on such a point. It would seem, however, that the latter view has a great deal to recommend it.

The matter being to some extent uncertain, it is desirable in all cases to do what can be done to excite the pious disposition thus prominently mentioned in the Apostolic Letter.

§ 2. *The special case provided for in the Apostolic Letter of the 11th May, 1899.*

Outside the cases covered by the special privilege thus granted by the Apostolic Letter of the 1st of November, 1899, there is, as I have mentioned, one special case for which provision is made in the Apostolic Letter by which the Jubilee was proclaimed on the 11th of May.

This is the case of persons who, after having *actually set out* on the journey to Rome, are unable to complete the journey—or, having completed it, are unable to make the prescribed visits to the Basilicas,—on account either of illness or of some other sufficient cause: ‘*morbo scilicet,*’ are the words of his Holiness, ‘*aliaque causa legitima, in Urbe, aut ipso itinere, prohibiti.*’

Confessors . . . should be in a position to give instructions as to the gaining of the Jubilee in such a case.

II.—AS TO THE CONDITIONS ON WHICH THE JUBILEE CAN BE GAINED IN THESE VARIOUS CASES

The conditions on which the Jubilee can be gained by those on whom the special favour is conferred of being able to gain it this year without going to Rome, were set forth in my Pastoral Letter of last December. In so far as these conditions have to be considered in detail, it will be useful to keep to the division of the various cases made under the preceding heading.

§ 1. *The cases provided for in the Apostolic Letter of the 1st of November.*

In these cases, the good works prescribed are the following:—

- (1) A true repentance for sin;
- (2) A good confession;
- (3) A worthy reception of the Blessed Eucharist;
- (4) Prayers for the prosperity and extension of Holy Church; for the extirpation of errors; for concord among Catholic rulers; and for the tranquillity and the well-being, in this world, and in the next,¹ of all Christian people.

- (5) The performance of some suitable works of religion and piety, as a substitute for the Visits of devotion prescribed to be made to each of the Basilicas, St. Peter's, St. Paul's, St. John Lateran's, and St. Mary Major's—at least one Visit a day to be made to each Basilica, on each of ten separate days,—in the case of persons gaining the Jubilee in Rome.²

As to the works to be performed in substitution for the forty Visits to the Basilicas, some points of importance have to be noted.

¹ As the word 'salus' is capable of being understood either of temporal well-being or of eternal salvation, it may be well to take it in the widest sense, so as to include both one and the other.

² In Rome, special dispensations, largely reducing in certain cases the number of Visits prescribed, are granted by the Cardinal Penitentiary under special authority from the Sovereign Pontiff.

Such a dispensation, for instance, is granted to members of a pilgrimage, they visit the Basilicæ in a body.

(a) Some of these works are to be voluntarily undertaken by the persons themselves, others are to be enjoined upon them, as explained in the Apostolic Letter: 'in eumque [Jubilaeum lucrandi] finem visitationi quatuor Urbis Basilicarum alia . . . opera devote sufficient, quum voluntaria, tum praesertim a delectis sacri ordinis viris auctoritate Nostra injungenda, prout infra edicetur.'

(b) These latter are to be enjoined by the Bishop of the diocese,¹ acting either personally or through confessors delegated by him for the purpose.

(c) The works enjoined are to be suitable, in view of all the circumstances of each case: 'congrua religionis ac pietatis opera juxta singulorum statum, conditionem, et valetudinem, ac loci et temporis rationes.'

(d) They are to be, in some sense, equivalent to the Visits to the four Basilicas, prescribed in the case of persons gaining the Jubilee in Rome: the privilege of substituting, in these exceptional classes of cases, other works in place of those Visits is spoken of in the Apostolic Letter as a power of 'commuting' the prescribed Visits, '*commutandorum operum facultatem*,' and there is a well-known principle, laid down expressly in reference to the Jubilee of 1750, by Benedict XIV.: '*sola ac simplex commutatio subrogationem exigit in materiam majorem vel saltem aequalem*.'

[The Archbishop then delegates each confessor in his Grace's diocese to act for him, as far as may be necessary, in this matter.

As a rule, Visits to churches or chapels within the diocese are to be substituted for the forty Visits to the Roman Basilicas. The Archbishop prescribes thirty Visits to be thus made—not more than three to be made on any day,—and provides especially for the various cases;

¹ It is unnecessary here to make any reference to the case of members of Religious Orders, beyond quoting these words of the Apostolic Letter: 'Eandem commutandorum operum facultatem concedimus Praelatis Regularibus, videlicet utendam erga Instituta et personas singulas quae in ipsorum jurisdictione sint.'

the cases of city parishes; parishes outside the city; Colleges, Convents, &c.

In all cases, the Visits are to be made with devotion, as is prescribed in the case of the Visits to the Basilicas in Rome: 'devote visitaverint.' As to this clause Benedict XIV. says:—

Ex quo deduci potest quod si quis, nullo pio fine, sed mera ductus curiositate, aut animi relaxandi, seu, quod dicitur, deambulationis habendae gratia, iter conficit, Jubilaeum minime consequitur.

In cases in which the Visits thus specified cannot be enjoined, each confessor in the diocese is empowered to substitute other works of piety: the power thus delegated is to be exercised only in the Tribunal of Penance; and in the exercise of it the principles laid down in the letter are to be followed.

After the statement in detail of these diocesan regulations, the consideration of the general questions involved is resumed.]

It is especially to be borne in mind that the power granted by the Holy Father is a power only of 'commutation,' in the sense above explained.

Difficulty in the performance of the works being plainly one of the important elements to be taken into account, a large allowance should be made on this score in cases of serious illness, and even in cases of seriously impaired health.

Writers of authority on the Jubilee point out that there should be no over-anxiety in this matter. It must be presumed to be the intention of the Holy Father that even if an error of judgment be committed, the mistake—at least if it has been made *bona fide*, and not through carelessness—will not interfere with the gaining of the Jubilee in the case in which it has occurred.

Finally, as regards the Visits, or other good works,

enjoined in substitution for the Visits to the Basilicas in Rome, it is to be observed that the Apostolic Letter of last November provides that, if, after the performance of these works has been even commenced, the person seeking to gain the Jubilee is overcome by a dangerous illness, the Indulgence will be gained by the performance of all the other conditions: 'Omnia . . . implentibus alia injungenda opera in locum visitationum, ac, *vel inchoatis tantum iisdem operibus, si morbus periculosus oppresserit* . . . indulgentiam largimur atque concedimus.'

§ 2. *The case specially provided for in the Apostolic Letter of the 11th of May, 1899*

In this case, already sufficiently defined, the necessity of visiting the Basilicas—or of completing the prescribed number of Visits if these have been commenced by a person who has reached Rome, and is unable to make the Visits in the prescribed number,—is dispensed with by the Holy Father himself. No other good works therefore need be substituted for them.

This is clear from the words of his Holiness:—

Nos piae eorum voluntati . . . tribuimus ut vere poenitentes et confessione rite abluti et sacra communione refecti, indulgentiae et remissionis supra dictae participes perinde fiant ac si Basilicas, quas memoravimus . . . reipsa visitassent.

It is noteworthy that in the case just provided for, no reference is made to the Prayers which are prescribed to be said, in ordinary cases, on the occasion of each Visit, and are prescribed also in the cases in which other works, as already explained, are substituted for the Visits to the Basilicas. The Visits, in the present case, being simply dispensed with,—so that they are not even represented by other works substituted for them,—the requirement of the Prayers is omitted, apparently on the principle: *accessorium sequitur principale*.

III.—AS TO WHETHER, IN THESE EXCEPTIONAL CASES, THE JUBILEE INDULGENCE CAN BE GAINED MORE THAN ONCE

There can be no doubt that the Jubilee Indulgence of the Holy Year can be gained *toties quoties*, by the repeated performance of the good works, including the Visits to the Roman Basilicas, prescribed in the Apostolic Letter by which the Jubilee was published. The question regards only the gaining of the Jubilee by persons not in Rome.

§ 1. *The cases provided for in the Apostolic Letter of the 1st of November, 1899*

In these cases, the Indulgence of the Jubilee can be gained *twice*, but *only twice*. This is clear from the words of the Apostolic Letter:—

Indulgentiam . . . etiam duplici vice intra anni sancti decursum, si injuncta opera iteraverint, haud secus ac si prae-scripta communiter ceteris omnibus expleverint . . . largimur.

But it might, of course, happen that, owing to a change of circumstance, or otherwise, a person who had thus gained the Indulgence twice, was afterwards in a position to go to Rome within the year. There can be no reason to doubt that such a person could gain the Indulgence again in Rome by the performance of all the prescribed works, and could gain it *toties quoties* by performing the prescribed works again and again.

This would appear to be a reasonable inference from one of the *Monita*, collected from the various Constitutions of Benedict XIV. regarding the Jubilee of 1750, and published in Rome by order of our present Holy Father for the guidance of confessors during the Jubilee of the present year.

The *Monitum* is as follows:—

XIX. Qui per Anni Sancti spatium bis aut pluries omnia et singula opera primitus in hujus Jubilaei Indictione praescripta, vel, superveniente forsan aliquo Indulto, ea quae in ipsius Indulti concessione pro ejusdem Jubilaei consecutione praescribuntur,

plene iteraverit; vel prius ad Indictionis, deinde ad Indulti formam, vel prius ad formam Indulti unius, deinde ad alterius fortasse diversi formam, ut praefertur, iteraverit, bis quoque aut pluries poterit Anni Sancti Jubilaeum lucrari.

§ 2. *The case specially provided for in the Apostolic Letter of the 11th of May, 1899*

In this case, the Jubilee Indulgence can, ordinarily speaking, be gained but once. Nothing further is provided for by the Apostolic Letter.

But a person who had thus gained the Indulgence might afterwards be in a position to make the journey to Rome, and to perform there, even repeatedly, all the works prescribed. In such a case, the gaining of the Jubilee Indulgence as often as the prescribed works were performed, would not seem to be at all interfered with by the fact that the Indulgence had in the first instance been gained in the exceptional way here considered. This also appears to be a reasonable inference from the *Monitum* quoted in the preceding section.

IV.—AS TO WHETHER THE OTHER PRIVILEGES OF THE JUBILEE ARE AVAILABLE MORE THAN ONCE

The privileges in question are stated in the various Apostolic Letters as follows:—

1. FACULTAS MONIALIBUS CONCESSA CONFESSARIUM ELIGENDI. ‘Monialibus earumque novitiis licet sumere sibi ex alterutro Cleri ordine Confessarios, qui tamen sint ad audiendas Monialium confessiones rite approbati.’

2. FACULTAS ALIIS CONCESSA CONFESSARIUM ELIGENDI.—Aliis quibuscunque, ‘quibus forte ordinario tempore eligendi sibi Confessarii libera facultas non sit, eligere sibi licet Confessarios quoscunque, dummodo ad confessionem personarum saecularium probati rite sint.’

3. FACULTAS ABSOLVENDI A RESERVATIS.—‘Confessariis sic electis concedimus . . . ut personas supra dictas, auditis earum confessionibus, absolvere possint a quibusvis peccatis, etiam Apostolicae Sedi speciali forma reservatis, excepto casu haeresis formalis et externae, imposita poenitentia salutari, aliisque juxta canonicas sanctiones rectaeque disciplinae regulas injungendis.’

4. FACULTAS DISPENSANDI SUPER QUAEDAM VOTA MONIALIUM.—‘Confessariis quos moniales sibi elegerint facultatem facimus

dispensandi super vota quaelibet ab ipsis post solemnem professionem facta, quae regulari observantiae minime adversentur.'

5. FACULTAS ALIARUM QUARUNDAM MULIERUM VOTA COMMUTANDI.—'Confessarios supra memoratos etiam dispensando commutare posse volumus omnia vota quibus Oblatae, Novitiae, Tertiariae, puellae et mulieres in communibus domibus agentes se obstrinxerint, exceptis iis quae Nobis et Apostolicae Sedi reservata sint: factaque commutatione, a votorum etiam jura torum observantia absolvere.'

The power of absolving in reserved cases, thus granted by the Sovereign Pontiff, is expressly limited to cases reserved to the Holy See: but his Holiness exhorts all Bishops of the Church to follow the example of the Holy See in this respect.

[The Archbishop here notifies, that in the diocese of Dublin the faculties thus granted extend to all diocesan reserved cases and censures without exception.]

It was at one time much disputed amongst theologians whether the special powers thus granted to confessors for the purposes of the Jubilee are to be exercised in the Tribunal of Penance only.

There is no longer any room for doubt upon the point. Benedict XIV., in one of the memorable Constitutions issued by him on the occasion of the Jubilee of 1750, made an explicit ruling on the subject, for the direction of confessors:—

Advertant . . . supradictas absolutiones, commutationes, dispensationes, *non posse a se exerceri extra actum sacramentalis confessionis.*

This would in any case apply to the present Jubilee, by virtue of the important Decree of the Sacred Congregation of Indulgences, February 6th, 1852:—

In Jubilaeo, tum ordinario, tum extraordinario, servandae sunt omnes regulae a S. P. Benedicto XIV traditae, quibus non adversatur Bulla Jubilaei.

'Aliter (religiosae professionis sollemnis) effectus est extinctio omnium votorum prius emissorum . . . Excipe, nisi priora vota sint in favorem tertii cui jus sit acquisitum.' BALLERINI—PALMIERI, *Opus Theologicum Morale*, Tract. 9, cap. 2, n. 6.

But, moreover, the express declaration of Benedict XIV. in this particular point is embodied in the *Monita* already referred to, issued by our Holy Father for the direction of confessors in Rome during the present Jubilee.¹

The general question under consideration in reference to the special privileges of the Jubilee, other than the Indulgence, is easily answered.

§ 1. *The cases provided for in the Apostolic Letter of the 1st of November, 1899.*

In these cases the special privileges above enumerated are available, but *on one occasion only*. The words of the Apostolic Letter on this point are decisive: 'fas esse jubemus eligere sibi *prima vice duntaxat* Confessarios,' &c. &c.

Not even when the Jubilee is gained in Rome by the performance of all the prescribed works, including the Visits to the Basilicas, are these special favours of the Jubilee available on more than one occasion.

This, however, does not altogether dispose of the question. Theologians proceed to discuss (a) whether those special privileges of the Jubilee are available *more than once* in favour of a person who has not yet completed the performance of the prescribed works, and so has *not yet gained the Jubilee*; and (b) whether these favours are available *on the second occasion* of the gaining of the Jubilee, by a person in whose favour they *had not been made use of on the first occasion*.

As to the first of these questions, there seems to be no real ground for the difference of opinion expressed by those who have written on the subject.

The only limitation imposed by Benedict XIV. is in the case of persons who have already gained the Jubilee, and it consequently has no reference to persons who, before they have completed the performance of the prescribed works, may again have need of the special Jubilee privileges.

It is in speaking of those who, *in order to gain the Jubilee more than once*, repeat the performance of the pre-

¹ See p. 249.

scribed works, that he says in his Constitution, *Convocatis*, 'hoc tamen [declaramus] neminem posse nisi semel, id est, *prima tantum vice*, frui seu potiri favoribus Jubilaeo adjunctis.' And in his Constitution, *Inter praeteritos*, subsequently issued for the purpose of removing all doubts that might arise regarding the meaning of his previous instructions, he says :—'In eadem Constitutione *Convocatis* . . . declaravimus qui semel illarum gratiarum particeps factus est, *prima vice qua Jubilaeum consecutus fuit*, iterum earum participem fieri non posse si, *post primam Jubilaei acquisitionem*, iterum in censuras incurrerit aut casus reservatos commiserit.'

The second question may at first sight seem to require an answer in the negative. For, in the Apostolic Letter of the 1st November, the limitation is laid down in two places, and the words used in reference to the special favours in question are, '*prima duntaxat vice*,' and again '*prima vice duntaxat*.'

But then, these were the words used by Benedict XIV. in reference to the same matter, in his Constitution *Convocatis*, 'neminem posse nisi semel, id est, *prima tantum vice*, frui seu potiri favoribus Jubilaeo adjunctis,'—and yet in his explanatory Constitution, *Inter praeteritos*, he explains the limitation as applying only to persons in whose favour the special faculties *had been exercised on the previous occasion* of their gaining the Jubilee. This seems decisive on the point. But, undoubtedly, in the absence of this authoritative interpretation, the opposite view of the meaning of the clause might seem a very natural one.

It is notable that in the collection of *Monita* already referred to,¹ issued for the direction of confessors in Rome during the present Jubilee, the *Monitum* compiled from the Constitutions of Benedict XIV. referring to this matter, is supplemented by the following paragraph :—

Si vero forte alicui hujusmodi gratiarum necessitas tunc solum occurrat postquam jam acquisiverit Jubilaeum . . . semel iisdem gratiis eum gaudere posse Sanctitas Sua benigne concedit.

¹ See p. 249.

In view of all this, there would appear to be no reason why the second of the two questions above stated,¹ as well as the first, should be not answered in the affirmative.

§ 2. *The special case provided for in the Apostolic Letter of the 11th of May, 1899.*

In reference to this, it is sufficient to say that, in this case, whilst the Jubilee Indulgence may be gained on the conditions already stated,¹ the other special privileges of the Jubilee are not at all available.

As regards the gaining of the Jubilee during the present year, no other point occurs to me as requiring any special reference. Those who may have the opportunity of going to Rome within the year will have no difficulty in obtaining there all requisite instructions.

In reference to the suspension of Indulgences during this Jubilee year, it may be useful to mention that, on the 20th of December, an addition was made to the list of Indulgences given in the Apostolic Letter of the 30th of last September, as exempted by Pontifical authority from the general suspension.

On the petition of the Bishop of Loretto, the Sacred Penitentiary, by virtue of special powers received from the Sovereign Pontiff, renewed a concession made by Leo XII. on the occasion of the Jubilee of 1825, in favour of the faithful visiting the Holy House, once the abode of the Holy Family, and now enshrined in the Basilica of Loretto.

The concession made on the 25th of July, 1824, and thus renewed, is as follows:—

Concedimus ut omnes Indulgentiae . . . visitantibus Almam Domum Lauretanam . . . concessae, anno Jubilaei durante, valeant suumque sortiantur effectum . . . perinde ac suspensio (Indulgentiarum) a Nobis specialiter vel generaliter non emanasset.

✠ W. J. W.

¹ See p. 252.

Notes and Queries

THEOLOGY

QUASI DOMICILE

REV. DEAR SIR,—Your interesting, straightforward, and instructive reply in last month's I. E. RECORD, to 'Presbyter,' on one phase of this vexed question, tempts me to request that you will kindly give your opinion on this other phase:—What is the shortest period one must intend to remain in a place in order that the condition as to the *animus permanendi* for acquiring a quasi-domicile may be satisfied? Lehmkuhl, 6th edition, 1890, vol. ii., page 554, says a *notabilis anni pars* is the period required and sufficient. Moreover, he adds that it is *sufficiently* probable that this condition is satisfied by intending to remain for a period of *four* months. Can this opinion be followed in practice? If not, what is the shortest period?

It often happens that the period for which a servant engages is some days, sometimes two or three weeks, less than the exact half year; hence to know the very shortest period that will suffice in practice, is of the highest importance. As you are well aware, there is still much divergence of opinion in this matter where uniformity is so desirable.

SACERDOS.

In an Instruction sent to the bishops of England and of the United States, in 1867, it was expressly stated that the intention required for acquiring a quasi domicile is an intention of remaining *per majorem anni partem*. Until then the opinion to which Father Lehmkuhl gives the sanction of his great authority might, we think, have been defended. But, in the face of so clear an adverse decision, that opinion lost, it seems to us, whatever probability had hitherto attached to it.

The same Instruction was transmitted to the Irish bishops in 1877. And later still, in 1886, in a document sent to the bishops of the United States the mind of the

Roman authorities is again shown to be distinctly adverse to this opinion supported by Father Lehmkuhl:—

Concilio Baltimorensi supplicante postulandum SSmo. ut decernere dignetur in Statibus Americae Confederatis se transferentes e loco ubi viget caput *Tametsi*, in alium locum, dummodo ibi continuo commorati fuerint per spatium saltem unius integri mensis, et status sui libertatem, uti juris est, comprobaverint, censendos esse ibidem habere quasi domicilium in ordine ad matrimonium, quin inquisitio facienda sit de animo ibi permanendi per majorem anni partem. SSmus vero feria IV, 12 Maii 1886, praedictum decretum . . . confirmare dignatus est.

The introduction of the words *per majorem anni partem* into this document certainly goes to show that the opinion adopted by Father Lehmkuhl had not then secured the adhesion of the Roman authorities. Even though we assume that the words were not introduced with the deliberate object of opposing the opinion maintained by Father Lehmkuhl, they are, at all events, remarkable, as evidence of the mind of the Congregation. We are, therefore, quite prepared to find that the authority of the most modern writers—and we have consulted quite a number—is all but unanimous against the opinion to which Father Lehmkuhl still adheres.

Supported by the express declarations of the Congregations above referred to and the practically unanimous voice of modern writers, we are justified in saying that, as far as we can presume to judge, Father Lehmkuhl's opinion cannot be regarded at the present time as probable; still less would it be prudent for any priest to act on that opinion, whatever may be his own views in regard to it. Both speculatively and in practice, we must hold that an intention of remaining for *at least half a year* is the intention requisite for acquiring a quasi domicile. An intention of remaining for any shorter time is, at best, doubtfully sufficient,—or, as we think, certainly insufficient,—and should not be relied on *ante factum*.

Of course, this reply, like our correspondent's question, has no reference to places, such as the United States, affected by special legislation.

In reference to the same reply in the February I. E. RECORD, another correspondent writes:—

In the interesting paper in your current number on 'Quasi-Domicile : How and When Lost by Servants,' your correspondent quotes Dr. Murray as an authority for his opinion.

But I do not think he is justified in so doing. It is true that Dr. Murray, in the context referred to, expressly taught that a man might have, and retain, the same domicile in a parish, though he repeatedly changed his residence in the parish. Your correspondent makes this quotation, but omits to state that in a note on the same page Dr. Murray withdraws that teaching. Here is a transcript of note:—

'Haec scripsi ante visam (aut saltem ante satis diligenter perpensam) eam partem instructionis S. Congregationis, quae datur infra, n. 386. In periodo hujus instructionis ultima videtur decidi casum nostrum [the man in question] pro vago habendum esse.'—(*De Imped. Matrim.*, p. 147.)

ATQUE.

Our correspondent misapprehends our argument in the passage to which he refers. We regret that our words should have in any way contributed to the mistake. We shall try briefly, but, we trust, with more success, to make our meaning clear. But as we may have occasion to return to this question in a future number, we shall be content now with the few words necessary to remove our correspondent's misconception.

From the very definition of domicile (and quasi domicile) we argued that a domicile is not necessarily attached to one definite residence in a parish, but rather to the parish itself. As typical definitions of domicile we selected those of Father Konings and Dr. Murray. We took Dr. Murray's definition all the more readily, because he is quoted, perhaps rather unfairly, for an opinion opposed to that which we were inclined to maintain regarding the case submitted to us. Neither of these learned authors ever withdrew his definition or description of domicile. We were, therefore, justified in quoting their definitions, and making our own inference and application. Dr. Murray, Father Konings, and authors generally are responsible for the definition, and

for it only. We ourselves ventured to make, on our own responsibility, what seemed to us an easy inference. We inferred that a domicile or quasi-domicile in a parish is not necessarily attached to one definite place of residence.

It is true that Dr. Murray himself made even a wider inference than ours, and that we referred to the fact. But, of course, as Dr. Murray, in a note now quoted by our correspondent, appended a hesitating retraction, and as it might be alleged that that retraction extended even to the moderate opinion which we were concerned to maintain,¹ we were not unwise enough to base our conclusion on that particular inference. We mentioned it, as the context shows, merely to clear up any possible doubt that may exist about the meaning which Dr. Murray attached to the words of his own definition. Moreover, so far from using that particular inference (afterwards retracted) to support our argument, we expressly referred to the passage now quoted from Dr. Murray by our correspondent, and stated that we deliberately abstained from even raising the question to which that retraction has reference. The paragraph in which we made that statement appears to have escaped our correspondent.

In one word, Dr. Murray was relied on for a definition which he never withdrew or retracted; his retraction on a question which was explicitly excluded from the scope of our paper, was irrelevant to our purpose and beside our argument. However, we are grateful to our correspondent for the opportunity of removing even the possibility of misunderstanding.

UNCTIO RENUM IN ADMINISTERING EXTREME UNCTION

A correspondent asks whether priests in Ireland are bound to follow the Roman Ritual, and anoint the loins of men in administering Extreme Unction. There is he states, divergence of opinion and of practice in the diocese to which he belongs.

¹ As a matter of fact, there is nothing to indicate what Dr. Murray's final opinion was on the precise point we were discussing.

There has been, and is, much diversity of practice throughout the Church regarding the anointing of the loins. Many of the rituals formerly in use omitted all mention of it, and even in places like Ireland, where the use of the Roman Ritual has been long ago made obligatory, the custom of omitting this unction has in some places been retained.

This unction of the loins is, of course, clearly prescribed by the Roman Ritual; not, indeed, as an essential part of the sacrament, but as an integral part of the ceremonial rite:—

. . . Attamen pedes etiam, et renes ungenti sunt; sed renum unctio in mulieribus, honestatis gratia, semper omittitur; atque etiam in viris, quando infirmus commode moveri non potest. Sed sive in mulieribus, sive in viris, alia corporis pars pro renibus ungi non debet.

The observance of this rubric is expressly enforced by the National Synod of Thurles. In the section *De Extrema Unctione* we read:—

Orationes et unctiones omnes juxta normam Ritualis Romani in Sacramento hoc conferendo perficiantur.

The National Synod of Maynooth, in 1875, renewed this decree in the same terms.

It is well known, however, that, notwithstanding the express law of the Ritual and of the National Councils, the practice of anointing the loins has not been universally adopted in Ireland. In this connection it will be interesting to give a reply sent by the Sacred Congregation of Rites, 14th August, 1858, to the Archbishop of Utrecht. The Archbishop was about to introduce into his diocese the use of the Roman Ritual, to the exclusion of any other. He requested permission from the Holy See, however, owing to the peculiar circumstances of his diocese, in which the anointing of the loins had never been hitherto prescribed or practised, to omit, in his diocesan edition of the Ritual, the rubric ordering the anointing of the loins. The permission to modify the Ritual was distinctly refused. The existing custom, he was informed, might be tolerated,

if the circumstances so required. But he was most earnestly exhorted to bring the practice of his diocese gradually into harmony with the rubrics of the Roman Ritual. The portion of the reply, bearing on the question before us, may be interesting to our readers :—

Quod attinet ad renum unctionem, quam in administrando Sacramento extremae unctionis nunquam in ista dioecesi Amplitudo Tua adhibitam fuisse testatur, et quam idecirco postulat, ut in Rituali Romano omitti permittatur, visum est Sacrae Cong. nullam prorsus sive in hac, sive in alia quacumque re suppressionem vel immutationem in Rituali induci oportere . . . Quod si unctio renum inusitata istic hactenus fuit, declaravit S. Cong. patienter se quidem laturam se singularia istius dioecesis adjuncta impediant quominus illico, et universim ad praxim unctio isthaec deducatur, insimul tamen ardentissimum votum suum expressit, ut curante Amplitudine Tua, et docentibus parochis, paulatim et sensim sine sensu disponantur fideles ad istam quoque specialem unctionem in extremo agone recipiendam juxta Rituali Romani praescriptiones.¹

Now in the light of this document to the³ Archbishop of Utrecht, it is easy to conjecture, what reply would be sent to a request for the recognition in this country of the practice of omitting the unction of the loins. For, we have it on the assurance of the two National Synods, that there are no special circumstances—*singularia adjuncta*—in this country which justify a departure in this matter from the strict letter of the Roman Ritual.

Later still, 28th August, 1889, the Sacred Congregation of the Holy Office reiterates the obligation of anointing the loins :—

Unctio renum [in Extrema Unctione] nunquam praetermitti potest, nisi in casibus particularibus, adhibitis cautelis decentiae satis consuli aliter nequeat.²

When the rubric is clear in imposing an obligation, and the declarations of the Sacred Congregations and of our National Councils are so urgent in enforcing its fulfilment,

¹ Gardellini, n. 5271.

² Collect. Cong. de Prop. Fid., n. 2177.

we are quite prepared to find Father O'Kane writing as follows in his 'Notes on the Rubrics':—

Wherever the Roman Ritual is ordered to be observed, as it is in Ireland, the unction of the loins is not to be omitted in men, unless in the case excepted by the rubric itself.¹

In our opinion, therefore, any priest *may*, without hesitation, anoint the loins of men according to the prescription of the Roman Ritual, no matter what be the practice or reputed custom of his diocese. Moreover, we agree with Father O'Kane, in thinking that he *ought* to do so. No doubt, theologians state that in this matter one may, or ought, follow the custom of his country or diocese. But this must be taken to refer to places in which the use of the Roman Ritual is not obligatory, or to places in which the habits or feelings of the people, or some special circumstance, make the observance of the rubric peculiarly difficult.

We are well aware, as we have said, that, even still, there exists in this country much divergence of practice. Many priests follow the Roman Ritual accurately, others have no difficulty or scruple in omitting, in all cases, the anointing of the loins. The latter justify this practice by appealing to custom or, at all events, to the usage of many most exemplary priests. They do not, of course, contend that custom has abrogated the rubric in this country. That might be going rather far. But, it is maintained, that though the rubric still binds (*in actu primo*) we are excused (*in actu secundo*) from its observance. Now, we admit that such a plea may be reasonably advanced to excuse us from the observance of certain rubrics, which in the circumstances of this country entail exceptional difficulties. We can even understand an individual priest, who personally has not the slightest objection to following the letter of certain rubrics, justifying his failure to observe them, on the ground that no priest observes them in this country, and that a *public* departure on his part from established custom might

¹ N. 893.

excite comment and have other inconveniences. But, if we are to speak our mind candidly, we must say that we can discover no sufficient justification for omitting the anointing of the loins in this country. That there is no general excusing cause arising from the circumstances of the country, we know on the authority of the Synods of Thurles and Maynooth. But the best proof is that, as a matter of fact, many priests in this country act up to the letter of the rubric, without experiencing any difficulty beyond that contemplated by the law itself, and without causing any one of the inconveniences that are alleged to justify the departure from the Roman Ritual.

MARGARINE AS A SUBSTITUTE FOR BUTTER

Our correspondent 'Jejunans' will find that we replied to a question almost identical with his in the I. E. RECORD of April, 1899. The matter has now been authoritatively decided by the Sacred Congregation of the Inquisition. Our correspondent will find the decision among the 'Documents' of the present issue.

D. MANNIX.

LITURGY

PRAYERS AND HYMNS IN THE VERNACULAR WHILE THE BLESSED SACRAMENT IS EXPOSED¹

REV. DEAR SIR,—Last year his Holiness decreed a *Triduum* of devotion in honour of the Sacred Heart, and composed a Litany and Act of Consecration, which he ordered to be recited during Exposition of the Blessed Sacrament on the three days preceding the feast. In this country these prayers were recited in English

¹ In our contribution to last month's I. E. RECORD on the 'Suspension of Indulgences during the Holy Year' we are made to state that the Portiuncula Indulgences can still be gained in all churches to which it has been extended by the Holy See, and apparently that this indulgence is applicable to the living during the present year. We wish, therefore, to make it clear that this indulgence can be gained only for the dead during this year, unless in the Church at Assisi.

Will you please state, in next number of the I. E. RECORD, if a priest may recite these prayers in English during Benediction generally, or, at least, during Benediction on the occasion of Sacred Heart sodality meetings; and also if an English hymn in honour of the Sacred Heart may be sung during exposition on these occasions, and much oblige

A DIRECTOR.

It is not forbidden to recite in the vernacular, in presence of the Blessed Sacrament exposed, prayers that have the requisite approval. The Litany and Act of Consecration recently approved of by the Holy See may, therefore, be recited at Benediction, not merely on the occasion of sodality meetings, but on any other occasion on which these prayers may be considered helpful in stimulating the devotion of the faithful assembled.

Hymns in the vernacular may be sung in the same circumstances. They must, however, have the approval of the Ordinary, and must not be translations of such liturgical hymns as the *Te Deum*. These are the only conditions required.

THE 'NON INTRES' IN THE ABSOLUTION AT THE CATAFALQUE

REV. DEAR SIR,—There is a widespread custom in some dioceses of omitting the *Non intres* whenever, in a funeral office, the body is absent, whether still unburied, or buried the day before. This practice seems to be justified by the rubric of the Exsequiae: 'Si faciendae sint exsequiae absente corpore,' &c., 'cantatur R. Libera me,' &c., where there is no mention made of reciting the *Non intres*. In the year 1882, in answer to a question similar to this, the editor of the I. E. RECORD seemed to express an opinion contrary to this practice. Has any decision of the S.C.R. been given on it since? Which is it now considered more in accordance with the general rubrics, to omit or recite it?

It is more in accordance with the rubrics not to recite the *Non intres* when the corpse is not present. The rubric of the Roman ritual, to which our correspondent refers, is quite clear on this point. The ceremonial, however, and

the pontifical seem to differ from the ritual. Hence writers say that the *Non intres* may be either said or omitted according to custom. The custom of omitting it would seem, however, to be the more laudable.

CANDLES IN A CONSECRATED CHURCH

REV. DEAR SIR,—It is prescribed to light the twelve candles affixed before the crosses in a consecrated church on the anniversary of the consecration of the church itself and the anniversary of the consecration of the churches of Ireland. Is there any other day prescribed? Is the lighting of them prohibited by any rubric on other great feast days, such as Christmas Day, or All Saints, or Patrick's Day?

The first sentence in this question consists of a statement which we are not prepared to endorse; but, as the matter is still doubtful, we merely desire to guard ourselves against appearing to tacitly approve of it.

The anniversary of the dedication of the church is the only day on which the lighting of the candles placed in front of the crosses is prescribed. As far as we know, there is no decree expressly forbidding their being lighted on other days; but many things that are prescribed for one day or one season are wrong at other times, although not expressly forbidden by rubric or decree. Thus, for example, it is prescribed by the rubrics of the Missal that two Alleluias are to be said after the *Ite missa est* in Masses said on Easter Sunday or within the octave. No rubric or decree forbids the celebrant of a Mass on the Feast of the Nativity or of the Epiphany to say two Alleluias after the *Ite missa est*; still it would be wrong to say them. Similarly, in the Latin Church the Mass of the Presanctified is, according to the rubrics, to be said on Good Friday, and there is no express prohibition against saying it on other days as well, yet it would be a very grievous sin to celebrate such a Mass on any day except Good Friday. Hence we consider it would be wrong to light the candles in question unless on the anniversary day. The object of lighting them on that day is not so much to indicate the solemnity of the feast, as to remind the faithful of the character of the feast they are celebrating.

VOTIVE MASS OF THE SACRED HEART

REV. DEAR SIR,—Lately, it was made optional to say a Votive Mass of the Sacred Heart on the first Friday of each month when doubles, on condition of performing some devotion to the Sacred Heart. Would the recitation of the new Litany of the Sacred Heart and the form of Consecration now ordered by the Pope for that day when said, after Mass, adequately meet this requirement, and justify your saying a Votive Mass on double feasts?

To entitle a priest to the privilege of celebrating a Votive Mass of the Sacred Heart on the first Friday of the month, when the feast of the day is of higher than semi-double rite, it is only necessary that some form of prayers in honour of the Sacred Heart, having the requisite approval, should be publicly recited *in connection with* his Mass. The Litany recently approved of by the Holy See, together with the Act of Consecration, are most suitable prayers for this occasion; and if they are recited publicly, as the public monthly devotion of the parish, district, or community in honour of the Sacred Heart, the priest who celebrates the Mass in connection with this devotion may say the Votive Mass of the Sacred Heart on the days allowed. It is, however, a question for priests who have charge of these devotions whether a longer and more elaborate ceremony than the mere recital of the prayers just mentioned would not be necessary to induce the people to attend on the mornings of the first Fridays.

END OF THE CENTURY PRAYER

REV. DEAR SIR,—Might I ask your opinion as to the authenticity of enclosed indulgenced prayer, copies of which I find distributed here? In view of the withdrawal of nearly all indulgences for the *living*, outside of Rome, during Jubilee Year, I take it that, even if authentic for Rome itself, this indulgence could not be gained *extra urbem* for the *living* during 1900. But it may be asked—

1. Is it authentic, even for Rome itself, during 1900?
2. If so, could it be obtained for the *dead*, outside of Rome, during 1900?

3. Would it be available for the Church at large next year ?
An answer in the I. E. RECORD will oblige

AN INQUIRER.

END OF CENTURY PRAYER

Grant us, O most clement God, through the intercession of the Blessed and Immaculate Virgin, that we may expiate with tears of penance the sins of this declining century, and thus prepare for the beginning of the new century, that it may be wholly dedicated to the honour of Thy name and the Kingdom of Jesus Christ, Thy Son, whom may all nations serve in unity of faith and perfection of charity. Amen.

Indulgence, granted by Leo XIII., 100 years, once a day, till end of 1901.

We cannot demonstrate with absolute certainty that this indulgence is apocryphal—it is proverbially difficult to prove a negative proposition ; but we can show that its authenticity is, at least, doubtful. In the first place, the printer has not put his name to it. This, though apparently a mere trifle, is a very suspicious circumstance. For had he been quite certain of the honesty of his work he would have availed himself of the advertisement which the wide circulation of such a leaflet would give. Secondly, the leaflet has not the *imprimatur* of the bishop of the place in which it was printed ; the indulgence is not guaranteed in the usual way by the name of the Prefect or Secretary of the Congregation of Indulgences ; the date on which it was issued is not mentioned ; an indulgence of one hundred years for such a prayer is, to say the least, unusual ; nor is it likely, in this year of suspended indulgences, that the Pope would grant a new indulgence. Lastly, the prayer itself is suspicious. Leo XIII. is too accurate in the use of language to ask us to say a prayer, in the year 1901, in which we should speak of ‘ this declining century,’ and of preparation for ‘ the beginning of the new.’ For whatever view his Holiness may entertain regarding the controversy as to the closing and opening years of the century, he certainly does not regard the year 1901 as belonging to ‘ the declining century,’ nor, therefore, as a year in which we might prepare for ‘ the beginning of the new.’

D. O'LOAN.

CORRESPONDENCE

CRITICISM OF THE 'ORDO'

REV. DEAR SIR,—Will you kindly allow me a little space in the I. E. RECORD to defend myself and the *Ordo* against certain grave charges that have been made against us? Shortly after the publication of the *Ordo* for 1900, I had a letter from an Irish priest, in which he pointed out to me 'the glaring mistakes' that are to be found in the *Ordo*, and asked me to reply to him in the pages of the I. E. RECORD. Without, however, giving me time to reply through the medium which he himself had suggested, he made what is now so generally spoken of as 'a skilful flanking movement' in order to compel me to come out into the open. He wrote to each of the Irish bishops recapitulating to their Lordships the charges made against the *Ordo* in his letter to myself. But for this move on his part I should either have written privately to him, or have ignored his criticism altogether. But as I know that our bishops have not time to examine what feasts the compiler of the *Ordo* transfers, or whether he transfers them according to the order of rite or dignity; and as, moreover, my critic put his arraignment of the *Ordo* in a very specious form, I feared that some of their Lordships might imagine that I was compiling the *Ordo* without any reference at all to the rubrics. For, this reason I deem it necessary to make some public reply.

After he had written to the bishops, my correspondent wrote to me informing me of the fact, enclosing a copy of the letter sent to their Lordships, and giving me permission to publish it should I think it desirable. As this letter contains the charges made against the *Ordo*, I give it here.

MY LORD,—I beg most respectfully to direct your attention to the glaring mistakes made by our *Ordo* in the translation of semidoubles and minor doubles.

In the latest editions of the Breviary, in the Mechlin and Ratisbon ones, at least, the old rubrics are, as your Lordship knows, modified, and in many cases changed, so as to fit in with the rubrics promulgated some years since.

A mere glance at the general rubrics, *De Translatione Festorum*,

as thus amended, and at a special rubric after the feast of Epiphany, as amended also, will convince any unprejudiced mind that semidoubles and minor doubles, except those of doctors, whether perpetually or accidentally impeded, cannot be licitly transferred.

The *Ordo*, page 25, makes a distinction between feasts perpetually and accidentally impeded. If accidentally impeded, it does not transfer those in question; if perpetually impeded, it does. But, surely, there could be no more perpetual impediment to feasts than the octave of the Epiphany; and yet semidoubles and all minor doubles occurring within that time cannot be transferred *juxta rubricas*.

The rubric after the Epiphany is as follows :—‘*Infra Octavam Epiphaniae, si occurrat festum Duplex ex majoribus vel alicujus Doctoris Ecclesiae, transfertur post octavam, nisi fuerit Patroni vel Titularis Ecclesiae, vel Dedicatio ejusdem. De aliis vero duplicibus, de semiduplicibus et simplicibus fit commemor. juxta rubricas.*’ N.B.—The words in italics denote the changes.

I also beg to direct your Lordship’s attention to the fact, that, among other mistakes, commemorations are sometimes transferred, and that neither the order of time nor dignity is always observed by the *Ordo* in the translation of feasts.

In mild terms, it is not very fair to have a book far behind the times placed before us for our guidance.

Here I may remark that I tried last year by letter to prevail on an authority to look outside the antiquated rubrics, and thus prevent a recurrence of the mistakes made; but I could not induce him to refer to the latest editions.

Not presuming to trespass further on your valuable time or to offer any suggestion on the difficulty.

I am, with much respect,

Your Lordship’s most obedient servant,

A CATHOLIC CLERGYMAN.

In the last paragraph but one of the above letter the writer states that last year he wrote to ‘an authority’ in the hope of having the *Ordo* improved. I am that ‘authority.’ Some time after the publication of the *Ordo* for 1899 he wrote to me pointing out the same ‘glaring mistakes’ which he finds in the *Ordo* for 1900. I replied to him privately, and pointed out to him the very paragraphs in the general rubrics of the Breviary which would set his doubts at rest. He seems, however, not to have profited by my instruction.

The charges which my correspondent makes as set forth in his letter to the bishops are :—(1) That the compiler of the *Ordo* follows the ‘antiquated rubrics’ to the exclusion of the revised

text. (2) That in consequence he transfers semidoubles and ordinary doubles other than the feasts of Doctors. (3) That in transferring these and other feasts he pays no attention to the rite or dignity of the various feasts, as to the time at which they were transferred. (4) That in theory and in practice he makes a distinction wholly unwarranted by the rubrics between feasts of double and semidouble rite perpetually impeded, and feasts of the same rite only accidentally impeded.

I will reply to these charges in order.

(1). I could not have any inclination to follow the 'antiquated rubrics' as they had become antiquated before I began to use an *Ordo* or read a Breviary. The text of the rubrics which I studied was the revised text, and the commentaries I used were based on the revised text. Hence it would as readily occur to me to transfer Christmas Day or Easter Sunday as to transfer a semi-double or double minor not the feast of a Doctor. I can, however, fully sympathise with my correspondent, for I remember when the *Ordo* puzzled me as it now puzzles him. When I first began to read the Breviary I had an extremely elementary knowledge of the rubrics, and, of course, no knowledge at all about compiling an *Ordo*. I knew then, just as my correspondent does now, that semi-doubles and ordinary doubles could no longer be transferred as of old, and yet I found, especially in the early months of that year, several such feasts celebrated days and weeks and sometimes months after the date at which they were given down in the Breviary. I could not reconcile the *Ordo* with the new rubrics; but I was so confident of my own ignorance of the rubrics in general, and of the method of compiling an *Ordo* in particular, that I had not the slightest difficulty in believing that the learned and venerable ecclesiastic, who was then Editor, knew his business infinitely better than I did, and that my perplexity arose from want of knowledge.

(2) 'But,' says my correspondent, 'as a matter of fact you have transferred semi-doubles and doubles minor other than the feasts of Doctors.' Will it be believed that, since I began to edit the *Ordo*, never once, either through error or ignorance, did I transfer either a semi-double or an ordinary double, whether perpetually or only accidentally impeded.

(3) My correspondent does not understand the meaning of a *dies fixa*, and I cannot afford time to teach him what it means. I will merely say that, when a feast is perpetually impeded, the

rule is to place it on the first 'free day' which day becomes its *dies fixa* or proper day for all practical purposes. Now it has frequently happened in the history of our present Irish Calendar that a feast of lower rite has become perpetually impeded, while a feast of higher rite occurring earlier was still unimpeded. According to the rule as soon as the former feast became impeded it was placed on the first 'free day.' In the course of time the feast of higher rite also becomes perpetually impeded and is likewise placed on the first 'free day.' But necessarily this 'free day' must occur after the day on which the feast of lower rite had previously been placed. Hence to one merely entering on the study of rubrics it might appear that the order of rite was not observed in these changes.

(4) My correspondent denies that semidoubles and minor doubles, not the feasts of Doctors, can be any longer transferred even when perpetually impeded. Well, if my correspondent were the Prefect of the Congregation of Rites, and made that statement in his private capacity I should be bound to disregard it, because it is a flat contradiction of many decrees of the Congregation of Rites and of the general rubrics of the Breviary. So far as my own work on the *Ordo* for 1900—or indeed for any of the past eight years—is concerned, I might not refer to this charge at all. For, as I have already said, I have never once during these years transferred a semi-double, or an ordinary double whether accidentally or perpetually impeded. But my correspondent refers to a paragraph in the introduction of the *Ordo* in which the statement which he denies is made. I suppose, then, I am bound to defend this paragraph.

In the first place it should be borne in mind that the 'antiquated rubrics' said nothing of feasts of nine lessons that were permanently impeded. This question was dealt with by decrees of the Congregation of Rites, the first of which was issued as far as I can find out, in the year 1717. When the Rubrics were revised in the year 1883, the authority of these decrees was left intact; and hence though semi-doubles and ordinary doubles could be no longer transferred, when accidentally impeded they could still be dealt with as before, when permanently impeded. This was made clear by a decree of the same Congregation issued in the very year in which the revision of the Rubrics was made. Hence, in the first revision of the Rubrics, just as in the older Rubrics, no distinction was made between

feasts accidentally impeded and feasts permanently impeded. The decrees were still in force, and it was thought unnecessary to embody them in the Rubrics. This first revision of the Rubrics is printed in breviaries published from 1883 until 1897, and perhaps in some editions bearing the date 1898, for the title-page is oftentimes printed some time after the body of the breviary. But, in 1898, a new revision of the Rubrics was issued by the Congregation of Rites. I have found this revision printed in one edition published in 1898, and in all the editions published in 1899 which I have met. In this recent revision the question of semi-doubles and ordinary doubles permanently impeded is expressly dealt with, and the practice previously founded on the decree of the Congregation confirmed. I give the two extracts referring to doubles and semi-doubles respectively:—

Festa tamen duplicia minora, quamquam non sint Doctoris Ecclesiae, si quotannis a digniori Officio impediuntur, reponuntur in prima die libera, tanquam in propria sede perpetuo recolenda (Sect. 1. ad finem De Translat. Fest.).

Festum tamen semi-duplex si quotannis ab Officio digniori impediatur reponitur in prima die libera, tanquam in propria sede perpetuo celebrandum, uti de duplici minori superius cautum est (Ibid. Sect. 2).

The Rubric after the feast of the Epiphany of which my correspondent makes so much has also been changed. I admit that in the form in which it appeared in the first revision of the Rubrics it was misleading, but as it appears in the recent revision it is as clear as light itself. Here it is:—

Infra Octavam Epiphaniae non fit nisi de Duplicibus I classis. Alia festa novem Lectionum prima die libera post dictam Octavam perpetuo celebrantur. De Festis vero trium Lectionum fit tantum commemoratio juxta Rubricas.

I hope my correspondent is now satisfied, and that before he again writes to the Irish Bishops pointing out 'glaring mistakes' in the *Ordo* he will furnish himself with the most recent text of the Rubrics, and will spend a few years in studying some reliable commentary on it.

THE COMPILER OF THE ORDO.

DOCUMENTS

ARCHBISHOP'S HOUSE,

DUBLIN, 22nd February, 1900.

REV. DEAR SIR,—I send for publication in the forthcoming number of the I. E. RECORD, if not too late for insertion, a decision received to-day from Rome, in reference to a matter of some practical importance regarding the present Jubilee. I send, also, a copy of the *Monita* that are referred to in the question submitted for decision.

These *Monita* were published in Rome, by the Sacred Penitentiary, several months ago. Some of the points embodied in them seemed clearly to indicate that the *Monita* should be understood as referring, not alone to the case of Confessors in Rome, but to that of Confessors elsewhere as well. Otherwise, indeed, the strange result would follow that the Jubilee faculties of Confessors in Rome would be limited in respect to matters as to which no limit would be imposed in the case of Confessors elsewhere.

Moreover, as some of the limitations in question are to be found even in the Bull *Quoniam* (21st October, 1899),—in which faculties of the most extensive kind are granted to the Penitentiaries of the four Basilicas, St. Peter's, St. Paul's, St. John Lateran's, and St. Mary Major's,—the still stranger result would follow, that the ordinary Jubilee faculties of a Confessor in this country would be unlimited in regard to matters as to which limits have been definitely assigned even in the Jubilee faculties of the Penitentiaries in the four chief Basilicas of Rome.

The decision, it will be seen, covers two points.

The first of these—not at all raised by the question as submitted,—is the very obvious one that the extensive faculties given to the Penitentiaries of the Basilicas by the Bull *Quoniam* are not given to ordinary Confessors outside Rome.

The second, which is the important one, is that in all

matters in which the *Monita* are applicable, they apply, not only to Confessors in Rome, but to Confessors elsewhere as well.

I remain,

Rev. and Dear Sir,

Your faithful servant,

✠ WILLIAM J. WALSH,
Archbishop of Dublin.

The following are the documents referred to in the Archbishop's letter:—

I.

DECISION OF THE SACRED PENITENTIARY

EMINENZA REVERENDISSIMA,

SIGR. CARD. PENITENZIARE MAGGIORE,

L'Arcivescovo di Dublino in Irlanda propone all' Eminenza Vostra la soluzione del seguente dubbio :

Se le facoltà concesse con la Bolla 'Aeterni Pastoris' del 1° u. s. Novembre, a favore di coloro che, essendo per certe determinate ragioni impediti di recarsi a Roma, desiderano acquistare l'indulgenza del Giubileo, siano soggette alle limitazioni della Costituzione 'Quoniam' del 21 p.p. Ottobre, e dai *Monita* publicati dalla S. Penitenzieria.

[TRANSLATION.]

MOST EMINENT AND MOST REV. CARDINAL PENITENTIARY,

The Archbishop of Dublin, Ireland, submits to your Eminence the following point for decision:—

Whether the faculties granted by the Bull *Aeterni Pastoris* (1st November, 1899), in favour of persons who, being hindered on certain specified grounds from making the journey to Rome, desire to gain the Indulgence of the Jubilee, are subject to the limitations contained in the Constitution *Quoniam* of the 21st of last October, and in the *Monita* published by the Sacred Penitentiary.

RESPONSUM

Sacra Poenitentiaria propositum dubium reformandum esse censuit et in duas partes dividendum, id est :

Q. I^{um}. An facultates, quae per Constitutionem *Quoniam* conceduntur Confessariis Urbis pro omnibus Romam hoc anno Sancto adeuntibus, eadem ipsae concessae sint per Constitutionem *Aeterni Pastoris* confessariis extra Urbem pro impeditis Romam accedere?

Q. II^{um}. An confessarii extra Urbem in usu facultatum sibi concessarum teneantur se conformare *Monitis* per S. Poenitentiarium editis?

Res. ad I^{um}. Negative; sed facultates tributae confessariis extra Urbem limitibus valde angustioribus circumscribuntur, eum non sint aliae praeter illas expresse et taxative enunciatas in paragrapho bullae, *Aeterni Pastoris*, quae incipit 'Monialibus earumque Novitiis licere volumus' usque ad verba 'a votorum etiam juratorum observantia absolvere.'

Ad II^{um}. Affirmative, in iis partibus in quibus *Monita* applicari possunt.

Datum Romae, in Sacr. Poenitentiaria, die 15 februarii, 1900.
(Gratis.)

A. CARCANI, *Sac. Poen. Reggente.*
A. CAN. MARTINI, *S.P. Secretarius.*

II.

MONITA

EXCERPTA EX CONSTITUTIONE BENEDICTI XIV. QUAE INCIPIT *Convocatis* ET EX ALTERA CUIUS EXORDIUM *Inter Praeteritos* DE USU FACULTATUM CONFESSARIIS TRIBUTARUM OCCASIONE IUBILAEI EDITAE. EORUMDEM CONFESSARIORUM COMMODITATI IUSSU SANCTISSIMI DOMINI NOSTRI LEONIS DIVINA PROVIDENTIA PAPAE XIII.

Singulares ad expiandos animos facultates, quae sacri Iubilaei causa Poenitentiariis minoribus et Confessariis ab Apostolica Sede demandari solent, perspicuum est, intelligenter et caute, hoc est ratione et iudicio administrari oportere. Si temere, si inconsiderate negligenterque adhibeantur, in perturbationem disciplinae facile cadent, imo finem ipsum, quo spectant natura sua, quod est bonum animarum verum et solidum, non tam assequuntur quam frustrabuntur. Idcirco Benedictus XIV. cum facultates extra ordinem, sacri Iubilaei gratia, dedisset per Constitutionem Apostolicam *Convocatis*, de prudenti rectoque earum usu *Monita* attexuit, iussis gravi auctoritate Confessariis intendere ad ea

animum acriter, eademque sic sequi ut normam maxime tutam inviolateque servandam.

Idem placuit Sanctissimo Domino Nostro Leoni XIII. qui scilicet eius consilii sapientia atque utilitate perspecta, decessoris sui exemplum imitatione renovandum iudicavit. Videlicet iis ipsis Litteris Apostolicis, quas de *facultatibus* nuper dedit, Monita illa Benedictina separatim publicari ad commoditatem ac normam Confessariorum iussit, nonnihil tamen immutata convenienter tempori, ita ut intelligi observarique eo modo debeant, quo infra scripta sunt :

I. Primo meminerint Confessarii firma perstare quae in Constitutione *Sacramentum Poenitentiae* de complici in sexto a Benedicto XIV. statuta sunt an. 1741. Excepto quidem crimine absolutionis compliceis, quod semel aut bis admissum fuerit, quo in causa facultas conceditur.

II. Advertant absolutiones, commutationes, dispensationes, quarum ipsis potestas collata est, non posse a se exerceri extra actum sacramentalis Confessionis, neque easdem a Poenitentiariis minoribus tum ordinariis, tum extraordinariis posse exerceri extra suam cuiusque Basilicam vel Ecclesiam, nisi in casibus alias sibi a Maiori Poenitentario permissis vel permittendis ; vel in causa administrandi Poenitentiae Sacramentum alicui infirmo, qui cum corporalis aegritudinis causa ad Basilicas seu Ecclesias ipsis respective designatas accedere personaliter nequeat, eorum aliquem arcessendum duxerit, ut Confessionem Sacramentalem pro Iubilaei consecutione apud ipsum expleat (*ex* § 25).

III. Non praetermittant suam cuique poenitenti salutarem poenitentiam imponere in Sacramento, ne praetextu quidem Iubilaei per eundem poenitentem consequendi (*ex* § 26).

IV. Ab occultis censuris ob partem laesam incursis non prius absolvant quam parti laesae poenitens satisfecerit : vel si prius poenitens nequeat, non eum absolvant, nisi serio promittat se satisfacturum, cum primum poterit.

V. In publicis Censuris, quarum absolutio est Poenitentiariis minoribus impertita, satisfactioni praedictae consulatur iuxta praxim Poenitentiariae Apostolicae, ad quam dirigendus erit poenitens cum libello supplici, in quo, expresso nomine, cognomine ac dioecesi poenitentis, et casu huiusmodi publicae censurae subiecto, scribat subtus Confessarius testimonium absolutionis ab eadem censura concessae : inde enim ex Poenitentiariae Officio recipiet Breve in forma *Missi vel remissi* iuxta ipsius Officii praxim (*ex eadem Bulla*, §§ 5 et 27).

VI. Violantibus clausuram Monialium ad malum finem, in casibus etiam occultis, imponant prohibitionem accedendi in posterum ad Monasterium illud eiusque Ecclesiam, monendo poenitentes, ita ipsos absolvi a censuris ob relatum violationem incursis, ut si impositam illam prohibitionem non servaverint, relabantur eo ipso in easdem censuras. Quod si eae sint poenitentis ac locorum circumstantiae, ut executioni mandari nequeat praescripta isthaec conditio, consulatur Cardinalis Maior Poenitentiarius, qui pro sui prudentia, ubi ita necessitas postularit, dispensare super eadem poterit (*ex* § 28).

VII. Religiosos vero suam violentes clausuram per mulierum introductionem ad malum finem ita a censuris propterea incursis absolvant, ut super inhabilitate ulterius per hoc contracta ad dignitates et officia sui Ordinis consequenda nullatenus cum iisdem dispensent (*ex* § 29).

VIII. A lectione prohibitorum librorum, eorum praesertim qui in Const. *Apostolicae Sedis* designantur, non ante absolvant, quam poenitens libros, quos in sua potestate habet, Inquisitori vel Ordinario vel ipsi Confessario aut alii facultatem eosdem retinendi habenti tradiderit, vel se, quamprimum poterit, traditurum promiserit, si tradere ante absolutionem nequeat (*ex* § 30).

IX. Regulares a suo Ordine apostatas vel fugitivos non absolvant, quamdiu extra Ordinem permanserint, nisi firmum propositum gerant ad suum Ordinem redeundi quibus tamen idoneo tempore ad id exequendum praefinito, absolutionem elargiantur cum reincidentia, ut eo termino elapso intelligant, se fore relapsuros in eandem sententiam et censuras, quibus ante erant innodati: et durante dicto termino moneantur, ipsis esse prohibitum exercitium sacrorum Ordinum, donec habitum resumpserint et ad Religionem redierint sub obedientia Superiorum (*ex* § 32, *et ex tabella facult. Poenitentiaris tribut.*).

X. Personis Romam ad Iubilaeum consequendum venire volentibus, non intelligitur data veniendi libertas sine obtento alias necessario suorum respective Superiorum consensu (*ex* § 43).

XI. Romanorum appellatione, quoad visitationes quatuor Basilicarum per viginti dies peragendas, comprehenduntur omnes et singuli nati atque habitantes Romae, sicut etiam nati atque habitantes in Suburbano vinearum tractu intra quintum ab Urbe lapidem. Incolarum autem nomine ad eundem effectum intelliguntur omnes illi, qui certum aliquod officium in Urbe obtinent,

vel cum spe illud obtinendi moram ibidem trahunt, ideoque in ipsa quasi domicilium acquirunt, omnesque illi qui ad eandem Urbem vel ad aliquem Suburbanum locum intra quintum lapidem, ut supra, se contulerunt alia quacumque de causa, quam praesentis Iubilaei lucrandi, vel, si ipsius lucrandi causa ad Urbem accesserint, eo tamen animo sunt, ut per maiorem anni partem, seu ultra sex menses, ibi commorentur. Reliqui omnes Peregrinorum aut Externorum nomine, quoad visitationes earumdem Basilicarum per decem dies agendas, se comprehensos intelligant (*ex* § 44).

XII. Confessionem et Communionem, ad Iubilaeum lucrandum iniunctas, haud necesse est visitationibus quatuor Basilicarum praemittere. Satis erit vel huiusmodi visitationum decursu vel etiam iisdem expletis, Confessionis et Communionis Sacramenta suscipere (*ex* § 45).

XIII. Cum Confessio Sacramentalis sit opus iniunctum, peragenda etiam erit ab eo, qui solis peccatis venialibus teneatur, si lucrari Iubilaeum velit (*ex* § 46).

XIV. Si quis post Confessionem peractam, in lethale peccatum (quod Deus avertat) inciderit, antequam omnia omnino opera ad Iubilaeum lucranda iniuncta expleverit, Confessionem denuo praemittere debet, priusquam ultimum saltem ex aliis iniunctis operibus expleat, ut Indulgentiam Iubilaeo adnexam consequatur (*ex* § 47).

XV. Quamvis iniuncta Communio sit, pueri tamen, qui nondum ad primam Communionem admissi fuerint, neque intra Annum Sanctum, Parochi proprii vel Confessarii iudicio, admitteendi videantur, censi possunt ab isto iniuncto opere legitime impediti, eisdemque Communio in aliud pium opus, arbitrio Confessarii praescribendum commutabitur (*ex* § 48).

XVI. Ad iniunctam Basilicarum visitationem perficiendam non opus est in easdem Basilicas per Portas Sanctas vel per harum aliquam ingredi vel regredi (*ex* § 49).

XVII. Si quod superveniat Indultum, quo visitationum numerus initio praescriptus ad minorem redigatur, quisquis ante eiusmodi Indultum visitationes Basilicarum per aliquas vices peregerit, visitationes a se iam peractas utiliter ipse computare poterit ad conficiendum numerum visitationum eo Indulto praescriptarum, superaddendo nimirum alias, quae desint ad explendam summam Indulto praefinitam. Si vero summam seu numerum Indulto praefinitum ante iam expleverit, vel etiam

excesserit, unum saltem diem visitationis quatuor Basilicarum praeterea adiungat, ut Indulti beneficio uti valeat (*ex* § 50, *et ex Const. Inter praeteritos* § 82).

XVIII. Iniunctae piae preces, in singularum visitatione Basilicarum, ad fines Sanctitati Suae propositos et in Bulla Indictionis expressos, effundendae, satis erit si vocales fuerint Qui sola mente ad eosdem fines orare voluerit, laudandus est; aliquam tamen etiam vocalem orationem adiungat (*ex* § 51).

XIX. Qui per Anni Sancti spatium bis aut pluries omnia et singula opera, primitus in huius Iubilaei indictione praescripta, vel superveniente forsitan aliquo Indulto ea quae in ipsius Indulti concessione pro eiusdem Iubilaei consecutione praescribuntur, plene iteraverit; vel prius ad Indictionis, deinde ad Indulti formam, vel prius ad formam Indulti unius, deinde ad alterius fortasse diversi formam, ut praefertur, iteraverit, bis quoque aut pluries poterit Anni Sancti Iubilaeum lucrari. Ita enim habita ratione annui spatii, ad quod huiusmodi Iubilaeum protenditur, placuit Sanctitati Suae de Apostolicae liberalitatis plenitudine indulgere, ita tamen ut qui semel illarum gratiarum particeps factus est prima vice qua Iubilaeum consecutus est, seu qua omnia praescripta opera implevit, iterum earum particeps fieri non poterit, si post primam Iubilaei acquisitionem iterum in censuras incurrerit, aut casus reservatos commiserit, vel novis votorum dispensationibus aut commutationibus indigeat (*Convocatis* § 52—*Inter praeteritos* § 84).

Si vero forte alicui huiusmodi gratiarum necessitas tunc solum occurrat, postquam iam acquisiverit Iubilaeum, seu postquam omnia opera praescripta impleverit, semel iisdem gratiis eum gaudere posse Sanctitas Sua benigne concedit.

XX. Absolutio a censuris, praeter eas quae datae sint ad reincidentiam; item commutationes votorum et dispensationes iuxta concessas Iubilaei anno respectivas facultates, semel obtentae, permanent in suo vigore, etiamsi contigerit, eum qui illas iam obtinuerat, mutato postea, quod prius habuerat, sincero et serio proposito Iubilaeum hoc lucrandi, ac proinde reliqua ad id lucrandum necessaria opera adimplendi, de eodem Iubilaeo consequendo amplius non laborare (*ex* § 54).

XXI. Suspendio facultatum absolvendi, dispensandi, etc. pro Anno Sancto denunciata per Apostolicas Literas Sanctissimi Domini Nostri datas Pridie Kal. Octobris vertentis anni non comprehendit ipsam Romanam Urbem, in qua hoc maxime anno

praestat Operariorum copiam et auxilia pro expediendis poenitentibus non imminui. Quicumque ergo in eadem Alma Urbe huiusmodi facultatibus alioquin legitime muniti reperiantur, easdem per hunc quoque annum in ipsa Urbe, iuxta tenorem ac praefinitum tempus uniuscuiusque concessionis alias obtentae, exercere libere poterunt (*ex* § 55).

XXII. Extra Urbem vero servanda omnino erit suspensio facultatum in memoratis Litteris praescripta, per quam non modo facultates illas, quae causa vel occasione Indulgentiarum concessae fuerint, verum etiam ceteras quaslibet quocumque alio titulo et causa concessas, praedicto anno durante, suspensas esse et censi debere declarat Sanctitas Sua; illis dumtaxat exceptis, quae ab ipsa generali suspensione memoratis Litteris fuerunt praeservatae (*ex* § 56).

XXIII. Meminerint insuper, *vere poenitentes et confessos* eos dumtaxat intelligi, qui Confessionem actualem rite emiserint: eam proinde omnino necessariam esse ad Iubilaeum assequendum, nec Confessionem *in voto* sufficere. Item Communionem *Sacramentalem simul et spiritualem* peragendam esse, quae nimirum iuxta Tridentini Concilii monitum (*Sess. 13, cap. 8*), illorum est, *qui ita se prius probant et instruunt, ut vestem nuptialem induti ad divinam mensam accedant*: hinc Iubilaeum non lucrari nec qui sacramentaliter dumtaxat Eucharistiam sumunt, ut peccatores; nec qui spiritualiter tantum, qui nimirum voto illum coelestem panem edentes, fide viva quae per dilectionem operatur, fructum eius et utilitatem sentiunt ex *Constit. Bened. XIV. (Inter praeteritos* §§ 2. 7).

XXIV. Visitatio quatuor Basilicarum in uno die fieri debet, vel nimirum ab una ad alteram mediam noctem, vel a vespere diei praecedentis usque ad subsequentis vespertina crepuscula (*ex Bulla cit. § 11. 13*).

XXV. Noverint Poenitentarii minores, alique Confessarii peculiaribus, Iubilaei causa, facultatibus instructi, non obstante amplitudine verborum super omnibus peccatis et excessibus quantumlibet gravibus et enormibus, interdictum sibi esse quidquid in Constitutione '*Pastor bonus*' Cardinali Poenitentaria Maiori interdictum est, prout essent ex. gr. qui vivente Romano Pontifice circa Successoris electionem tractatus inierint, suffragia comparaverint, aut pactiones fecerint, et qui Astrologia iudiciaria vel per se vel per alios de statu reipublicae christianae, sive de vita aut morte Romani Pontificis pro tempore existentis inqui-

sierint. Quod si aliquis ex praedictis casibus iisdem occurrat, adeant Cardinalem Maiorem Poenitentiarium, cui opportuna et necessaria remedia a Sanctitate Sua praescribentur (*ex Bulla cit.* § 39).

XXVI. *Facultas commutandi vota dispensando* distinguitur a sola ac simplici commutatione, quae subrogationem exigeret materiae fere aequalis : sed commutatio mixta cum dispensatione est capax verae inaequalitatis inter materiam voti et rem subrogatam.

XXVII. Cum visitatio Basilicarum non sit opus, ad quod praecepto ullo quis obligetur, sed novum onus ad consequendam Indulgentiam impositum, commutatio eiusdem fieri nequit in alia opera, ad quae poenitens ex alio titulo sit adstrictus (*ibid.* § 53).

Quae quidem Monita in memoratis Benedicti XIV Constitutionibus luculenter proposita, mandavit Sanctissimus Dominus Noster in lucem iterum tradi, ut ex ipsorum praescripto tutissima in animarum procuratione regula praesto sit ; atque ut praesenti eorumdem collectioni fides habeatur, ab aliquo Sacrae Poenitentiariae Officiali, addito eiusdem Tribunalis sigillo, subsignari iussit.

Datum Romae ex sacra Poenitentiaría anno Incarnationis Dominicae millesimo octingentesimo nonagesimo nono, Kalendis Novembris, Pontificatus Sanctissimi Domini Nostri LEONIS Papae XIII anno vicesimo secundo.

POWER TO DISPENSE IN FAST AND ABSTINENCE

OWING to the prevailing epidemic of Influenza, and the low state of the public health, his Eminence Cardinal Logue applied to the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda for power to dispense in the fast as well as in the abstinence during the present Lent. The Sacred Congregation has not only acceded to this request, but has furthermore empowered his Eminence to subdelegate similar faculties to all the Archbishops and Bishops of Ireland. For the information of the clergy, we are authorized to state that his Eminence has subdelegated the powers received, and that all the Archbishops and Bishops of Ireland have now faculties to dispense in the fast as well as in the abstinence, during the actual epidemic of Influenza, in such measure as they consider opportune, according to the condition of the public health, commuting the observances dispensed with into other pious works.—[Ed. I. E. R.]

THE USE OF MARGARINE FOR BUTTER

CIRCA USUM MARGARINAE, QUAE EST BUTYRUM ARTIFICIALE

Feria IV, die 6 Septembris 1899.

Huic Supremae Congregationi S. R. et U. Inquisitionis propositum fuit enodandum sequens dubium :

An liceat uti margarina¹ per modum cibi aut condimenti illis diebus, quibus usus carniū aut adipis ex carne illicitus est, licito manente usu butyri?

Porro in Congregatione Generali ab Emis ac Rmis DD. Cardinalibus in rebus fidei et morum Generalibus Inquisitoribus habita, proposito suprascripto dubio, Emi ac Rmi Patres respondendum mandarunt :

Affirmative, facto verbo cum SSmo.

Sequenti vero feria V. die 7 eiusdem mensis et anni in solita audientia a SSmo Dno Nro Leone Div. Prov. Pp. XIII R. P. D. Adessori impertita, SSmus D. N. resolutionem Emorum Patrum ratam habuit et confirmavit.

I. Can. MANCINI, S. R. et U. Inquisit. Notarius.

¹ Margarina, uti norunt omnes, conficitur ex adipe bovino (praesertim ex renibus et pulmonibus bovis) permixto cum oleo puro, et ad formam butyri redacto, cum puriore lactis parte (fiore di latte).

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

VESPERE AND COMPLINE. A Soggarth's Sacred Verses. By the Rev. Mathew Russell, S.J., author of *Idyls of Killowen*, &c. London : Burns & Oates. 1900.

ALTAR FLOWERS. A Book of Prayers in Verse. By the Rev. Mathew Russell, S.J. Dublin : M. H. Gill & Son.

ABSTRACTING from his literary labours in many other fields, Father Russell has long been acknowledged in his native land as the 'poet of the sanctuary;' for, though he has written secular as well as sacred verse, it may safely be said that his secular poems are more religious than the most religious productions of the secular poets.

In the first of the volumes mentioned above, and in its companion, *Idyls of Killowen*, recently noticed in our pages, we find all that Father Russell wishes to preserve out of the three small volumes, *Emmanuel*, *Madonna*, and *Erin*, which are now definitely superseded, and will not be reprinted. The second volume, *Altar Flowers*, to a great extent a reprint of the *Harp of Jesus*, Father Russell also desires to keep in circulation. For both of these volumes the public will thank him. *Altar Flowers* is a beautiful little prayer-book in verse, containing morning prayers, prayers before Holy Communion, ejaculations for all hours of the day and for all moods of the soul, and many other items usual in ordinary prayer-books; whilst many who had derived both pleasure and profit from *Emmanuel* and *Madonna* will be glad to see them to a great extent reproduced and perpetuated in *Vespers and Compline*. Nature and grace are blended in these two books in a degree of refinement and delicacy seldom to be met with. We much prefer the Soggarth's 'Sacred Verses' to his 'Secular' ones. They run more smoothly, and show no trace of effort. To Father Russell the supernatural has become a second nature. Nobody but one well versed in the ways of sanctity could have dealt so appropriately with themes so high and pure; and anyone who had not acquired a master's knowledge of the *technique* of verse could not even have attempted what Father Russell has so successfully achieved.

THE FIRST MARTYRS OF THE HOLY CHILDHOOD. By a Priest of the Mission. Translated from the French, by Lady Herbert.

THIS is a remarkable book, and greatly needed. Works of its kind appear but rarely, 'few and far between.' Therefore we bid it a hearty welcome. It is translated into good English. For this the translator's name alone is sufficient voucher. What Catholic reader is not familiar with the graceful pen of Lady Herbert? The book is not only readable, but in every way interesting. But beyond a passing interest, it is productive of permanent good. First, it will shame the slothful Catholic into spiritual energy; for, having read it, he cannot fail to think: 'The martyrs have done so nobly, and at such fearful risks, can I stand here any longer idle?' Second, it will create or awaken a widespread interest in missionary enterprise. The book should have been written twenty years ago.

It is now some thirty years since 'the massacre of Tientsin;' and beyond a passing notice from the periodicals of the day no permanent record was given to the public till this book appeared. And so, in Ireland at least, the memory of the martyrs of Tientsin had all but perished. 'Martyrs'—perhaps we had better forbear that glorious name, lest we be found anticipating the judgment of the Holy See. But the intelligent reader will understand the sense in which the word is used.

To bring about 'their cause' at Rome is the professed primary object of our author in the book before us, and well has he done his work, which to him was manifestly a work of love.

The story is of two priests—one a Frenchman, and one a Chinese, and ten Sisters of Charity, all children of St. Vincent de Paul, massacred in China, *in odium fidei*, June 21st, 1870. The work is divided into three principal parts—1. Biographical notices of the victims. 2. The works they were engaged in at the time of and previous to their martyrdom. 3. Their triumph.

The notices are brief, but full of interest, not, perhaps, to worldlings, for they loved not the world, but rose superior to it. Reading them, you should say: 'These are the making of saints, apart even from the grace of martyrdom.' But for us, readers of the I. E. RECORD, there is one name to which a very special interest attaches. See No. 10 on the happy roll. It is an Irish daughter of St. Vincent, Sister Alice O'Sullivan, born at Clonmel,

was educated by the Dominican Nuns, Kingstown. Showing early signs of a religious vocation, her attention was directed to the 'daughters of Vincent de Paul.' This was done by her brother, a well-known missionary, Father Dan O'Sullivan, C.M., who saw in her the aptitude for a Sister of Charity. And so, in her nineteenth year, she joined a community of the Sisters at Amiens, and later entered the novitiate at Paris. The novitiate ended, she was appointed, first, to Boulogne, then to Drogheda, and five years later to Hereford. At home she had been the beloved of her father and brothers (her mother died young), and among the Sisters she was admired for her generosity and simplicity of character. To say she was selected, after a few years' probation, for the arduous and dangerous mission of China, shows the estimation thus early formed of her sterling qualities. Nor was the selection in any sense an error of judgment. In China, whenever her superior had a difficult affair with the authorities, Alice was the chosen one; and she succeeded to a degree that astonished the superior. But Alice would say invariably: 'It was the Blessed Virgin and my angel guardian who have done it.' 'No one,' wrote the same superior of her, 'could resist the charm of her manner and her words, which were at once simple and engaging. It was impossible to live with her without loving her' (p. 37). She laboured faithfully and well on that ungrateful soil, which, indeed, she little loved. She was sharply tried by interior troubles, and at times was far from happy; but her lively, simple faith, and Jesus in the tabernacle, her invariable resource, brought peace and sustainment.

An opportunity offers of returning to Europe; she is selected as travelling companion to her superior on business to Paris. Thus was opened to her the prospect, or hope at least, of revisiting the land of her birth and kindred. Right gladly did she embrace the offer; for Alice, above all things, was candid, and made no pretence of attachment to the Chinese mission. She is on her way for Paris. At Tientsin she, in company with other Sisters, visited a church, and after some time spent in prayer the party went to see the exterior of the building. Alice alone remained in prayer, and when sought for was found in tears, and wonderfully changed. Evidently something of the supernatural had occurred. But a little while since all eagerness to return to the sweets of civilization, of home and kindred, now she will remain. 'Remain the rest of your life with these poor people:' it was

the Blessed Virgin, in that church of 'Our Lady of Victories,' who spoke these words; and so Sister Alice addressed herself to her life-long work in China. But, indeed, it was not to be long. She learned this as well from the Blessed Virgin; for when her superior, leaving for Paris, said, 'Till we meet again,' Alice replied: 'We shall never meet again in this world. You will return, but we shall all be gone.' And so it was.

Works of the Sisters at Tientsin.—Opening the book the reader may be stopped by its title—'Martyrs of the Holy Childhood.' What does it mean? Had the author known that these 'works' are not so generally heard of in Ireland as in France, he would, I think, have explained a little. 'The Holy Childhood,' then, is an Association in honour of the child Jesus, blessed by the Pope and enriched by indulgences. On the first page of every number of its *Annals* these words of Leo XIII. are conspicuous, 'I desire that all the children of the Catholic world should be members of this pious Association.' Its objects are—1. To procure the baptism of pagan children in danger of death. 2. To support and educate the survivors and as many others as can be saved from paganism. China with its teeming population is the principal field of its operations. The number of baptized annually goes on increasing, it would seem; last year it reached the very high figure 474,407.¹ Such the work in which the priests and daughters of St. Vincent were engaged when they were struck down by the pagans of China; and hence the title 'Martyrs of the Holy Childhood.'

The Massacre.—The hatred of the Chinese for Christianity, owing to their own debasing superstitions, is well known. But at Tientsin it was just then intensified by the occurrence of a long-continued drought. This they attributed to the presence among them of the Priests and Sisters. Here the history of the early Christians repeats itself. And so too in the case of this other charge, that the eyes and hearts of children in the orphanage were torn out for purposes of sorcery. The rabble, encouraged by some low officials, grew more and more excited. Meantime the Priests and Sisters kept on their missionary works only with insults whenever they appeared abroad. For this they were prepared; indeed, for a long time they had been looking forward to the martyr's crown. It was often with the Sisters a

¹See January 'Annals,' p. 131. And for further information apply to Father Hyland, Director of the Association, French College, Blackrock, Dublin.

subject of conversation in times of recreation. When engaged ironing their corvettes one would come out well and stainless from the process, a Sister would smiling say, 'Oh, let us put that aside for the day of our martyrdom.' One day Sister Andreoni told of a dream she had of their martyrdom; and on each asking if she was there, she answered 'Yes, ten.' 'But did you not see me?' asked the Superior. 'No,' was the reply. And the event fulfilled the vision, for she had been changed before the massacre.

The day is come. 'Tis the morning of June 21st, 1870,' and the infuriated mob thunders at the gate of the Mission house. Father Chérrier, with the cool courage of a martyr, opened the door, and stood before his assailants. Such heroism might calm those furious men. It did so, but only for a time; for he with his brother priest soon fell by the hands of the assassins. From the Mission house they proceeded to the house of the Sisters, who were similarly dealt with. Let the author tell the harrowing, yet glorious tale (p. 319).

Many prodigies are recorded in connection with this deed of blood. The most remarkable, perhaps, is the following. The wife of a Pagan priest saw from the balcony of her house the massacre of the Sisters; and as each was done to death she saw a brilliant cloud mounting up to heaven. Then she exclaimed, 'These people must have been beloved by God;' and at once proceeded to the scene of the massacre. She reproached the murderers, but said she had come to adore the God of these holy people. It was enough; she too is struck down; and who can doubt that she wears to-day the aureola of a martyr.

'Sanguis martyrur semen Christianorum.' While the vengeance of heaven fell heavy on the plotters of the infamous deed, and on the country around, the hearts of many were softened and prepared for the message of the Gospel. For five and twenty years the country was laid desolate by floods, famines, and pestilence. Those poor fanatics had charged the Christians with having caused a drought, and now they are submerged in water. Hear Monsignor De la Place, one of the bishops of the time quoted by our author (p. 401), 'The inundation of 1873 has been more terrible than the two preceding. One must be blind not to see a manifest sign of Divine anger in the strange inundations which destroy Tientsin and the whole district each year on the anniversary of the massacres.' One other word. If it is 'the cause that makes a martyr,' it

would seem that we have it here. The highest authorities at the time and in the place declare that our martyrs were put to death *in odium fidei*; and the Chinese authorities declared, in exculpation of themselves, that it was the Catholics only they wished to destroy. Further, it is said many special graces and cures were obtained through their intercession. May we not, then, look forward with a good hope to the Ceremony of Beatification? But, 'till Rome has spoken'—and Rome is slow to speak; and the Devil's advocate will have his say—let others judge whether it would be fair to apply in the present case the dictum, 'Qui orat pro martyre injuriam facit martyri.'

C. J. L.

MANUAL OF PATROLOGY. Translated from the German of Rev. B. Schmid, O.S.B. Freiburg: B. Herder.

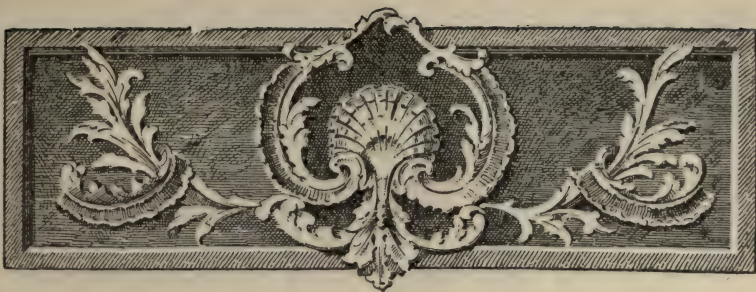
THE "manual before us, edited by Mgr. Schobel, with a Preface from Dr. Hedley, supplies for English readers what is undeniably a very pressing want. It is admitted that without a respectable acquaintance with the works of the fathers no theological education can be deemed complete. It is in those classics of the Church that we chiefly search for what tradition has to tell us of the doctrines contained in the Christian revelation. Whether we regard the Patristic writers as great interpreters of Scripture, as ascetical divines, or as masters of oratory, a better watchword we could not have than 'back to the fathers.' All this has long been recognised by our continental co-religionists, with the result of arousing amongst them increased interest in and devotion to Patrology as a theological science. In those busy days, least of all, life is too short to read through all the Patristic tomes, and, therefore, German scholars have begun to labour in fields so long worked by French Benedictines. Much has been done to reduce Patrology to a system, and to direct the attention of busy readers to those parts of the Patristic writings most noteworthy for their literary or doctrinal value. The present work is one of several handbooks which owe their origin to this movement, and English readers are deeply indebted to both author and translator for having placed such an admirable introduction to Patristic studies within their reach.

The work is divided into two parts. The first, or propaedeutical, determines the meaning of the terms ecclesiastical writer, father, and doctor of the Church, and their respective authority in theology. It discusses the critical canons by which the

authenticity of a work is settled ; and, finally, valuable suggestions are offered towards the proper understanding and profitable study of the works of the fathers, with hints to aid in the selection of the most suitable writings on particular points of history or doctrine. The second, or main part of the work deals with Patristic literature in detail, presenting a sketch of the life and works of each father, the whole Patristic period being divided into four epochs.

In a work of this kind one does not look for any high degree of excellence in point of style. In the present work, therefore, emanating, moreover, from a German source, we are prepared to find an orderly and scientific disposition of much valuable information, clearly and pithily set forth. We do not regret the absence of those free and easy dissertations that convey so often very little. The plan of employing short and distinct paragraphs here adopted has many advantages to recommend it. Not the least valuable feature in this valuable Manual is the exhaustive Bibliography arranged in the shape of notes at the end of each paragraph. We are confident that this work will meet a hearty welcome, filling as it does so well an acknowledged, though, perhaps, inevitable lacuna in the present ordinary ecclesiastical curriculum.

P. L.



GALILEO AND THE ROMAN CONGREGATIONS

IN the February number of the I. E. RECORD we made two statements in reference to the condemnation of Galileo by the Roman Congregations. We said, in the first place, that Galileo was condemned by the Congregations, because they thought his teaching false and contrary to Sacred Scripture. We declared, in the second place, that the Roman decrees were not meant to be infallible decisions. We discussed both statements with sufficient fulness for the purpose which we had in view. Apart from the needs of controversy on particular points, these truths have a theological interest in themselves. We, therefore, think it useful to treat them at greater length. This is the purpose which we shall endeavour to carry out in the present article.

Was, then, the Copernican theory condemned in itself as false and contrary to Sacred Scripture? We wish at the outset to place our position clearly before our readers. We are aware of the fact that many extrinsic motives urged the Congregations to officially examine the doctrine of Galileo. These reasons are entirely external to our present question. We ask the question: What was the reason, because of which the doctrine of Galileo was actually condemned by the Congregations? We seek, then, the internal motive of the condemnation, not the external reasons which led the Congregations to take action. We have no hesitation in saying that the heliocentric theory was condemned in

itself as false and contrary to Sacred Scripture. This is placed beyond all doubt by the decrees of the Congregations and the abjuration of Galileo. The importance of the subject is our excuse for quoting, from these documents, the essential portions of the Roman decisions and the abjuration of Galileo.¹

The Sacred Congregation of the Index published, on the 5th March, 1616, the following decree:—

Whereas it has also come to the knowledge of the said Congregation, that the Pythagorean doctrine, which is false and altogether opposed to Holy Scripture, of the motion of the earth, and the quiescence of the sun, which is also taught by Nicholas Copernicus in *De Revolutionibus orbium Coelestium*, and by Diego di Zuñiga in (his book on) Job, is now being spread abroad and accepted by many—as may be seen from a certain letter of a Carmelite Father, entitled, *Letter of the Rev. Father Paolo Antonio Foscarini, Carmelite, on the opinion of the Pythagoreans and of Copernicus concerning the motion of the earth, and the stability of the sun, and the new Pythagorean system of the world, at Naples, printed by Lazzaro Scorrigio, 1615*: wherein the said father attempts to show that the aforesaid doctrine of the quiescence of the sun in the centre of the world, and of the earth's motion, is consonant with truth, and is not opposed to Holy Scripture. Therefore, in order that this opinion may not insinuate itself any further to the prejudice of Catholic truth, the Holy Congregation has decreed that the said Nicholas Copernicus, *De Revolutionibus orbium*, and Diego di Zuñiga, on Job, be suspended until they be corrected; but that the book of the Carmelite Father, Paolo Antonio Foscarini, be altogether prohibited and condemned, and that all other works likewise, in which the same is taught, be prohibited, as by this decree it prohibits, condemns, and suspends them all respectively. In witness whereof the present decree has been signed and sealed with the hands and with the seal of the Most Eminent and Reverend Lord Cardinal of St. Cecilia, Bishop of Albano, on the 5th day of March, 1616.²

¹ The decree of the Index was originally in Latin. The decree of the Holy Office and the abjuration of Galileo were in Italian. We give in the text the translation which is contained in Von Gebler's *Galileo Galilaei and the Roman Curia*, translated by Mrs. Sturge.

² Decretum S. Congregationis illustrissimorum S. R. E. Cardinalium a S. D. N. Paulo Papa V. Sanctaque Sede Apostolica ad indicem librorum . . . deputatorum . . . ubique publicandum . . .

Et quia etiam ad notitiam prae-fatae Congregationis pervenit, falsam illam doctrinam Pythagoricam, Divinaeque Scripturae omnino adversantem, de mobi

Galileo was not condemned by name in this decree of the Index. We are told, however, by the annotation of the Vatican MS., under the date 25th February, 1616, and by the decree of the Inquisition, 1633, that a session of the Holy Office was held on the 25th February, 1616, under the presidency of Paul V., at which it was decreed that Cardinal Bellarmine should warn Galileo to abandon the Copernican opinion:—

And, in case of refusal to obey, that the Commissary of the Inquisition, before a notary and witnesses, is to intimate to him a command to abstain altogether from teaching or defending this opinion and doctrine, and even from discussing it.¹

The Vatican MS., under date 26th February, 1616, and the Inquisition, 1633, state that in fulfilment of this decree Cardinal Bellarmine gently warned Galileo to abandon his view, and the Commissary, in the presence of the Cardinal, and before a notary and witnesses, commanded him to relinquish the Copernican opinion, and not 'to hold, teach, or defend it in any way whatsoever, verbally or in writing.'² In many ways Galileo subsequently defended the

litate terrae et immobilitate solis, quam Nicolaus Copernicus (*De Revolutionibus orbium Coelestium*), et Didacus Astunica (*in Job*) etiam docent, jam divulgari et a multis recipi, sicut videre est ex epistola quadam impressa cujusdam patris Carmelitae, cui titulus; *Lettera del R. P. maestro Paolo Antonio Foscarini Carmelitano sopra l'opinione dei Pittagorici e del Copernico della mobilita della terra a stabilita del sole* . . . in qua dictus pater ostendere conatur, praefatam doctrinam de immobilitate solis in centro mundi et mobilitate terrae, consonam esse veritati, et non adversari Sacrae Scripturae; ideo ne ulterius hujusmodi opinio in perniciem catholicae veritatis serpat, censuit dictos Nicolaum Copernicum *de Revolutionibus orbium*, et Didacum Astunica *in Job*, suspendendos esse donec corrigantur; librum vero patris Pauli Antonii Foscarini Carmelitae omnino prohibendum atque damnandum; aliosque omnes libros pariter idem docentes prohibendos, prout praesenti decreto omnes respective prohibet, damnat atque suspendit. In quorum fidem praesens decretum manu et sigillo illustrissimi et reverendissimi domini Cardinalis sanctae Caeciliae Episcopi Albanensis, signatum et munitum fuit die 5 Martii 1616.—P. Episcopus Albanensis, Cardinalis S. Caeciliae.—Franciscus Magdalenus Capiferrens Ordinis Praedicatorum, Secretarius.

¹ Vatican MS., 25th Feb., 1616.

² Vatican MS., 26th Feb., 1616. M. Gebler, in his work, *Galileo Galilei and the Roman Curia*, maintains that, though Galileo was, indeed, admonished by Cardinal Bellarmine, no command was imposed on him by the Commissary of the Inquisition. He proves this from the discrepancies between the annotations of the 25th and 26th February; from the absence of the usual subscription to the note of the 26th February, of the accused, the notary, and the witnesses; from the silence of Cardinal Bellarmine in his report of 3rd March, 1616, to the Holy Office; from the silence of Galileo about such a command in his

Copernican theory. He finally published his famous *Dialogues*, in which he indirectly defended, with great vigour, the heliocentric view of the world. In consequence the Inquisition again took action, and issued the following decree on 22nd June, 1633:—

Whereas you, Galileo, son of the late Vincenzo Galilei, Florentine, aged seventy years, were, in the year 1615, denounced to this Holy Office for holding as true the false doctrine, taught by many, that the sun is the centre of the world, and immovable, and that the earth moves, and also with a diurnal motion; . . .

This Holy Tribunal being, therefore, desirous of proceeding against the disorder and mischief thence resulting, which went on increasing, to the prejudice of the holy faith, by command of his Holiness and of the most eminent Lords Cardinals of this supreme and universal Inquisition, the two propositions of the stability of the sun and the motion of the earth were, by the theological ‘Qualifiers,’ qualified as follows:—

The proposition that the sun is the centre of the world, and does not move from its place, is absurd and false philosophically, and formally heretical, because it is expressly contrary to the Holy Scripture.

The proposition that the earth is not the centre of the world and immovable, but that it moves, and also with a diurnal motion, is equally absurd and false philosophically, and, theologically considered, at least erroneous in faith.

But whereas, as it was desired at that time to deal leniently with you, it was decreed, at the Holy Congregation held before his Holiness on the 25th February, 1616, that his Eminence the Lord Cardinal Bellarmine should order you to abandon altogether the said false doctrine, and, in the event of your refusal, that an injunction should be imposed upon you by the Commissary of the Holy Office to give up the said doctrine, and not to teach it to others, nor to defend it, nor even discuss it; and failing your acquiescence in this injunction, that you should be imprisoned. And in execution of this decree, on the following day, at the Palace, and in the presence of his Eminence the said Lord Cardinal Bellarmine, after being gently admonished by the said Lord Cardinal, the command was intimated to you by the Father Commissary of the Holy Office for the time, before a notary and witnesses, that you were altogether to abandon the said false

letters at the time; from Galileo's own subsequent acts and statements; and from the statement of Cardinal Bellarmine in the letter which he sent to Galileo, and which was presented at his subsequent trial before the Inquisition. For the purpose of our article it matters little which view is true; in fact, the view of Gebler would give less reason to anti-Catholic writers to oppose any vital principle of Catholic theology.

opinion, and not in future to defend or teach it in any way whatsoever, neither verbally nor in writing; and upon your promising to obey you were dismissed.

And in order that a doctrine so pernicious might be wholly rooted out, and not insinuate itself further to the grave prejudice of Catholic truth, a decree was issued by the Holy Congregation of the Index, prohibiting the books which treat of this doctrine, and declaring the doctrine itself to be false, and wholly contrary to Sacred and Divine Scripture.

And whereas a book appeared here recently, printed last year at Florence, the title of which shows that you were the author, this title being, *Dialogue of Galileo Galilei on the Two Principal Systems of the World, the Ptolemaic and the Copernican*; and whereas the Holy Congregation was afterwards informed that through the publication of the said book, the false opinion of the motion of the earth and the stability of the sun was daily gaining ground, the said book was taken into careful consideration, and in it there was discovered a patent violation of the aforesaid injunction that had been imposed upon you, for in this book you have defended the said opinion previously condemned, and to your face declared to be so, although in the said book you strive by various devices to produce the impression that you leave it undecided, and in express terms as probable; which, however, is a most grievous error, as an opinion can in no wise be probable which has been declared and defined to be contrary to Divine Scripture. . . .

Invoking, therefore, the most holy name of our Lord Jesus Christ, and of His most glorious mother, and ever Virgin Mary, by this our final sentence, . . . we say, pronounce, sentence, declare, that you, the said Galileo . . . have rendered yourself in the judgment of this Holy Office vehemently suspected of heresy, namely, of having believed and held the doctrine which is false and contrary to the Sacred and Divine Scriptures—that the sun is the centre of the world, and does not move from east to west, and that the earth moves, and is not the centre of the world; and that an opinion may be held and defended as probable after it has been declared and defined to be contrary to Holy Scripture; and that, consequently, you have incurred all the censures and penalties imposed and promulgated in the sacred canons and other constitutions, general and particular, against such delinquents, . . .

And in order that this, your grave and pernicious error and transgression, may not remain altogether unpunished, and that you may be more cautious for the future, and an example to others, that they may abstain from such delinquencies, we ordain that the book of the *Dialogues of Galileo Galilei* be prohibited by public edict.

We condemn you to the formal prison of this Holy Office

during our pleasure ; and by way of salutary penance we enjoin that for three years to come you repeat, once a week, the seven Penitential Psalms.

Reserving to ourselves full liberty to moderate, commute, or take off, in whole or in part, the aforesaid penalties and penance.

And so we say, pronounce, sentence, declare, ordain, condemn, and reserve, in this and any other better way and form which we can and may lawfully employ.

So we, the undersigned cardinals, pronounce.

F. Cardinalis DE ASCULO,¹ &c.

Galileo then abjured his doctrines in the following formula presented to him by the Holy Office :—

I, Galileo Galilei . . . after an injunction had been judicially intimated to me by this Holy Office, to the effect that I must altogether abandon the false opinion that the sun is the centre of

¹ Invocato dunque il Santissimo Nome di Nostro Signore Gesù Cristo, e della sua gloriosissima Madre sempre Vergine Maria, per questa nostra definitiva sentenza, la quale sedendo pro tribunali, di Consiglio e parere dei Reverendi Maestri di sacra Teologia, et Dottori dell'una e l'altra legge nostri Consultori, proferiamo in questi scritti, nella causa e cause vertenti avanti di noi tra il Magnifico Carlo Sinceri dell'una e dell'altra legge Dottore, Procuratore fiscale di questo Santo Offizio per una parte, e te Galileo Galilei reo, quà presente processato, e confesso come sopra dall'altra. Diciamo, pronunciamo, sentenziamo, dichiaramo, che tu Galileo suddetto per le cose dedotte in processo, e da te confessate, come sopra, ti sei reso a questo Santo Offizio veementemente sospetto d'eresia, cioè d'aver creduto, e tenuto dottrina falsa, e contraria alle sacra, e divine Scritture, che il Sole sia centro della terra, e che non si muova da oriente ad occidente, e che la terra si muova, e non sia centro del mondo, e che si possa tenere difendere per probabile una opinione dopo d'esser stata dichiarata, difinita per contraria alla sacra Scrittura ; e conseguentemente sei incorso in tutte le censure, e pene dà' sacri Canon, et altre Costituzione generali, et particolari, contro simili delinquenti imposte, e promulgate. Dalle quali siamo contenti, che sii assoluto, pur che prima con cuor sincero, et fede non finta avanti di noi abiuri, maledichi, et detesti li suddetti errori, et eresie, e qualunque altro errore, et eresia contraria alla Cattolica et Apostolica Romana Chiesa, nel modo che da noi ti sarà dato.

Et acciochè questo tuo grave, e pernicioso errore, e transgressione non resti del tutto impunito, e sii piu cauto nell'avenire ; et esempio agli altri, che s'astenghino da simili delitti. Ordiniamo che per publico editto sia proibito il libro de' Dialoghi di Galileo Galilei.

Ti condanniamo carcere formale di questo S. Offizio per tempo ad arbitrio nostro, e per penitenze salutari t'imponiamo, che per tre anni a venire dichii una volta la settimana li sette Salmi Penitenziali.

Riservando a noi facoltà di moderare, mutare o levar in tutto o in parte le suddette pene, e penitenze.

E così diciamo, pronunciamo, sentenziamo, dichiariamo, ordiniamo, condanniamo, e riserviamo in questo, et in ogni altro miglior modo, e forma, che di ragione potemo, e dovemo.

Ita pronuntiamus nos Cardinales infrascripti.

F. Cardinalis DE ASCULO, &c.

the world and immovable, and that the earth is not the centre of the world and moves, and that I must not hold, defend, or teach in any way whatsoever, verbally or in writing, the said doctrine; and after it had been notified to me that the said doctrine was contrary to Holy Scripture, I wrote and printed a book in which I discuss this doctrine already condemned, and adduce arguments of great cogency in its favour, without presenting any solution of these; and for this cause I have been pronounced by the Holy Office to be vehemently suspected of heresy, that is to say, of having held and believed that the sun is the centre of the world and immovable, and that the earth is not the centre and moves:

Therefore, desiring to remove from the minds of your eminences and of all faithful Christians this strong suspicion, reasonably conceived against me, with sincere heart and unfeigned faith, I abjure, curse, and detest the aforesaid errors and heresies, and generally every other error and sect whatsoever contrary to the said Holy Church; and I swear that in future I will never again say or assert, verbally or in writing, anything that might furnish occasion for a similar suspicion regarding me . . .

I, the said Galileo Galilei, have abjured, sworn, promised, and bound myself as above; and in witness of the truth thereof I have, with my own hand, subscribed the present document of my abjuration, and recited it, word for word, at Rome, in the Convent of Minerva, this twenty-second day of June, 1633.

I, Galileo Galilei, have abjured, as above, with my own hand.

From these official declarations it is abundantly manifest that the intrinsic motive for the condemnation of Galileo was his doctrine and not any external reasons. The decree of the Index speaks of the Copernican doctrine as false, and altogether opposed to Sacred Scripture. It speaks of it as an opinion which is spreading to the detriment of Catholic truth. The Inquisition says that by the decree of the Index the doctrine of Galileo was 'declared false and contrary to the Sacred and Divine Scriptures.' It declares that its own official 'Qualifiers' qualified the doctrine 'that the sun is in the centre of the world, and immovable,' as 'absurd and false in philosophy, and formally heretical, because it is expressly contrary to Sacred Scriptures.' They also declared that the doctrine which held that the 'earth is not the centre of the world, and is not immovable,' is

'absurd and false, philosophically and theologically considered, is, at least, erroneous in faith' The Holy Office, not only by act, but also by word, confirms the declarations of the theological 'Qualifiers,' for in its own decree of 1633 it expressly calls the heliocentric view heretical. The decree of the Inquisition also declares that the reason for the official action of the Index was 'in order that a doctrine so pernicious might be wholly rooted out.' The abjuration of Galileo, in close accord with the decree of the Inquisition, speaks of the Copernican doctrine as heretical. These different statements make it absolutely certain that Galileo's doctrine was condemned as false and contrary to Sacred Scripture. Those Catholics who, through fear of the consequences, or through ignorance of the real state of affairs, deny this truth, do the Church more harm than its most outspoken opponents.

We think it well to refer here to a view which many able apologists put forward—a view which, to our mind, is just as untenable as the opinion of those who seek external reasons for the Church's action. According to the apologists to whom we refer, the Congregations, indeed, condemned the theory of Copernicus as opposed to Sacred Scripture. That condemnation, however, simply meant that it was not lawful then to hold the heliocentric hypothesis, because no sufficient reason had been advanced to warrant a departure from the literal sense of Sacred Scripture. The declaration of the Roman authorities would then be no more than a decision that the doctrine could not be safely taught—'tuto doceri non potest.' This view is only partially the truth. The Congregations did more than condemn the doctrine as unproved. They condemned the doctrine in itself as false and contrary to Sacred Scripture. The decrees themselves are our best proof for this statement. How did the decrees qualify the Copernican doctrine? The Inquisition called it heretical. Were the doctrine condemned merely as unproved, is this the qualification which would have been attached to it? Certainly not. The qualification which it would have merited would not have been 'heresy,' but 'rashness.' Again, the very words of the Congregations, looked

at independently of their theological signification, point out the insufficiency of this explanation. The Index declared Copernicanism false, and *altogether* opposed to Sacred Scripture. The Holy Office, through its official 'Qualifiers,' declared the Copernican theory to be absurd and false. No one, having the use of reason, would call a doctrine 'absurd and false, and *altogether* opposed to Sacred Scripture,' if he meant nothing more than that there was insufficient proof advanced for it. A new and complete modification of language must be made before words can be so completely changed in their meaning as to allow such an application of the terms employed by the Congregations. Moreover, if the Congregations merely meant that it was not then lawful to hold the Copernican theory because it was not sufficiently proved to warrant a change from the literal interpretation of Scripture, they would scarcely have made any mistake. Most people now admit that the proofs for the heliocentric theory, which then existed, were insufficient to establish the hypothesis as a fact. Some of the arguments used by Galileo had no validity. The argument, for instance, from the ebb and flow of the tides is admittedly invalid as a proof of the Copernican doctrine. This is the judgment, not alone of modern science, but even of the scientific scholars of Galileo's day. Lord Bacon, for instance, in his *Novum Organum*,¹ published 1620, declares the Copernican hypothesis to be certainly wrong. There was not, accordingly, sufficient proof at the time to warrant any change from the literal interpretation of Sacred Scripture. The Congregations then would have committed no error in their condemnation of Galileo. But who can say that no error existed in the statement that the Copernican theory was 'absurd and false'? Who can say that no error existed in the statement that the teaching of Galileo was *altogether* opposed to Holy Scripture? Who can say that no error was contained in the declaration that the theory of Galileo was heretical? Without the least shadow of doubt these statements of the Congregations were false. The error, of

¹ Book ii., chap. xxxvi.

course, was not voluntary; still there was error on the part of the Roman authorities. The possibility of such error arose not from any limitation in the words used by the Congregations, but from the limitation of power which is inherent in a fallible authority.¹

The objection urged from the statements of Bellarmine and others, that if a new and satisfactory proof were given of the Copernican doctrine, the Church would allow a change in the received interpretation of Scripture, is not to the point. They are perfectly true in the view which we have put forward. They simply imply the possibility of error which must exist when there is question of decrees that are not infallible. New proof may, possibly, show that error. If such proof be advanced, the Church is ready to change its provisional teaching.

The greatest difficulty which can be urged against this view is taken from the statement made by Urban VIII. to Cardinal Hohenzollern, in 1624, 'that the Church neither had condemned, nor ever would condemn, the doctrine as heretical, but only as rash.' This declaration, however, of Urban, as a private individual, proves nothing; because, in the first place, the Church as such never gave any decision on the question, as we shall subsequently prove. In the second place, even if we call the Congregations the Church, the statement of Urban is of no avail as compared with the express statements of the Congregations of the Index, that Copernicanism was '*false and altogether opposed to Holy Scripture.*' Nor can it undo the subsequent declaration of the Inquisition that the doctrine was *heretical*.

We conclude, then, that the teaching of Galileo was condemned, not for extrinsic reasons, nor simply as unproved, but in itself as false and contrary to Sacred Scripture. There still remains, however, an important question to be decided before we can take up the second state-

¹ The defenders of the opinion which we are refuting do not sufficiently distinguish between these two distinct kinds of limitation. They think that the second kind of limitation being proved the first is thereby proved also. This position is quite untenable, as is shown by the very words of the Congregations which we have quoted.

ment which we proposed to discuss. That question concerns the nature of the decrees which contain that condemnation. Are they doctrinal decrees, or are they rather disciplinary decrees? A doctrinal decree is one whose direct object is to decide a question of doctrine; a disciplinary decree is one which directly deals with a question of discipline. Doctrinal decrees may indirectly concern discipline, and disciplinary decrees may indirectly concern doctrine. The important difference between the two kinds of decisions is, that whilst in a doctrinal decree the deciding authority uses its power of teaching, it uses its power of ruling in disciplinary decrees. The question we wish to ask here is: were the decrees which concern the case of Galileo doctrinal or disciplinary? To us it seems more probable that they were disciplinary decisions. The reason for this view is, that the direct object which the Congregations seem to have in view is a disciplinary object. For, surely, to prohibit the publication of a book is in itself a disciplinary act, as is also to condemn a person to suffer certain punishments. The object of the decree of the Index was clearly to prohibit the publication of certain books, whilst the object of the decree of the Inquisition was to condemn the person of Galileo to the punishments which, as suspected of heresy, he was liable to suffer, to order him to abjure his doctrine, and to order an edict to be drawn up, the object of which was to prohibit his *Dialogo*.

No doubt, as is evident from what we have said, both decrees authentically declare a doctrine false and contrary to Sacred Scripture, and so far there is use made of the doctrinal authority of the Congregations. Still these authentic declarations of doctrine are accidental to the decrees whose essential object is to make disciplinary regulations. These declarations of doctrine are only the reasons given for the main object of the decrees. They are like the *obiter dicta* of a decree of a General Council, which may be, indeed, authentic declarations of doctrine, but which still are accidental to the main doctrine to which the Council wishes to give an infallible sanction. Hence the fact that doctrine was condemned in the decrees does not destroy their disciplinary nature.

Neither does the statement of the Inquisition, that by the decree of the Index the Copernican theory was declared false and contrary to Sacred Scripture, avail to show that the decree was not essentially disciplinary—that the doctrinal decision was not introduced simply as a motive for a disciplinary act. The statement merely proves that, in some way, an authoritative declaration of doctrine had been made by the Index. The decree of the Index must be examined for the method after which the declaration was made. Such an examination, as we have seen, shows that the decree is a disciplinary decree, including as an *obiter dictum* a doctrinal statement.

Thus far we have seen that it was not for any extrinsic reasons that the teaching of Galileo was condemned by the Roman Congregations; that the teaching was condemned in itself as false and contrary to Sacred Scripture; that this condemnation of the Copernican doctrine was made in a decree which was directly disciplinary, but in which, indirectly, doctrine was authentically taught. We are now in a position to examine the second statement which it was our purpose to discuss. The statement was, that the decrees of the Congregations were not meant to be infallible decisions, given by the supreme teacher of the Catholic Church on a question of faith and morals.

In the first place, contemporary testimony of the highest value places this question beyond all reasonable doubt. No more valuable testimony can be found than that of Cardinal Bellarmine, who was so prominent in connection with the condemnation of Galileo. It was he who was requested by the Holy Office to warn Galileo of his errors. Yet, what do we find to be his opinion on the infallibility of the decrees of 1616? His opinion is recorded by Father Grassi, himself an active opponent of Galileo:—

When a demonstration shall be found to establish the earth's motion, it will be proper to interpret the Holy Scriptures otherwise than they have hitherto been in those passages where mention is made of the movement of the heavens and the stability of the earth.

This is the deliberate view of Cardinal Bellarmine:—

This was in 1624. Just imagine Father Perrone saying, in the year 1862, that some unexpected light may possibly hereafter be obtained which will make it proper to interpret Scripture and tradition as opposed to the Immaculate Conception! Yet Bellarmine's statement would be precisely equivalent to this, if Copernicanism had really been condemned *ex cathedra*.¹

The conclusion is so clear, that we think it unnecessary to do more than name some learned contemporaries of Galileo, who express themselves similarly to Bellarmine. Fromond of Louvain, Descartes, Fabri, S.J., Riccioli, S.J., Gassendi, and many others agree in admitting that no infallible decision was intended to be given by Roman authorities against Copernicanism.

Nor will, in the second place, an intrinsic examination of the documents we have given render doubtful this extrinsic evidence. As we have already intimated, the decrees of the Congregations were disciplinary in their nature. Their essential object was not to teach doctrine, but to condemn books and the person of Galileo, because of their connection with doctrine which was considered false. No Catholic claims infallibility for a disciplinary act? It is only doctrinal decisions that can in any way claim the prerogative of infallibility, which is given to teach the faith. Nor does the fact that the reason for the condemnation was authentically stated to be false and unscriptural doctrine change in the slightest the force of this argument. The reasons given by the Pope or a General Council, though, of course, worthy of respect, never claim to be infallible, even in doctrinal decrees. The prerogative of infallibility belongs alone to the final decision which the Pope or Council desires to urge. How much more is this true when there is question of a disciplinary decree of a Roman Congregation? Its decision, notwithstanding the doctrinal reasons, is not changed in its essence. It, consequently, like every disciplinary enactment, is devoid of infallible authority.

¹ Dr. Ward, *Dublin Review*, April, 1871. This argument of Dr. Ward's is considerably strengthened by the fact that Cardinal Bellarmine expressed this view long before 1624.

Let us grant, however, for the sake of argument, that the decrees of the Congregations were doctrinal in their nature. Does it follow that they were *ex cathedra* definitions of the Roman Pontiff? We hope to make it clear that they were not. It will be useful, in order to show this, to refer to some Catholic doctrines and to some regulations of Canon Law which bear on the present discussion.

In the first place, the Pope is infallible when, by his apostolic authority as supreme pastor of the Church, he defines a question of faith and morals for the universal Church. This is the nature of papal infallibility, as it has been taught by the Vatican Council. Certain conditions are absolutely necessary that this infallibility may be exercised.

(1) It is necessary that the Pope speak by his apostolic authority as supreme teacher of the Church. Hence his utterances as a private person have no infallible authority attached to them. His legal enactments have not the gift of infallibility either, for in issuing them he does not act as teacher of the faith, but as ruler of the Church. The necessity of this condition arises from the very nature of infallibility which has been given by Christ to the Pope as Pope for teaching the faith.

(2) Again, it is necessary that the Pope speak on a question of faith and morals.¹ Hence it must not be a mere scientific question nor a question of discipline. By the very fact, however, that the Pope gives an *ex cathedra* definition he declares that the question decided is a question of faith and morals. That this condition is required, is clear again from the nature of infallibility which preserves the Pope from error in teaching the faith.

(3) Moreover, it is necessary that the Pope bind the whole Church by his decision. Consequently, a decision which binds only an individual, or a particular church, cannot in any way claim infallibility. The reason for this condition is had from the fact that infallibility has been

¹ By 'faith' is meant the speculative doctrines of revelation, and by 'morals' theologians mean the practical doctrines of revelation. Hence morals belong to faith in its wider sense of revealed truth.

given, not for the benefit of an individual or a particular church, but for the good of the universal Church.

(4) Finally, the decision of the Pope must be final and irrevocable, and must, consequently, bind the whole Church to give an absolute, irrevocable assent either of divine or ecclesiastical faith. The assent will be of divine faith if there be question of a doctrine that has been formally revealed. The assent will probably be only of ecclesiastical faith if the doctrine be not formally revealed, but be intimately connected with formal revelation. The necessity for this condition arises from the distinction between the provisional teaching of the Church and her final doctrinal decisions.

In the second place, this power of infallibility is personal to the Pope. It has been given to him as Pope. Hence he cannot transfer it to another no more than he can transfer to another his papacy. He can, however, appoint, and in the case of the Roman Congregations has appointed, vicars to act for him in matters which fall short of this full papal power just as an ordinary bishop can appoint vicars to act for him in those matters which do not belong to him exclusively as bishop. These Roman Congregations form one court with the Pope; and, therefore, no appeal is allowed from them. They may reconsider their decisions, or an infallible tribunal may make a further investigation in doctrinal matters, but these examinations are not recognised as appeals. The decisions of the Congregations are in this sense, and in this sense alone, pontifical acts. The Pope may, of course, and sometimes does, appropriate their decisions, and promulgate them as his own decrees. Then they are not promulgated as decisions of the Congregations. They have acquired a new and distinct authority. They have become pontifical acts in a higher sense.

It is all-important to know when the decrees of the Congregations have received this higher pontifical authority, and when they retain their nature of decrees of the Congregations. As we are concerned with the Index and the Inquisition, we shall speak of them alone. The decrees of these Congregations are not promulgated unless they have

received Papal sanction. This is a fundamental necessity of their institution. In two ways the Pope is accustomed to give his approval. He sometimes gives approbation *in forma communi*. Sometimes he gives his confirmation *in forma specifica*. The former adds no intrinsic force to the decrees. They remain decisions of the Congregations, and are promulgated in their names. They have, no doubt, received an extrinsic authority which is not relevant to our present question. Approval *in forma specifica* gives the decrees a new intrinsic authority. By its means they cease to be decrees of the Congregations, and become the decisions of the Pope himself. The decrees are not promulgated in the names of the Congregations, but in the name of the Pope. The decrees themselves make clear whether they have been promulgated in the name of the Pope or in the names of the Congregations; and, consequently, whether approval is given *in forma specifica* or *in forma communi*. Certainly only approbation *in forma communi* has been given when the fact of Papal confirmation is not mentioned in the decree.

This distinction between the two kinds of approbation is not confined to the matter under discussion. A national council, for instance, must submit its decrees to Rome for its approval before they can be promulgated. If they do not receive approval *in forma specifica*, they remain decrees of a national council. The council can subsequently change them; it can, by its own authority, dispense in them; and it can depute others to dispense in them. If, however, the decrees receive approval *in forma specifica*, they cease to be decrees of a national council. The national council cannot change them; neither can it, by its own authority, dispense in them, or depute others to dispense in them. In all cases the decrees make clear which kind of approbation has been given; so no insuperable difficulty can arise in recognising the nature of the decisions.

We may mention also that the Pope is accustomed to give both kinds of approval to the decrees of the Congregations in two ways. Sometimes the Pope, in giving approbation *in forma communi*, orders this sanction to be

mentioned in the decree; sometimes his confirmation is not mentioned in the decree. The former method was not in vogue at the time of Galileo. The two methods, we think, do not differ substantially. The difference is only accidental, since the decree is promulgated in both cases as the decree of the Congregations, not as the decree of the Pope. So also, in approval *in forma specifica*, the decree is sometimes ordered to be promulgated by the Congregations, but in the name of the Pope. More frequently the Pope takes the decree entirely from the hands of the Congregations, and publishes it in his own name, by his own promulgation. This difference, again, is only accidental, because in both methods of approval the decree is published as the decree of the Pope himself. The method of promulgation does not interfere with the nature of the decision. Consequently, in both cases, the decree is infallible, if the other conditions for infallibility be present.

If we grant, then, for the sake of argument, that the decrees of 1616 and 1633 were doctrinal, the question still remains, did the Pope promulgate them as infallible utterances? Did he publish them as *ex cathedra* definitions? He did not; because, in the first place, he did not give them approval *in forma specifica*—that approval which makes them the decrees of the Pope, and not the decrees of the Congregations. This is clear from the absence of any mention of Papal confirmation in the decrees. The words of the Congregations make this truth still more evident. The title of the decree of the Index (1616) speaks of the decree as the decree of the Congregation: '*Decretum S. Congregationis illustrissimorum S. R. E. Cardinalium a S. D. N. Paulo Papa V. . . . deputatorum.*' Hence it was the decree of the Congregation, and not of the Pope. No doubt, the fact is mentioned that the cardinals were deputed by the Pope to act on the Congregation; but this is simply a warrant of their authority. It leaves the decree its essential nature of a decree of the Congregation, according to the words employed. Moreover, the body of the decree expresses the same truth: 'The Holy Congregation has decreed that the said Nicholas Copernicus, in *De Revolutionibus orbium*,

be suspended.' It was the Congregation which gave this decision, not the Pope. 'And that all other works likewise, in which the same is taught, be prohibited, as by this present decree it (the Holy Congregation) prohibits, condemns, and suspends them all respectively.' Here, again, it is the Congregation, and not the Pope, which in its decree condemns Copernican books. Finally, the subscription: 'In witness whereof the present decree has been signed and sealed with the hands and with the seal of the Most Eminent and Most Reverend Lord Cardinal,' shows that the decree was published, not in the name of the Pope, but in the name of the Congregation.

The Inquisition (1633) makes this manifest not only for its own decree of 1633, but also for the decrees of 1616. Speaking of the Index, it says: 'And in order that a doctrine so pernicious might be wholly rooted out . . . a decree was issued by the Holy Congregation of the Index.' Hence it considered that the decree published on the 5th March, 1616, was the decree of the Congregation, and not of the Pope, as such. In another portion of the decree the Inquisition gives the words of Cardinal Bellarmine, in which he states that the declaration of the Index was 'made by his Holiness (Paul V.), and published by the Congregation of the Index.' But nobody doubts that Paul V. made the decree through his vicars, and approved of its promulgation. The only question to the point is, was the decree promulgated by the Index as the decree of the Pope, or as the decree of the Congregation itself? The words of the Index and of the Holy Office make it clear that the decree was published as the decree of the Index.

The Inquisition also speaks of the decree of 25th February, 1616, as its own decree, and not as the decree of the Pope. 'It was decreed at the Holy Congregation held before his Holiness on the 25th February, 1616.' The note of the Vatican MS., 3rd March, 1616, speaks of it as 'the order of the Holy Congregation.' No doubt, the Pope, as President of the Holy Office, was present on the occasion; but this presence does not interfere with the fact that the decree was the decree of the Inquisition. By his simple

presence, and by his approval of the decision, he does not appropriate to himself, as Supreme Head of the Catholic Church, the declaration of his vicariate congregation. The decree was passed as the decree of the Holy Office, and executed the following day, in the name of the Holy Office, by its officers. Nor, again, does the fact that the Inquisition says that the Copernican theory was 'declared and *defined* to be contrary to Sacred Scripture' render this decision of the 25th February, or the decree of the 5th March, the decisions of the Pope defining a doctrine *ex cathedra*. All the statement means is, that the decisions were final, inasmuch as no appeal was allowed from them to any higher tribunal. In fact, the Inquisition speaks of its own decree of 1633 in the same way: 'By this *our final sentence*' (per questa *nostra difinitiva sentenza*), though these very words, and other phrases which we shall see immediately, show clearly that it recognised that decision to be its own and not the Pope's.

The Holy Office makes evident the nature, not only of the decrees of 1616, but also of the decree of 1633. Its words are:—

By this *our final sentence . . . we say, pronounce, sentence, declare, that you . . . have rendered yourself in the judgment of this Holy Office* vehemently suspected of heresy. . . . From which (punishments) *we are content that you be absolved . . . we ordain that the book of the Dialogues of Galileo Galilei be prohibited . . . We condemn you to the formal prison of this Holy Office during our pleasure . . . And so we say, pronounce, sentence, declare, ordain, condemn, and reserve . . . So we the undersigned Cardinals pronounce.*

What words can make it more clear that the cardinals of the Holy Office acted in their own name, and did not, consequently, promulgate any decree in the name of the Pope? If there be any, we know them not. Not even our opponents, with all their self-declared learning, can find more luminous expressions of the truth that no approval *in forma specifica* was given to the decree of the Holy Office.

The abjuration of Galileo adds its authority to the testi-

monies that we have examined. In it Galileo states :— ‘I have been *pronounced by the Holy Office* to be vehemently suspected of heresy.’ When we remember that it was the Holy Office itself which drew up this abjuration for Galileo, we cannot reasonably deny our assent to the truth that the decree of 1633 was the decision of the Inquisition and not of Urban VIII. as Pope.

It has been objected that Urban VIII., in 1633, directed that copies of the sentence passed on Galileo be transmitted to all apostolic nuncios, &c., in order that these things might be known to all. Here, our opponents say, is sufficient proof that Urban made the condemnation his own; and, consequently, gave it approbation *in forma specifica*. There is here, however, no difficulty. The action of Urban would prove nothing more than that he approved of the condemnation, and thought the knowledge of it useful to all. It would in no way indicate that he made the condemnation his own pontifical act. It would in no way proclaim an *ex cathedra* definition binding the whole Church by its irrevocable force. This is rendered absolutely certain by a fact which Dr. Salmon, from whose *Infallibility of the Church* we have taken this and the following difficulties, does not mention. It was not Urban himself who gave this order, it was a session of the Holy Office (16th June, 1633), presided over by Urban. Consequently, the decision was not the decision of Urban as Pope. It was merely a command of the Inquisition.

It has been asserted that the words of Sixtus V. show that the decree of the Index was issued in the name of the Pope. In remodelling the Index he declared that the cardinals of the Congregation ‘are to examine and expose the books which are repugnant to Catholic doctrines and Christian discipline, and *after reporting them to us* they are to condemn them *by our authority*.’ Clearly, our opponents cry in triumph, the books condemned by the Index are prohibited by Papal authority. But, surely, no Catholic ever denied that the Index condemns books by the authority and with the approval of the Pope. What Catholics deny is, that the decisions of the Index are always made his own

by the Pope, and promulgated as such. That they are not, is clear even from the very words which are urged against us. Sixtus says, '*they* (the cardinals) are to condemn them.' The decision, then, is *their* decision. It is the decision of the Roman Congregation, to which the Pope cannot delegate his gift of infallibility, but to which he has delegated authority to condemn books.

Again, it has been stated that, at least subsequently, the desired approval *in forma specifica* has been given to all the decrees of the Index, for Alexander VII. (1664) in his Bull, *Speculatores*, confirmed the previous decrees with the words: 'Cum omnibus et singulis in eo contentis, auctoritate Apostolica tenore praesentium confirmamus et approbamus.' This is a pretty example of anti-Catholic logic. For the purpose of our opponents it matters not what the *tenor praesentium* is. 'They have eyes and see not' that in his Bull Alexander VII. expressly states what the *tenor praesentium* is, and, consequently, how far he gives his approval to the previous decrees of the Index. He declares that, owing to the absence of an authentic catalogue of prohibited books, much confusion arose. To remove this confusion he ordered a correct catalogue to be drawn up. He then, by his apostolic power, declares the newly-arranged catalogue to be authentic in the following words:—

Nos, de praedictorum Cardinalium consilio *eundem indicem generalem*, sicut praemittitur, *jussu nostro compositum atque revisum* et typis camerae nostrae apostolicae jam impressum, et quem praesentibus nostris pro inserto haberi volumus, cum omnibus et singulis in eo contentis, auctoritate apostolica, *tenore praesentium*, confirmamus et approbamus.

The Pope, then, merely confirms the general index as faithfully containing the correct prohibitions of the Index. He, consequently, issues not a doctrinal, but a disciplinary decree. He gives no approval *in forma specifica* which makes the decrees his own. He utters no *ex cathedra* definition on a question of faith and morals.

We have seen, then, that, even in the hypothesis of the decrees being not disciplinary but doctrinal, the Popes did

not give an infallible decision against the doctrine of Galileo because they never gave confirmation *in forma specifica* to the decrees of the Roman Congregations. In the next place, even if we admit that such approval was given, still other defects show that no infallible decision *ex cathedra* was intended. The third condition for an infallible decision is absent in the case of the decrees of the Holy Office of 25th February, 1616, and 22nd June, 1633. They were addressed only to an individual, and were not, therefore, decisions which bound the universal Church. No doubt the condemnation of Galileo was sent by order of the Holy Office to apostolic nuncios, &c., *that it may be known to all*, but that transmission did not change the nature of the decree. It did not make it a general decision binding the whole Church. It merely indicates that a knowledge of the condemnation was considered useful for those to whom it was sent. No doubt, too, the decision of 1633 ordered a public edict to be drawn up and promulgated condemning the *Dialogues* of Galileo. But that subsequent edict was not made a papal edict, nor did the decree itself thereby become a general decision binding all. The decree remained particular in its nature; and, consequently, it could not be an infallible decision of the Pope.

The decree of the 5th March, 1616, was promulgated for the whole Church. It was, however, as we have seen, only a disciplinary act of a Roman Congregation, and, therefore, lacked the first and second conditions for an *ex cathedra* definition of the Pope. But even if these conditions were present, it still would be without the fourth condition required for an infallible definition. To teach a doctrine as true and in conformity with Scripture, or to condemn a doctrine as false and opposed to Scripture, does not suffice to render a decision infallible, even when it has been promulgated for the whole Church. It is necessary, moreover, that the decision be promulgated as irrevocable, so that not only is no appeal allowed against it, but the case can never be re-opened on any pretext. No sign of such an irrevocable nature is contained in the decree of the Index. The extrinsic authority of Bellarmine and other contemporaries

of Galileo, to whom we have already referred, is sufficient of itself to rule such an irrevocable nature out of court. It is lawful for us to conclude, then, that, even for this reason, the decree of the Index did not claim to be an *ex cathedra* definition of the Roman Pontiff.

We have now carried out our twofold purpose. We have shown that the teaching of Galileo was condemned by the Roman Congregations in itself as false and opposed to Sacred Scripture. We have shown, too, that no *ex cathedra* definitions of the Popes were involved in the condemnation of Copernicanism. The mistake which the Congregations made does not, consequently, invalidate the claim of the Catholic Church to the gift of infallibility. Nor does it prevent us from having due respect for decisions of Roman Congregations no more than rare mistakes destroy our respect for the decisions of ordinary civil tribunals. It was beside our purpose to speak of the many historical falsehoods which for years hung round the name of Galileo. No charge, however grave, no accusation, however gross, was thought beneath the assertion of those whose only purpose in life seemed to be to vilify the Church of Rome. Time has brought its own revenge. The falsehoods of earlier days have recoiled on those who made them. The world knows these men no more. They are consigned to the oblivion of dishonoured graves. The Church of Rome, which they tried to tarnish, still lives on. New charges are brought against her by her implacable foes. But they, too, will pass away, whilst she will ever march in triumph, proudly wearing the badge of truth. In her triumphal march she employs human means. These must, from time to time, be the cause of accidental errors like that which occurred in the case of Galileo. They do not, however, interfere with her vital principles or impede her in her victorious progress through the ages, for she has the Spirit of God brooding over her. His divine guidance will ever make the voice of nations proclaim that she and she alone is the One, Holy, Catholic, and Apostolic Church which was founded by Christ on earth.

JOHN M. HARTY.

MR. LECKY'S MAP OF LIFE¹

'La vie n'est pas un plaisir ni une douleur, mais une affaire grave dont nous sommes chargés, et qu'il faut conduire et terminer à notre honneur.'—
TOCQUEVILLE.

THE closing quarter of the year 1899 was enriched by the publication of two remarkable books, the one the work of a Catholic, the other of a Protestant author. These were Mr. Lilly's *First Principles in Politics*, and Mr. Lecky's *Map of Life*. It is with the latter work that I am the more immediately concerned in this paper.

Wherever the English language is read the name of Mr. Lecky is held in veneration as a historian and philosopher. With, perhaps, the single exception of Mr. Gairdner, he is without a rival in the different branches of science he has made his own. In him we find that rare combination of gifts, so requisite in every writer of history, profound erudition, laboriousness in research, judicial temper, and a playfulness of fancy which imparts an indefinable charm to whatever comes from his pen. He approaches every question with a calmness, and a freedom from bias which never fails to secure for him the confidence and sympathy of his readers; and though at times one may feel disinclined to accept his conclusions, this feeling of disagreement is short-lived, and even helps to impart a fresh zest to the approval with which we accept most other propositions.

That an author of Mr. Lecky's knowledge and experience should set himself to discuss the great problems of human life, the principles which ought to regulate and govern human conduct, and the elements which go to the building up of human character in its best forms, is something for which all students of sociology must feel profoundly grateful. And in the *Map of Life* are to be found the views and reasonings of the great historian on almost every subject deserving of thought and attention at the present moment.

¹ *The Map of Life, Conduct, and Character.* By William Edward Hartpole Lecky. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1899.

There are few things, surely, more serious than human life and character, with their countless ramifications influencing and shaping the course of events, colouring the nation's views and convictions, brightening or clouding the outlook for posterity. George Eliot, whose intimacy with the philosopher Lewes served probably to influence her views of life, constantly inculcated the importance of making the most and the best of our present existence. In fact, she went so far as to declare that it was little short of criminal to give any thought to the chimera of a future life so long as the stern actualities which hem us round in our present state claim so potently our attention. This is one extreme. As a type of another, and, I fear, a very common one, I may mention the case of the actress, who replying to a newspaper editor who had written asking her for her views of life, sent him a few days since the following reply: 'My only principle in life is to eat, drink, and, if possible, to do what I like.' Midway betwixt these extremes stands the *gravior et sanior pars* of our people to whom life, and character, and conduct are of vast importance, and that not merely because of their influence upon our present life, but also in that they perceive the reality of the continuance of their effects beyond the grave. To such as these Mr. Lecky's book will be especially welcome.

Than the desire for happiness there is no feeling more deeply implanted in our nature. But, as Mr. Lecky points out in his opening chapter, it is the circumstances of our lives and the dispositions of our characters which mainly determine the measure of happiness we enjoy.

Man comes into the world with mental and moral characteristics which he can only very imperfectly influence, and a large proportion of the external circumstances of his life lie wholly or mainly beyond his control. At the same time, everyone recognises the power of skill, industry, and perseverance to modify surrounding circumstances; the power of temperance and prudence to strengthen a naturally weak constitution, prolong life and diminish the chances of disease; the power of education and private study to develop, sharpen, and employ to the best advantage our intellectual faculties.

If many of us are unhappy is it not evident that that

state of mind is mainly the outcome of our deliberate and voluntary acts? This brings us face to face with the vast question of free will and determinism. According to the determinists the crucial question is not so much as to whether a man can do what he desires, but whether he can do what he does not desire. In other words, can the human will be said to act without a motive; and is that motive in its final analysis anything but the strongest pleasure? He insists that 'the will is nothing more than the last and strongest desire, or it is like a piece of iron surrounded by magnets, and necessarily drawn by the most powerful.'

On the other hand, the supporters of free will maintain that there is a clear distinction between the will and desires, and that though closely connected, no sound analysis will permit us to confuse them. Various motives pass before the mind, yet we are fully conscious of the fact, that the mind has the power of choosing and judging, of accepting and rejecting. It is also apparent that the will itself becomes stronger by exercise, as the desires do by indulgence. No man that lives can prevent himself from regarding certain acts with an 'indignation, shame, remorse, resentment, gratitude, enthusiasm, praise, or blame, which would be perfectly unmeaning and irrational if these acts could not have been avoided. The feelings of all men and the vocabularies of all languages attest the universality of the belief.'

Happiness, then, may be regarded as a condition of mind, to which character and circumstances largely contribute. According to Dugald Stewart, the great secret of happiness is to study to accommodate our own minds to things external rather than to accommodate things external to ourselves. Mr. Lecky says that the English character on both sides of the Atlantic is an eminently objective one, shrinking from anything in the shape of introspection and self-analysis. The ordinary Englishman is adverse from the idea either of dwelling upon his emotions, or of giving free latitude to their expression. His watchwords are reticence and self-restraint. Even in times of great calamity and sorrow, demonstrations of grief which in other countries

would be deemed perfectly natural, are looked upon among us as something shameful and unmanly. 'The English tendency is to turn away speedily from the past, and seek consolation in new fields of activity.'

The raising of the level of national health may be regarded as one of the surest ways of raising the level of national happiness. Fashion can do much in this direction, for it exercises a far-reaching influence over vast multitudes of men and women as regards their dress, their education, their hours, their amusements, their food, their scale of expenditure. It is, however, open to question whether sanitary reform, of which so much is heard nowadays, has been an unmixed blessing, even when promoted by Government. For it 'enables great numbers of constitutionally weak children, who in other days would have died in infancy, to grow up and marry, and propagate a feeble offspring.' The more salient articles of the sanitary creed are few and simple. They consist in moderation and self-restraint in all things—a free use of exercise, fresh air, and cold water; a limited use of hard work, occasional change of habits, and abstinence from all things which are manifestly injurious to health.

No men are more to be pitied than those whose lives are aimless and unoccupied. In fact, 'one of the first conditions of a happy life is that it should be a full and a busy one.' Aristotle lays it down as a principle of wisdom that we should be more intent upon avoiding suffering than in attaining pleasure. Experience has taught many that the things which are most struggled for, and most sought after, are not the things which fill us with the purest happiness. Many a millionaire would give the world to be to-morrow as he was yesterday—that fleeting yesterday which passed like the water under the arches of the bridge unnoticed and unappreciated. This reflection led Schopenhauer to remark that human felicity is invariably described in the Idyll in its simplest form as containing the greatest amount of happiness. The advantages of advanced civilisation are immense; yet it generally entails a lower range of animal spirits, and an increased sensitiveness to

pain. 'Some philosophers have contended that this is the best of all possible worlds. It is difficult to believe so, as the whole object of human effort is to make it a better one.'

The highest and the purest natures are not necessarily the happiest. A nature strung to the saintly and heroic level will invariably find itself jarred by the world; it will sometimes raise quite a storm of opposition, and will wring its hands over many things which natures of a coarser fibre will accept with the greatest placidity. I am sure many of our Catholic saints were regarded by most of their contemporaries as little better than busybodies. Hence the impossibility of identifying virtue with happiness.

To cultivate and to foster what is really unselfish in our nature is one of the first lessons, not only of morals, but also of wisdom. Even amongst men who are the most common-place, when viewed from the intellectual standpoint, we meet with some of the finest examples of self-sacrifice, courage, resignation under misfortune, magnanimity and forgiveness under injuries. Yet we must never lose sight of the fact that untold evils have sprung from misguided, unselfish actions. 'Crotchets, sentimentalities, and fanaticisms cluster especially around the unselfish side of our nature, and they work evil in many curious and subtle ways.' Thus measures guaranteeing men, and still more, women, from excessive labour, and surrounding them with costly sanitary precautions, may easily handicap a sex or a people in the competition of industry, and even drive them from the great fields of industry altogether. Injudicious suppression of healthy open amusements invariably lead to other pleasures, for the most part secret and vicious. Injudicious charities tend to discourage industry and thrift, and generally end by increasing the poverty they were intended to alleviate. Disproportioned compassion never proceeded further than when it rendered impossible the erection of a Pasteur Institute in England, and gave itself up to denouncing the most carefully limited and supervised experiments on living animals in the hope of discovering remedies for some of the worst forms of human suffering. Sensitive ladies of fashion who are amongst the first to

inveigh against all experiments on living animals, and even against field sports, such as hunting, fowling, coursing, will not infrequently be found supporting, with perfect callousness, styles of dress and headgear which entail the utter extinction of some of the most beautiful species of birds which visit our shores, and that with an exercise of cruelty repugnant to every man of ordinary feeling.

A man without ideals is, at best, only a poor creature. Make yourself acquainted with any man's ideals, and you possess a safe means of judging his character. In fact ideals go largely to the building up of character. To have them a man must not be a sluggard. Idleness is ever the fruitful parent of immorality; so much so that Mr. Lecky does not hesitate to affirm that when the circumstances of a man's life do not assign to him a definite sphere of work, it is his first duty to find it for himself.

No more pernicious instance of false ideals can well be imagined than what Mr. Lecky terms the glorification of the *demi-monde* in some societies and literatures of the present hour. The words he employs when denouncing this horrible evil are anything but too vehement. He says:—

In a healthy state of opinion, the public ostentatious appearance of such persons, without any concealment of their character, in the great concourse of fashion and among the notabilities of the State, would appear an intolerable scandal, and it becomes much worse when they give the tone to fashion, and become the centres and the models of large and by no means undistinguished sections of society. The standard of popular morals is debased. Temptation in its most seductive form is forced upon inflammable natures, and the most pernicious of all lessons is taught to poor, honest, hard-working women.

Before attempting to measure the scale of any man's moral guilt it is of the utmost importance that all due allowance should be made for the circumstances of the case. Thus it would be little better than absurd to judge a man like Charlemagne and his contemporaries by the strict rules of nineteenth century ethics. Great crimes they undoubtedly committed, but these misdeeds of theirs are infinitely less heinous than they would have been under the wholly different circumstances of our own day. Take the offspring

of drunken, ignorant, and profligate parents, born to abject poverty in the slums of our great cities. From earliest infancy drunkenness, blasphemy, robbery, prostitution, the grossest indecency, have formed their daily atmosphere. The very mould of their features, and the shape of their skulls mark them off as certain recruits for the criminal class. Free will, though still capable of exercise in their case, must perforce have become enfeebled by a long succession of vicious hereditary influences. Who, we may ask, would dream of comparing the moral guilt of the crimes committed by wretches engendered under the above circumstances, with those which are perpetrated in the homes of the refined and the educated? Again, diversity of character in the agent must not be lost sight of. The habitually sober man can form but a weak idea of the craving for strong drink felt by a confirmed drunkard. Nor can a man whose passions are well under control easily conceive the strength of the temptations felt by a profoundly sensual nature. It may safely be said that society judges far too severely crimes arising from drink and passion; and, on the other hand, far too leniently those which are the outcome of ambition, cupidity, malevolence, and gross selfishness.

The ethics of war receive very careful exposition at Mr. Lecky's hands. Deeply seated international jealousies and antipathies are said to be the chief danger to the peace of nations. To-day, unfortunately, 'after eighteen hundred years' profession of the creed of peace, Christendom is an armed camp.' An observation which Mr. Lecky makes in connection with the subject of war strikes me as very appropriate at the present moment. He says:—'It is indeed a strange thing to observe how many men in every age have been ready to risk or sacrifice their lives for causes which they have never clearly understood, and which they would find it difficult in plain words to describe.'

According to Mr. Lecky, moral compromise, an evil-sounding expression, is a necessity of human existence. He cannot see how Cardinal Newman's doctrine to the effect that 'it were better for the sun and the moon to drop

from heaven, for the earth to fail, &c., than that our soul should commit one single venial sin, or steal one farthing without excuse,' could ever have been acted upon. He cites the many untruths which the conventional courtesies of society prescribe. 'Then,' he insists, 'there are falsehoods for useful purposes. Few men would shrink from a falsehood which was the only means of saving a patient from a shock which would probably cause his death. No one, I suppose, would hesitate to deceive a criminal if by no other means he could prevent him from accomplishing a crime.' Conflicts between military duty and religious duty frequently occur. Thus English soldiers have refused to escort or protect idolatrous processions in India, and to present arms in Catholic countries when the consecrated Host was being carried in procession.

In the legal profession moral compromise is also of frequent occurrence. How far may a lawyer support a bad case? What are the just limits of cross-examination? Is it, for example,

Permissible in cross-examination to browbeat or confuse an honest but timid and unskilful witness; to attempt to discredit the evidence of a witness on a plain matter of fact about which he had no interest in concealment by exhuming against him some moral scandal of early youth which was totally unconnected with the subject of the trial, or by pursuing such a line of cross-examination to keep out of the witness-box material witnesses who are conscious that their past lives are not beyond reproach?

The position of the private member of Parliament is known from experience to Mr. Lecky. He tells us that he is required, again and again, to give an effective voice in the great council of the nation, and that on questions of grave importance with a levity of conviction upon which he would not act in the most trivial affairs of private life. Great political parties are not even free from inconsistency. There is hardly a principle of political action that has not in party history been abandoned, and not unfrequently parties have come to advocate, from very much blended motives of patriotism and self-interest, at one period of their history the very measures which at another period

they most strenuously resisted. Take the Reform Bill of 1867. At that date, the Tories, under Disraeli, rejected Mr. Gladstone's measure of Reform on the ground that it was an excessive step in the direction of democracy. Returned to office and power, Disraeli, by means of what Mr. Lecky terms 'a masterpiece of unscrupulous adroitness,' induced his own party to carry through Parliament a measure of a far more democratic character than Mr. Gladstone's Bill ever claimed to be, and which a few months previously they had defeated and denounced in the most unsparing terms.

As a case illustrative of conflicting ethical judgments, Mr. Lecky puts forward the example of Governor Eyre at the time of the Jamaica insurrection in 1865. Another instance is furnished by the Jameson Raid into the Transvaal, which is stigmatized by the Unionist Member for Dublin University as 'one of the most discreditable, as well as mischievous events in recent colonial history, and its character was entirely unrelieved by any gleam either of heroism or of skill.' Yet, over this very question a large portion of English society adopted 'a disgraceful attitude.' The trail of finance, we read, runs over the whole story. Mr. Lecky has evidently no sympathy with the statesman for ever associated with Mr. Balfour's unconscious pun about the extension of *roads*. Of him he writes in the following strain :—

When holding the highly confidential position of Prime Minister of the Cape Colony, and being at the same time a Privy Councillor of the Queen, he engaged in a conspiracy for the overthrow of a neighbouring and friendly State. In order to carry out this design he deceived the High Commissioner, whose Prime Minister he was. He deceived his own colleagues in the Ministry. He collected, under false pretences, a force which was intended to co-operate with an insurrection in Johannesburg. He took an active part in smuggling great quantities of arms into the Transvaal, and at a time when his organs in the press were representing Johannesburg as seething with spontaneous indignation against an oppressive Government. He was also directly connected with the shabbiest incident in the whole affair, the concoction of a letter from the Johannesburg con-

spirators, absurdly representing English women and children at Johannesburg as in danger of being shot down by the Boers, and urging the British to come at once and save them.

It is clearly evident from all this that Mr. Lecky is not disposed to make the same allowance for Mr. Rhodes that he does in the case of Charlemagne, and other hoary offenders against the moral code.

Probably the most deeply interesting and absorbing chapter in this great work is that devoted to describing the need for moral compromise in the Church. The so-called Reformation, according to Mr. Lecky, was a great outburst of religious zeal 'aiming at the restoration of Christianity to its primitive form, and a repudiation of the accretions of superstition that had gathered around it.' As a historian he does not hesitate to say, that the Church of England is essentially a Protestant Church, even though it retained to a greater extent than other Churches the tenets and formularies of the Church it superseded. It is the embodiment of that spirit of compromise and conservatism for which the people of England have ever been noted. Two distinct theories have ever found supporters in the English Establishment. According to one school, the Church of England is nothing more than the Pre-Reformation Church purged from the abuses that had gathered round about it in the course of time. The second school insists, as it ever has insisted, that the Church of England from the middle of the sixteenth century has been one of several Protestant Churches, retaining, perhaps, a certain amount of harmless non-essential forms of ecclesiastical organization, but agreeing with all other Protestant bodies in what is essential and fundamental. However ridiculous it may seem, yet there is no gainsaying the fact, that for centuries these two distinct schools have flourished side by side in the Church of England as by law established. The one insisting on the need of a divinely-appointed episcopacy, and claiming to be a true branch of the Catholic Church of Christ; the other condemning the Catholic Church as the embodiment of all that is blasphemous, idolatrous, superstitious, and deceitful: the harlot of the Apocalypse, drunk with the blood of the saints.

Since the inception of the Oxford movement the so-called High Church party has been in the ascendant. The Evangelicals, or Low Churchmen, who at one period seemed to have a monopoly of the brightest intellects in the Establishment, have been gradually losing ground, until at the present moment it is hard to find one name of the first rank amongst them. Referring to the Ritualists, Mr. Lecky says, that 'the whole tendency of their devotional literature and thought flows in the Roman channel, and even in the most insignificant matters of ceremony and dress they are accustomed to pay the greater Church the homage of constant imitation.' He also thinks that the craving evidenced by so many for bright attractive services is due to the spread of æsthetic tastes among the people, and to the closing of places of amusement on Sunday. 'There is,' we read, 'a type of mind which finds in such services a happy anodyne for half-suppressed doubt. Scepticism as well as belief sometimes fills churches.' There is no getting away from the fact, that the Church of England, as an Establishment, does impose certain special obligations on its ministers. It is their primary duty to celebrate public service so that every member of the Church of England may be able to join in it. In this connection Mr. Lecky does not hesitate to say, that it is a gross scandal, following a gross neglect of duty, that this primary obligation has been defied, and that services should nowadays be held in English churches which worshippers of a former generation would have failed to recognise. Most reasonable people will feel the force of this remark.

The grosser and more material concepts of religion, which in their day were natural and probably indispensable, are gradually giving way to purer and higher conceptions. 'The Divine Spirit filters down to the human heart through a gross and material medium.' Yet even now superstition and illusion play no small part in holding together the great fabric of society. 'There are elements in religion which have their roots much less in the reason of man than in his sorrows and afflictions, and are the expression of wants, moral appetites, and aspirations which are an essential, indestructible part of his nature.'

Mr. Lecky is careful to distinguish between the sacerdotalism of the Catholic and the sacerdotalism of the Anglican Church. Amongst Anglicans, he insists, it is undisciplined and unregulated. In the Catholic Church 'confession can only be made to a celibate priest of mature age, who is bound to secrecy by the most solemn oath, who confesses only in an open church, and who has gone through a long course of careful education specially and skilfully designed to fit him for the duty. None of these conditions are observed in Anglican confession.'

There is no more fascinating chapter in this deeply thoughtful book than that in which its author deals with the management of character. Man, like a card-player, receives his cards from nature—his disposition, his circumstances, the strength or weakness of his will, of his mind, of his body. Diversity of tastes throws much light on the basis of character. 'Habit will make a Frenchman like a melon with salt, and an Englishman with sugar.' Youth has its own pleasures; it is then that the power of enjoyment is most keen, but accompanied with an extreme, sensitiveness which renders the most trivial sufferings of the child as acute, though not so prolonged, as those of a grown man. A sad childhood introduces the elements of morbidness and bitterness into character, and these are rarely eliminated later on in life. The excessive glorification of athletic games may easily lead to a declension in love, reverence, and enthusiasm for intellectual pursuits. The great perfection of modern systems of education is that they strive to make knowledge and virtue attractive. They also tend to multiply innocent and beneficent interests, tastes, and ambitions. Possibly the education of the will, which was the ancient Catholic idea, is not so much attended to as formerly. Buoyancy of temperament, which is mainly physical, does not increase with civilisation or education. It is more common among Irishmen than among Englishmen. Yet even amongst Irishmen it co-exists with a strong vein of very genuine melancholy, and it is often accompanied with a keen sensitiveness to suffering. The training of the imaginative side of our nature forms no small

part in the management of character. It is a most useful faculty to the historian, and even to the statesman. Many important discoveries in science can be traced to the power of the imagination which enables us to realize in some way the things and conditions that are unseen. But nothing is more to be guarded against than excessive indulgence in emotion that does not lead to action. 'It has been often noticed that the exaggerated sentimentality which sheds passionate tears over the fictitious sorrows of a novel or a play is no certain sign of a benevolent or unselfish nature, and is quite compatible with much indifference to real sorrows and much indisposition to make efforts for their alleviation.'

It would be difficult to conceive a greater mistake in the education of youth than the constant association of virtue with gloomy colours and constant restrictions. Some people are only too prone to make a mortal sin out of every peccadillo; hence the loss of all sense of proportion and perspective in morals. The habit of moderate and restrained enjoyment may easily be shattered by painting things as absolutely wrong which alone are culpable in their abuse or excess.

Than the present there was never any age in which money was more plentiful in every class. Extreme poverty is a terrible misfortune, involving as it does an existence almost purely animal, with nearly all man's higher faculties undeveloped. Money is a good thing, if for no other reason, because it lends itself so easily to transformation into a multitude of other good things. It gives us the power of education, a greater chance of recovery in time of illness, the delights of travel, and, best of all, it gives us time. 'All one's time to oneself,' as Charles Lamb put it. It does not follow that the pleasures of life increase in proportion to the growth of our wealth; in fact, for a ridiculously small sum we may purchase what is destined to be a source of unfailing delight to us during our whole lifetime:—

The two or three shillings that gave us our first Shakespeare would go but a small way towards providing one of the, perhaps, untasted dishes on the dessert table. The choicest masterpieces

of the human mind—the works of human genius that through the long course of centuries have done most to ennoble, console, brighten, and direct the lives of men, might all be purchased—I do not say by the cost of a lady's necklace, but by that of one or two of the little stones of which it is composed.

Swift was wont to say, in his own biting fashion, that there would be fewer unhappy marriages in the world if only women thought less of making nets, and more of making cages. Marriage is a thing which is certain to influence a man's character, intellect, and disposition. If it does not strengthen and elevate him, it will perforce drag him down. Before marriage it is mostly the shape, the figure, the complexion, which claim attention; later on the mind and character of the parties assert themselves. In marriage the claims and prospects of the unborn should never be far out of sight. Probably the happiest marriages are those in which in tastes, character, and gifts of mind the wife is rather the complement than the reflection of her husband. 'Strength may wed with weakness or with strength; but weakness should beware of mating itself with weakness. It needs the oak to support the ivy with impunity.' The troubles, the anxieties, the sorrows of wedded life tend, as a rule, to deepen character. There are, however, some natures so intensely frivolous that even this discipline will not influence them. 'A fly,' according to Emerson, 'is as untamable as a hyæna.'

When everything has been said it is clear that a man's success in life will depend more on character than on either intellect or fortune. One gift there is we should all earnestly long for, and that is tact, which consists not merely in 'saying the right thing at the right time, and to the right people, but quite as much in the many things which are left unsaid, and apparently unnoticed, or only lightly and evasively touched.' The presence or absence of this gift is one of the chief causes, according to Mr. Lecky, why the relative value of different men is often so differently judged by contemporaries and by posterity. 'The man of perfectly refined manners does not consciously and deliberately on each occasion observe the courtesies and amenities of good

society. They have become to him a second nature, and he observes them as by a kind of instinct, and without thought or effort.'

'You value life,' says Franklin; 'then do not squander time, for time is the precious stuff of life.' And yet it is a commonplace to speak of the waste of time. Want of method, want of punctuality, want of moderation, want of intensity, are the chief causes leading to the loss of time. The busiest men generally find time for every favourite pursuit. It has even been noticed that the man who, during the course of an active professional life, longed for more time to be devoted to some hobby, does less when his time is completely at his disposal than he did formerly in the hard-earned intervals of a crowded life. A large portion of our life is spent in sleep, and perhaps no part of it more usefully. For

Sleep not only brings with it the restoration of our physical energies, but it also gives a true and healthy tone to our moral nature. Of all earthly things sleep does the most to place things in their true proportions, calming excited nerves, and dispelling exaggerated cares. How many suicides have been averted, how many rash enterprises and decisions have been prevented, how many dangerous quarrels have been allayed, by the soothing influence of a few hours of steady sleep!

One by one the years course over our heads till the time comes when all the alternatives of life are sad, and the least sad is a speedy and painless end. As Madame de Staël has it: '*On depose fleur de fleur la couronne de la vie.*' An apathy steals over every faculty, and rest—unbroken rest—becomes the chief desire. In this connection Mr. Lecky mentions a curious epitaph he discovered in a German graveyard. It runs: 'I will arise, O Christ, when Thou callest me! but oh! let me rest awhile, for I am very weary.' Mr. Lecky concludes his remarks on time as follows:—

He who would look time in the face without illusion and without fear should associate each year as it passes with new developments of his nature; with duties accomplished, with work performed. To fill the time allotted to us to the brim with action, and with thought, is the only way in which we can learn to watch its passage with equanimity.

This reminds one of the saying of Spinoza, that the proper study of a truly wise man is not how to die, but how to live. For if life in all its aspects is true to the Christian standard, the grave is robbed of all its terrors, and death comes to find us heaving a sigh of the deepest relief, and ready to meet the Bridegroom.

It is only with extreme reluctance that one can bring himself to find fault with anything contained within the covers of such a storehouse of wisdom and learning as this book. Still there is no disguising the fact that it contains a few statements here and there against which the Catholic reader must protest, and that most emphatically. I am not to be understood as charging Mr. Lecky with the wilful misrepresentation of facts. On the contrary, I would say that where I feel constrained most strongly to dissent from him, he is urging some principle, putting forward some view, which he has satisfied himself to be true and correct. There is nothing probably more dangerous or mischievous than what is known as a half truth; or the partial enunciation of a case based upon insufficient evidence, or a want of grasp of all its circumstances. Thus, dealing with the question of Catholic types of morals,¹ after acknowledging that nowhere in the world can more beautiful and more reverent types be found than in some of the Catholic countries of Europe, which are but little touched by the intellectual movements of the age, Mr. Lecky continues as follows:—'It is no exaggeration to say that in Catholic countries the obligation of truthfulness in cases in which it conflicts with the interests of the Church, rests wholly on the basis of honour, and not at all on the basis of religion.' This, to my mind, is a perfectly revolting statement, and its inherent objectionableness grows in intensity when levelled against the members of that Church which is 'the pillar and the ground of truth.'

Again,² Mr. Lecky touches on the question of university training for the Catholics of Ireland, and says that in his opinion there is no belief better founded than that which, although sanctioning State subsidies for the education of

priests, yet thinks that nothing can well be more injurious, both to the State and to the young, than that the higher secular education of the Irish Catholic population should be under the complete control of the Irish clergy; and that, as a consequence, the Irish Catholics should be completely separated during the period of their education from their fellow-countrymen of other religions. Still, if a great body of Catholic parents persistently desire this control and separation, legislators will be justified in modifying their policy to meet their views. As regards Trinity College and kindred institutions, Mr. Lecky *naïvely* tells us that 'everything that could be in the smallest degree repugnant to the faith of a Catholic has been eliminated from the education which is imposed on them.' But does Mr. Lecky really expect us to believe that the atmosphere of Trinity College is one in which a sincere Catholic could ever feel at home? Evidently, he has but a very poor opinion of his Catholic fellow-countrymen. In fact, he expressly says that 'the trend of Catholic opinion in Ireland is clearly in the direction of denominationalism as the trend of Nonconformist English opinion is in the direction of undenominationalism.' So evident is this, that many are prepared to advocate increased endowment for some Catholic university, even though it be distinctly sacerdotal, whilst strenuously upholding the undenominational institutions of the country 'which they believe to be incomparably better.' Time, however, can alone prove this assertion.

Mr. Lecky, when dealing with the political ethics of the Catholic Church, touches with some degree of asperity on such events as the massacre of St. Bartholomew, the painting of the murder of Coligny on the walls of the Vatican 'among the triumphs of the Church;' the case of Ferdinand II. of Naples who received Pius IX. when he fled to Gaëta in 1848, and whose government, according to the late Mr. Gladstone, was 'a negation of God.'

Every visitor to Paris [he says] may see the fresco over the high altar of the Madeline, in which Napoleon I. is represented seated triumphant on the clouds and surrounded by an admiring priesthood, the most prominent and glorified figure in a picture of the Last Judgment.

It is only with an effort one can keep from smiling on reading this. It is puerile, and unworthy of a great philosopher. Time, too, I should say, is necessary in order that the action of French churchmen in the Dreyfus case, and that of our own clergy in that of the Irish Land League, may attain its proper historical perspective.

Knowing as he does our deficiencies in the matter of higher education, and the causes to which this want is to be attributed, Mr. Lecky does not hesitate to institute a comparison between the Catholic clergy and the clergy of the English Establishment. No sensible man can see the point of his comparison, when he considers the inequalities of the persons compared. You might as well censure a man with only one leg for his inability to keep pace with a trained athlete.

Compare [he says] the amount of higher literature which proceeds from clergymen of the Established Church with the amount which proceeds from the vastly greater body of Catholic priests scattered over the world, compare the place which the English clergy, or laymen deeply imbued with the teaching of the Church, hold in English literature with the place which Catholic priests, or sincere Catholic laymen, hold in the literature of France, and the contrast will appear sufficiently evident.

But, then, is it a contrast of men of equally favourable circumstances? This question, it seems to me, touches the pith of the matter. Can you reasonably expect to find the same turn for literature in a hard-worked English, Irish, or French priest, who is frequently at a loss to find time even to read his Office, that you generally notice in the case of a wealthy, leisured clergyman of the Church of England? And even in the case of the Catholic priests who can and do write, there is invariably the difficulty of publication, and, when this is conquered, the apathy of the public. Mr. Lecky, however, is sufficiently complimentary to our great workers in the past. He says:—

In past ages some of the greatest works of patient, lifelong industry in all literary history were due to the Catholic priesthood, and especially to members of the monastic orders. Even in modern times they have produced some works of great learning, of great dialectic skill, of great beauty of style; but with

scarcely an exception these works bear upon them the stamp of an advocate, and are written for the purpose of proving a point, concealing or explaining away the faults on one side, and bringing into disproportioned relief those of the other. No one would look in them for a candid estimate of the merits of an opponent, or for a full statement of a hostile case.

But will Mr. Lecky expect us to believe that these qualifications are never absent in the case of English Protestant writers, whether lay or Churchmen? My experience of their writings, at all events, does not warrant such credence on my part.

Mr. Lecky has something to say as to the influence and mission of the religious newspaper. He cites the *Guardian* as his ideal, and asks us to compare it with the newspapers which are read, for the most part, by the French (why not the English?) clergy, and which must influence their views and opinions. He candidly admits that few English journalists have ever excelled Louis Veuillot in ability, and few papers have ever exercised a more widespread influence than the *Univers* when directed by him; but when he proceeds to say that—

No one who read those scandalously scurrilous and intolerant pages, burning with an impotent hatred of all the progressive and liberal tendencies of the time, shrinking from no misrepresentation of fact and from no apology for crime, if it was in the interest of the Church, could fail to perceive how utterly out of harmony it was with the best lay thought of France,

We feel inclined to say, in Mr. Lecky's own words, that here, indeed, is no 'candid estimate of the merits of an opponent.' One looks in vain for any expression of opinion in this book as to the merits of the Catholic Press as we have it in Ireland and England.

This concludes my strictures of the few points on which the Catholic reader is at variance with the learned and accomplished author of the *Map of Life*. We cannot but respect his views; it is a gain, in fact, that he has formulated them so plainly. But, however open-minded we may be, they fail to carry conviction. We may even reasonably hope that in some future edition of this charming work its author may see his way to modify or to eliminate them altogether.

There is one sentence in the book, murmurous of tender yearning, which has come before my mind several times since I first read it. It occurs in connection with the author's remarks upon the man who has completely abandoned dogmatic systems without losing his appreciation of the moral beauty which has grown up around those same systems, and runs as follows:—'The music of the village church, which sounds so harsh and commonplace to the worshipper within, sometimes fills with tears the eyes of the stranger who sits without, listening among the tombs.' Reading these words one is forcibly reminded of the fact that not only is Mr. Lecky a great historian and a learned philosopher, but that he has also turned his hand from time to time to the making of verses.

RICHARD A. O'GORMAN.

NOTES OF A VISIT TO ROME: ST. PETER'S

I.

AS we approach Rome from Civita Vecchia, for a considerable portion of the way we traverse the Campagna di Roma, once the scene of countless flourishing cities. Over this vast waste there is now neither dwelling nor scattered hamlet, nor fertile fields, nor trim gardens, such as usually mark the approach to a populous city. All is desolate—fallen monuments of Rome's imperial days, crumbling towers of Gothic times, forsaken habitations of later periods—are all that remain to tell the tale of ruin and departed glory. Despite its loneliness and stillness, this weird landscape is not, however, without a certain element of natural beauty, especially when, as we first saw it on the evening we reached Rome, the rays of the setting sun were producing their magic tones on the dusky sward, changing ever and anon till the daylight faded into the swift twilight—ere it sank to rest.

After about an hour's journey the railway reaches the banks of the Tiber, which bears us company till we arrive

at our longed-for destination. The first prominent object that reminds us of our near approach to the Eternal City is the Basilica and lofty campanile of St. Paul's '*fuori le mura*,' which stands about three miles outside Rome. Soon we are in shadow of the fortifications of the city, which we skirt for a considerable distance, passing the gate of St. Paul, the gate of St. Sebastian, the gate of St. John Lateran, and the Porta Maggiore; and, finally, entering through the historic walls, we are in Rome. As we slowly steamed into the station, and the announcement '*Roma!*' fell upon our ears, a feeling to be felt only for once in a lifetime came upon us. The goal was reached, the long-coveted prize was won. It was like the fulness of some unexpected joy, to feel we had touched classic ground of bygone Latium; or, better still, to realize we were about to tread the sacred soil of everlasting Rome.

Any other city, however great or distinguished, is at most only the capital of a country, but—Rome—the great, the ancient, the Eternal City, is the acknowledged metropolis of the world, the queen of nations, the home of saints and heroes, the cradle of patriots and poets, the seat and glory of religion and art. All that we had read, thought, admired and fancied from our earliest years; all that had awakened our youthful enthusiasm in the classic story of ancient Rome, or in the marvellous history of its Christian days, seemed to flash back on our thoughts in that one moment when we first realized that we had set foot upon its scene. The headquarters of our party in Rome were at the Hotel d'Angleterre, in the Via Bocca di Leone, which lies between the Corso and the Piazza di Spagna, running parallel to both, and within a few seconds' walk of either. This is one of the most convenient centres in Rome. In the itinerary programme arranged for each day, the starting time was usually fixed for half-past nine o'clock, the day's excursions closing at sundown, when the chimes of the *Ave Maria* filled the evening air. However, some of us availed of stray intervals to gather further experiences and obtain interesting side-lights of the sights and scenes of Rome.

On the morning after our arrival, rising early, we proceeded to the Piazza di Spagna, which derives its name from the Palazzo di Spagna, occupied as the Spanish embassy since the seventeenth century. In front of the latter rises the column of the *Immacolata*, erected by Pius IX., to commemorate the promulgation of the dogma of the Immaculate Conception, 1854. The lower part of the white marble shaft is encircled by a band of filigreed bronze, the pedestal being surrounded by figures of David, Moses, Isaiah, and Ezekiel. Surmounting this beautiful column is a bronze figure of the Immaculate Conception. Overlooking the Piazza, and reached by an imposing flight of one hundred and thirty-seven steps, rises the church of Trinita de' Monti, with its dual towers and obelisk in front, a familiar picture in the views of Rome. From the balustraded plateau on which the church stands we enjoyed our first view of the Eternal City. In the silence of the morn, in the warming light of the glowing sunrise, we contemplated with rapturous emotion, one of the finest prospects of Rome. Although it is modern Rome only, the multiplied domes, and campaniles of her churches, the towers of her convents beneath the far-off heights of Monte Montorio, and Monte Mario give this scene an inexpressible charm altogether peculiar to itself. Right opposite, and towering above all, rises the dome of St. Peter's, and its pillared rotunda of creamy Taverline, which, under the influence of the brilliant sunlight, look as if they had been finished but yesterday.

To the votary of art there are many special associations connected with this spot of vantage overlooking Rome. Close to the church of Trinita de' Monti is the house of Claude Lorraine, with its Doric porch, which he so often loved to introduce into his paintings. Within the church itself is the tomb of the great artist. Those who know his paintings, and remember the strange effects of distance, and the beautiful perspectives, peculiar to many of them, will quickly recognise the scene from which he drew many of his inspirations. Those who have gazed on this view of Rome in its morning brightness, or again in its sunset glory, and watched the gold-tipped clouds fade in the sapphire-tinted

west, will hardly fail to behold realised the pictures of Claude Lorraine. At the opposite side, and adjoining the church of La Trinita, is the house of Nicholas Poussin, and near at hand is the home once occupied by Salvator Rosa. To their canvasses, too, the scene we looked upon has often lent its influence. The Trinita de' Monti is still the favourite residence of artists, and of the 'Gradinata,' or flight of steps leading up to it many will have read as the rendezvous of Italian peasants, who hire themselves for models to painters during the season in Rome.

The first formal visit of our party to the shrine of the Apostles was made on the Wednesday morning after our arrival in Rome. In a few seconds after we left our hotel we entered the Corso, the main thoroughfare of the city. Reaching the Piazza Venezia we turned to the right, and passing through some narrow streets were soon on the banks of the Tiber. The Castle of St. Angelo, time-worn, heavy and imposing, now came in view. Crossing the famous bridge, flanked by ten colossal figures of angels, and having at its extremity the statues of SS. Peter and Paul, erected by Clement VII. (1530), and entering from the Borgo Nuovo into the Piazza Rustucucci, St. Peter's rose before us.

With the first view of the great Basilica many writers have expressed their disappointment. Sharing, perhaps, their impressions by anticipation, we had prepared ourselves to be likewise disappointed. But the writer was not. Yet we cannot say the scene caused us any emotional surprise. We felt as if we had seen it all before, for what Catholic has not been familiar from his childhood with the view of St. Peter's, its colonnades, obelisk, and fountains? To us it looked like a vast enlargement of some well-known picture; but even so we were not prepared for the extent of the Piazza, the magnificence of the semi-circular quadruple colonnades, the vast flight of steps, and the ethereal delicacy and beauty of the tall fountains. Strange to tell, within this open space and square, and the eclipse between the colonnades, it is said two hundred thousand men could be drawn up in rank and file, horse, foot, and guns! The

main building, almost five hundred feet in height, produces an overwhelming effect upon the mind of the spectator. The colour of the Tavertine stone, of which the vast pile of building is constructed, is so bright and so susceptible of light and shade, that no picture can ever convey a true idea of the effect of St Peter's under the brilliant Italian sunshine. The details of the façade of the church are so harmonized as to give at first an impression of grand simplicity. As one approaches, owing to the length of the Latin cross,¹ the dome disappears from sight, and the immensity of the great front is all one can grasp.

Ascending the flight of steps that leads from the Piazza, one enters the vestibule, with its magnificent arcades of marble columns terminated at the end by the equestrian statues of Constantine and Charlemagne. This portico is so vast that it is said many of our European cathedrals would fit within its area. Five doors corresponding with those of the vestibule lead into the church, the centre portal being Filarete's masterpiece, executed in bronze. The door to the extreme right is the 'Porta Santa,' built up with a partition of marble, which is removed only on the solemn occasions of a jubilee. Through this our readers will remember the Pope first passed, on the inauguration of the present Jubilee, on Christmas Day last.

The first view of the interior of St. Peter's gives an impression that can never be lost or forgotten, but neither can it ever be repeated. It fills the eyes with tears, and oppresses the heart with a sense of absolute and breathless wonderment. It was not merely admiration that took possession of us at the sight, but a strange feeling we cannot analyze; a sensation full of satisfaction would, perhaps, nearest express it—yet a sensation we are powerless to describe. Our first impulse was to walk aside, and gaze silently through the sunlit atmosphere, that seemed laden with a mist of gold, on the glorious lines of arch and roof, that followed on and on to the distant choir. As we passed up the nave and through the arcade of noble arches adorned

¹ The ground plan of St. Peter's represents the form of a Latin cross.

with all that ornament and sacred art could devise, caught glimpses of the side chapels, tombs, and wealth of mosaics on every side, we felt that nothing ever written of St. Peter's could be an exaggeration. As a marvel of beauty, magnitude and magnificence, verily it stands unrivalled amongst the works of human hands.

After the first feeling of wonder is over one is struck with a familiar object which rises before one like the memory of some oft-dreamt dream. It is the great canopy of bronze with its twisted columns resplendant with ornament that overshadows the tomb of the Apostles. From the base of the pillars to the top of the cross that surmounts it this baldachino is one hundred and twenty feet in height. Yet from the vastness of the building, of which it is the central feature, no such idea of size is realized. Beneath the canopy is the Papal Altar, where formerly on great festivals the Pope was wont to celebrate Mass. An oval space in front surrounded by a marble balustrade which supports triple clusters of ever-burning lamps (ninety-three in number) reveals the crypt which encloses the relics of SS. Peter and Paul. This sacred spot is reached by a double flight of marble steps, within the curve of which is Canova's beautiful statue of Pius VI. The Pope is represented in a kneeling posture facing the golden gates of the tomb. We were admitted to descend in parties of ten. As we knelt where so many have longed to kneel, it was difficult for the moment to realize the privilege vouchsafed to us—for had we not reached the very centre of the Christian world—the very heart of Christendom?

When the tribute of our Catholic devotion ended, and after an earnest, resting, lingering gaze on the Apostles' tomb, we ascended to examine somewhat in detail the magnificent Temple of Faith that enshrines their relics and their memories. Beneath the lofty dome we paused. Far above, as in the vault of heaven itself, were the figures of the Evangelists enshrined in glory, while along the frieze beneath, in huge letters of purple-blue mosaic, on a golden ground, ran the words: '*Tu es Petrus et super hanc Petram aedificabo ecclesiam meam et tibi dabo claves regni caelorum.*'

Since we had entered the Cathedral its wonderful proportions had grown upon us. On every side the Latin Cross seemed to have opened out in lengthened beauty, and now we began to realize in some little way the details of that splendour with which the labour of ages, the wealth of kingdoms, the spoils of ancient times, and the proudest inventions of modern magnificence, had combined to enrich the noblest shrine of Christian times. From the 'Confession,' as the great canopy beneath the dome is called, the eye is naturally carried on to the bronze tribune which fills the end of the choir and encloses the Chair of St. Peter, the *sedes* being supported by the colossal figures of the four Doctors of the Church—St. Ambrose, St. Augustine, St. Athanasius, and St. Chrysostom. Beneath the tribune are the altar of the choir and the stalls of the canons and the dignitaries of the Cathedral. On the right is the monument of Urban VII., by Bernini, and at the left the more gorgeous tomb of Paul III., by Gughlielmo della Porta, erected under the supervision of Michael Angelo. On each of the four massive piers supporting the dome are two recesses, the lower containing respectively the statues of St. Helena, St. Veronica, St. Longinus, and St. Andrew. In those above, where the balconies appear, the relics of these saints are preserved. No one under the rank of a canon of St. Peter's is allowed to visit these. In one the head of St. Andrew is enshrined. In another, a portion of the true Cross, and in a third the Spear that pierced the side of our Lord. But, perhaps, the most interesting relic here preserved is the supposed towel of Veronica or the handkerchief presented to our Lord on His way to Calvary.

On proceeding from the tribune along the south side of the church, we meet the tomb of Alexander VIII., and further on that of Alexander VII. Beyond the southern arm of the Latin cross, towards the Clementine chapel, are the tombs of Leo II. and Innocent II. Near the chapel of the Choir is that of Innocent VIII. Above a door opposite this monument is the simple sarcophagus containing the remains of Pius VII. Beyond the chapel of the Presentation is the tomb of Clementine Sobeski Stuart, wife of the

Pretender, who died in Rome, in 1835, and opposite to which are those of 'James III.' and his two sons, by Canova. To English visitors the latter is, in a way, perhaps, the most interesting monument in St. Peter's. Strangely enough, its expense was defrayed by George IV., and, as the epitaph recites, it was erected as a monument 'to the memory of James III., Charles III., and Henry IX., Kings of England.' According to the sympathies of those who read it, the epitaph is read with a smile or a sigh. The Baptistry occupies the last chapel on the south side of St. Peter's, the base of the font being portion of the sarcophagus of the Emperor Otho II.

As we cross the marble pavement—in the floor opposite the centre door of St. Peter's is a disc of porphyry taken from the old cathedral, and on which the Emperors of the Holy Roman Empire were formerly crowned. Kneeling here, Charlemagne was crowned eleven hundred years ago. The first chapel on the northern side of the nave is that of the 'Pieta,' which contains Michael Angelo's earliest work, representing, in purest marble, our Blessed Lady supporting the dead body of her Divine Son. This is the most exquisite piece of sculpture in St. Peter's. In the same chapel is a spiral column ornamented with foliage of most delicate workmanship. It bears an inscription which tells that it was brought from the Temple of Solomon, and that against it our Blessed Lord leaned when He was disputing with the doctors. Between this chapel and that of St. Sebastian is the plain sarcophagus of Innocent XIII., opposite which is the tomb of Christiana, Queen of Sweden. On approaching the third chapel we meet the monument of Innocent XII. and that of the Countess Mathilda of Tuscany. The body of the latter, who was a devoted champion of the Church, was removed to Mantua by Urban VIII. The chapel of the Blessed Sacrament, with its priceless tabernacle of lapis-lazuli, contains the tomb of Sixtus IV. Beyond it are those of Gregory XIII. and Gregory XIV. In the chapel of our Lady, so called from an ancient miraculous image that it contains, is the tomb of Benedict XIV. Close by the right transept is that of Urban VIII., by Bernini. From

this we turn to that of Clement XIII., Canova's great work, considered to be the most magnificent monument in St. Peter's. The kneeling Pope at the top is a marvellous effort of sculpture. The figure of Religion stands at the side of the tomb, holding in her arms a ponderous cross, her brow encircled with gilded rays. The Genius reclining at the foot of the tomb, extinguishing the torch of life, is beautiful; but the lions resting at either side of the bronze portals beneath can never be sufficiently admired. They are faultless, matchless, living lions in repose, surpassing anything the ancients have left or moderns achieved in this branch of art.

Our notes of the monuments of St. Peter's may not close without reference to one which, like a few other objects we have described, is familiar to Catholic eyes; that is, the bronze statue of St. Peter enthroned, which rests at the right-hand side of the nave, close to the north transept. This is an object of wonderful veneration. Hundreds, nay thousands, daily kiss the foot of this holy statue.

As we inspected the various chapels of St. Peter's, we were struck with admiration by the magnificent pictures in mosaic with which they are filled. These are twenty-nine in number, and were copied principally from masterpieces in the Vatican Gallery and other churches in Rome. The Transfiguration of Raphael, and the Miracle of the Blessed Sacrament, and Domenichino's Last Communion of St. Jerome, are the most strikingly beautiful. It is only on the closest inspection, and under the influence of certain rays of light, that we detect that they are not painted, but were wrought, bit by bit, in infinitesimal particles of mosaic. In the left aisle of the church, high up, is a niche reserved for the temporary resting-place of the last Pope until the death of his successor, when they are removed for permanent burial. This custom was, however, departed from in the case of Pius IX., since his remains have long since been removed to the simple tomb, erected according to his will, in the Basilica of San Lorenzo 'outside the walls.'

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Having secured an idea of the interior of St. Peter, we next visited the sacristies, which are entered by a marble door close to the south transept. This *annexe* was erected by Pius VI., in 1765, the cost being, as estimated in our money, £180,000. It consists of three large halls and a corridor, adorned with columns and inscriptions taken from the former cathedral. Opening off the sacristy is the Treasury of St. Peter's, which contains a collection of vestments, church plate, and ornaments, representing gifts to the different Popes from the sovereigns and peoples of the world. Many of the jubilee gifts of Leo XIII. are shown here. The Reliquary, or chamber in which the memorials of the Passion and the relics of many of the saints are preserved, was finally visited. Here, as at the 'Confession,' we were admitted in separate parties. A description of the relics would carry us far beyond the limits of our space, and must be reserved for a special task.

It is impossible to form an idea of the immensity of St. Peter's without ascending to the dome. A broad paved stairway of very gentle incline leads up to it. The roof of St. Peter's is like a little town in itself. Here houses and ranges of workshops for artisans engaged in the constant repairs of the church are erected; but these, as also the eighteen cupolas of the side chapels, are all lost in the immensity of the vast plain.

It is only from this point we can understand the proud boast of Michael Angelo, when he proposed 'to place the Pantheon in mid-air.' Here we can fairly realize the magnitude of the dome, and the rotunda on which it rests. From the roof the ascent to the dome is made by a succession of mural staircases ingeniously constructed, from which passages lead out both upon external and internal galleries. We soon began to have some idea of the immense height we had already gained. Within the dome the mosaic figures of the Evangelists, the symbols, and the cherubs emblazoned on the vaulted ceiling seemed to stare at us in all their gigantic proportions. From the highest gallery beneath the lantern, looking into the abysmal depth of the church below, we could hardly realize that the minute moving forms were human

beings! The last flight by which we ascended is very narrow, sloping inwards (somewhat dizzily) to suit the inclination of the rapidly narrowing curve. Lifted as in mid-air, higher than the flight of birds, we looked out in mute astonishment on the prospect that lay beneath us, and beyond. Rome, old and new, with its ruins, palaces and churches stretched away on every side. The gardens, and the palace of the prisoner Pontiff of the Vatican, lay at our feet. In the distance the beautiful amphitheatre of hills which enclose the Campagna di Roma, and behind them the summits of the loftier Apennines, still crowned with snow, the Tiber in its long sinuous windings through the gloomy plain, and yonder far the blue Mediterranean gleaming in the sunlight, formed such a scene! The gallery is protected by a railing unperceptible from below. From this last stage an iron ladder, almost vertical, leads into the ball of the Cross.

Time now warned us that our visit to St. Peter's must draw to a close. We descended, some of us not a little fatigued, perhaps, from the re-action of our enthusiasm, perhaps from the exertions we had almost imperceptibly gone through, in that memorable forenoon. We passed out into the great vestibule, and from the porch we again looked down and over the great piazza enclasped within those mighty colonnades, curving out like giant arms always open to receive the Children of the Nations who come up to the great Temple—to marvel, to reflect, and to pray.

Once more when we had passed the sparkling fountains and the historic obelisk, we looked back with exultation on the colossal vision, that mighty dream in stone—St. Peter's—and feasted our gaze on the wondrous dome, 'the diadem of the Papacy, suspended between heaven and earth.' Is it not, we thought, truly an emblem of that Institution which we behold ever erect, and immovable midst the passing waves of time, and on which the last sun of humanity will set!

J. B. CULLEN.

ST. PATRICK'S BIRTHPLACE

WE shall now consider Alclyde and Wales under another aspect; and in doing so we derive much light from the writings of St. Patrick. He informs us that his father and grandfather were in Holy Orders; that himself was conversant when young with holy Romanized Catholics (*Romanorum sanctorum*); that he relied on their obedience and zeal in enforcing the excommunication to be launched against the plundering soldiery and their impious King Coroticus. Now it is beyond question that such communities existed in Wales. In proof of it we may point to the well-established hierarchy there. We can mention the bishoprics of Landaff, Lan Padern, Bangor, St. Asaphs, Worcester, and Morgan, besides the Metropolitan See of Caerleon or St. David's.¹ This statement of Geoffrey of Monmouth is confirmed by Venerable Bede. Alluding to the efforts made by St. Augustine to secure the co-operation of the old British bishops for the conversion of the Saxons, Venerable Bede states that there attended at the synod of the 'Oak,' at which St. Augustine presided, seven Welsh bishops.

Now a like state of things was impossible in Dunbarton or Strathclyde. Here was a principality surrounded on the north and west by the pagan Scots and Picts, and on the south and east by the Anglo-Saxon worshippers of Woden. Nor were the Strathclyde Britons themselves less pagan. Jocelyn informs us that Roderick, who was prince of Strathclyde, happened to have been baptized by St. Patrick. He became convinced, whatever may have been the tenor of his own life, that religion would have a most civilizing effect on the Britons of Strathclyde. He, accordingly, invited St. Kentigern or Mungo to evangelize and convert them. To meet and welcome St. Kentigern, who came from Wales Roderick with his people set out from Dunbarton. We

¹ *Geoffrey of Monmouth*, lib. viii., ch. iv.

have the authority of Jocelyn for the statement that Kentigern addressed the Alclyde Britons not as Christians, but as pagans. To use his very words, St. Kentigern undertook to prove to them 'that the idols were dumb, the vain invention of man, fitter for the fire than for worship. He showed that the elements in which they believed as deities were creatures and formations adapted by the disposition of their Maker for the use, help, and assistance of men.' Such is the picture of the Strathclyde Britons given us by the faithful historian. But, lest it may appear overcharged, I would have it reviewed by a Scotch historian, and his verdict on Jocelyn's judgment is as follows:—

In the supposed address which Jocelyn puts into Kentigern's mouth we have, probably, a correct enough representation of the paganism which still clung to the people, and influenced their belief—a sort of cross between their old pagan heathenism and that derived from their pagan neighbours, the Angles.¹

Again: 'There were only very few Christians.'²

That St. Patrick sent a letter to such people is not to be thought of. The idea that they could be relied on for giving effect to excommunication is absurd. Why, even if some of them happened to be guilty of the terrible outrage denounced by St. Patrick, they, as infidels, would be no subjects for excommunication. From Alclyde, then, viewed intellectually and religiously, Coroticus could not have hailed. He came from Wales. In returning from Ireland, laden with the plunder of wealth and human beings, he found a ready sale of his captives among the pagan Scots and Picts. Coroticus and his soldiers, having passed over to the Scottish coast, disposed of the captives along the western isles, and down along Pictish Galloway, on their way to Wales, and thus verified the description by St. Patrick. ('Elongati et deportati sunt in per longa terrarum.')

I might at once have proved the Welsh descent of Coroticus by the testimony of Irish and foreign writers; but I preferred the evidence, however indirect, of Scottish witnesses.

Jocelyn, Abbot of Furness, in his *Life of St. Patrick*,

¹ Skene, vol. ii., p. 191.

² Ch. xi

expressly states¹ that Coroticus came from a certain part at the extremity of Britain, which was latterly called Wales. ('In quibusdam finibus Britanniae quæ modo Wallia dicitur').

Touching the change of name from Cambro-Britain to Wales, we may remark that we have the authority of Gerald Barry for the statement, that the name of *Wales* had been applied by the conquering Anglo-Saxons to the district held by the old Britons, and that of *Welsh*, which signified foreigners, applied to themselves.² They are represented by Taliesen, or rather some one in his name, as singing thus:—

Their Lord they will praise,
Their speech they will keep,
Their land will they lose,
Except wild Wallia.

The writer of the old Life of St. Patrick in the *Book of Armagh* notices the new nomenclature of Wales. The index to one of the chapters to the Life refers to Coroticus equivalently as King of Wales.

Documentary and traditional evidence points to Wales as immediately colonized from Gaul. Giraldus, who attributed the name of Wales to the Anglo-Saxons,³ called the Gallo-Britons wanderers and foreigners, as having come from Gaul. The connection of Wales with Gaul is established either by the supposed Saxon derivation of the name *Waloon*, or by its formation from the Gaulish element *Gallo*, for the letters *g* and *w* were then convertible.⁴

Sometimes in the Gallic compounds the initial letter *g* was

¹ Chap. cl.

² *Descriptio Cambriae*, i., ch. vii.

³ 'Saxones occupato regno Britannico quoniam lingua sua extraneum quemlibet Wallum, et gentes has sibi extraneas Wallenses vocant et inde usque in hodiernum barbara nuncupatione, et homines Wallenses et terra Wallia vocatur.' (*Descrip. Cambriae*.) But see what has been stated with regard to *Gall*. Du Cange, to prove that Walles was used for Walloons (Gallo-Belgians), quotes a distich on St. Louis by Philip Monckes:—

'Adone moru li queni Odaexes
Qui tint quitte Flandres et Walles.'

(*Sub v. Wallus.*)

⁴ Baxter's Glossary: 'Provinciam quæ Wales dicitur Galli per *g* efferunt, Gales appellantes.' (*Sub v. Gallia.*)

altogether omitted. Hence the word *Allobrox* a Piedmontese or Savoyard.¹ The nomenclature, then, recently given to Wales from *Walia* or *Waloons* took the Irish form of *Aloo*. Accordingly the biographer of the old Life of St. Patrick called Coroticus King of Aloo.²

Contemporaneously with the writer of the *Book of Armagh*, the British Nennius in his *History of the Britons*, while deriving Coroticus from a Welsh origin, would attribute the Irish raid to revenge. He states that the Scots or Irish effected a settlement in south Wales, and continued there till they were driven away by Cuneda, the father of Coroticus.³ And in another passage, Nennius, speaking of Mailcun, says that he was a powerful prince among the Britons; that his principality lay in north Wales; for his great grandsire (Atavus), or great grandfather's grandfather, Cunedag, coming from the north one hundred and forty-six years previously, settled in Wales, and expelled, with great slaughter, the Scots thence who never returned. Coroticus was son to Cunedag; now Mailcun was a contemporary of Gildas, who wrote about the year 560, and if from this number we deduct 146 we will be brought to the time of Cuneda's son, Coroticus, who was excommunicated by St. Patrick.

Coming down from the ancient historian of the Britons to modern times, the learned historian of Cardiganshire informs us that Coroticus not only lived there, but gave his name to it.⁴ In this judgment he is followed by the

¹ Du Cange.

² A late President of the Royal Irish Academy, Sir Samuel Ferguson, suggests that *Aloo* is the genitive case of *Ail*, rock; that is, rock of Dunbarton. But *Ail* by itself was never used to signify Alclyde. Moreover, the word *Ail* never took the form of Aloo in any case. Thus we have in the *Annals of Ulster*. 'Anno 658, "mors Guerit regis Alocluaithe;" and in the year 870, "Obsessio Ailecluitho."'

The conjecture of Sir Samuel Ferguson is as groundless as another of his on a kindred subject. He incorrectly tried to spell a Scottish birthplace for St. Patrick out of an evidently wrong reading in a manuscript (Brussels) Life. The Brussels manuscript gives *thabur indecha ut procul*, a corrupt form of *Taberniae haut procul*: yet Sir Samuel made out of the first, the most corrupt, part *decha ut* the Daclenclut about Dunbarton. *Proceedings: Royal Irish Academy*, November, 1884, and January, February, 1885.

³ *Brit. Historia*.

⁴ *History and Antiquities of Cardigan*, by S. R. Meyrick.

profoundly learned Mr. Haddan;¹ and in a short notice of Coroticus, written for Smith's *Biographical Dictionary*, its writer, a learned antiquarian and a Scotchman, had to admit that Coroticus was a Welshman.

Having now established the Welsh origin of Coroticus, we are helped by St. Patrick's letter to him to an important conclusion. The letter was to be read for the soldiers, whom our saint says 'he will not call his citizens nor fellow-citizens of the holy Romanized fellow-citizens, but fellow-citizens of demons.' Here the saint while disowning them clearly implies fellowship with them; and adds that, as they ignore him (*mei non cognoscunt*) by the destruction of his people, they verify the sacred proverb: 'Propheta in patria sua honorem non habet.' These words of the saint clearly prove that the country of Coroticus was his country.

It is suggested by Scotch that fellow-citizenship here may mean only being under a common Roman sway. But on such a wrong view St. Patrick could have made the same complaint against raiders from Mounts Atlas or Taurus, which is absurd; besides, he spoke of a special country as his in the same sense as our Divine Lord spoke of His own country.

The English Martyrology, the renowned Camden, and the *Annals of Wales*² insist on south Wales as the saint's birthplace. Thus the *Book of Armagh* is not alone in connecting St. Patrick, apart from his alleged sister, nephew, and fellow-labourers, with south Wales.

I have now to animadvert briefly on some writings on this subject that have appeared in late issues of the I. E. RECORD. There is nothing strange to me in these writings save the impertinences and errors with which they are interspersed. The bibliographer (he calls his writings a bibliography), after thirteen years of preparation, attacks my position in the I. E. RECORD for February. In opening his attack he at once is guilty of sixteen misrepresentations of me by using the words *Burium* and *Burian*. I never used them, but *Burrium* and *Burrian*; never used *Burium*, as it represents no existing place nor Usktown. In order to the more

¹ *Councils and Eccles. Documents*, vol. ii., p. 314

² *Monumenta* (M. H. B. #30-#31).

clearly understanding the lie of the ground, I may here give the several readings of our saint's birthplace :—

- (a) The Armagh MS. gives Bannavem Taberniae.
- (b) The Bodleian gives Banavem Taberniae.
- (c) The Cottoniana gives Banavem Taberniae.
- (d) The St. Vedast gives Bonaven Taberniae.
- (e) The Brussels gives Ban navem thabur indecha.

By the way, our critic says that the best manuscript is in favour of *Banaven*. Now, none of the five existing manuscript copies of the *Confession* contains *Banaven*! In reference to my reading of the above by *Bona venta Burrii*, our bibliographer states :—

(1) That I change the first part of the reading to *Bona* or *Bene-ven*. Why, I only follow copy (d).

(2) That to introduce a capital letter with *ven* is contrary to manuscript evidence. Why, I have shown from Eusebian recensions in Trinity College, Dublin—after which St. Patrick's writings were most probably modelled—that the use of capitals for common letters was usual, and the *Book of Armagh* gives instances as *temptatio Nem* with others from the *Confession*.

(3) He objects that the letter *t* in *Ta* is opposed to existing evidence. It is not so; for the reading in (e) manuscript gives a small *t*. The same may be seen in *Vita Quarta* (*Trias Thaum*). The *Book of Armagh*, in fact, gives a capital where we would put a common letter, and *vice versa*.

(4) That the most unwarrantable change is that of *berniae* into *Burrii*, not *Burii*, as he says. First of all, I have shown elsewhere, that the final *ae* does not form part of the word *Taberniae*, but, like the *ha* at the ending of the E form, belongs to the next sentence. The intelligible translation of this sentence requires the separation of the *ae*. Now, then, as manuscript (e) justifies the use of *bur* for *ber* we have to account only for *ni* in *burni*. Besides copy (e), the Lives 2, 3, 5, 6, with O'Flaherty, warrant *bur* in the form *Taburni*. The form *bur* is also suggested by *Hurnia*, given by Cardinal Moran from an Irish manuscript as the alleged residence of St. Patrick.

Now, as to the substitution, or mistake, of *n* for *ri*, we

have a striking example of it in Ware, who, followed by Lanigan, mistakes Murin for Munu. He mistook the *n* in Munu for *ri*, and the last *u* for *n*, and thus gives us Murin, quite unknown, for Munu (Fintan). In like manner, two living annotators of the *Book of Armagh* cannot distinguish between *ri* and *n*: one of them ends a word in *pian*, the other in *piari*.¹ The elements for *ri* and *n* are almost identical. There are then manuscript authority, text, and the force of the context in favour of the reading *Burrii*.

The bibliographer objects that '*Venta* as obviously connected with the Welsh word *Gwent* is therefore not a Roman word, and that in composition *Gw* is changed into *w*, as in *Caerwent*.'

(1) The connection of one word with another does not make them the same.

(2) The national Cyclopædia states, under the word *Winchester*, that it was called by the Romans *Venta Belgarum*, subsequently *Witan Coaster*, and then *Winchester* by the Saxons; therefore, *Venta*, as used by the Romans, was a Roman word, and had the power of inflecting *Burrium* as *Belgarum*. Hence too, we have *Venta Icenorum*, and *Venta Silurum*, in south Wales. *Win*, in *Winchester*, is only a corruption of *Venta*, as the other part *chester* is a corruption of *Castrum*, a word used by the Romans.

(3) What has the digamma *gh* mentioned by the bibliographer to do in connection with *Venta*? for this word is not compounded, but simply *Venta* qualified by *Bona*. He appears to argue, by instancing *Caerwent*, that as *Caer* was British *went* should be also. But we have the *Civitas Legionum* represented by *Caerleon*; and though *caer*, the representative of *civitas* be British, it does not follow that the next part *leon* is not Roman: a *pari*, the connection of *Caer* with *went* does not prove that *vent* was British. Furthermore, two different languages may go to form a word. Thus the Irish words *Muman*, *Laigen*, *Ulla* (Munster, Leinster, Ulster), are perfected by the Saxon *ster*. At all events, I have given proof that *Venta*, as being used by the Romans, was a Roman word, notwithstanding the denial

¹ Fol. a. 2, l. 10.

of bibliographer. Finally, if Polydore Virgil and all others be correct in identifying *Caerwent* with the *Venta Silurum* on the Wye, the conclusion of the bibliographer should be not that *Venta* came from the Welsh *went*, but that this was borrowed from the Roman or Romanised *Venta*. *Venta*, used by Roman soldiers or colonists, was rustic Latin, and not incongruous in the mouth of the saint who styled himself *rusticissimus*.

The bibliographer tries to show that a different reading of the *Confession* could be given by *Bona Venta Buri*. He states that in Celtic dialects, British and Irish, the letter *B* is liable to be exchanged for *M*, as in the word Strath-bungo for Strath Mungo, which would give Muri for Buri; that the British called the Antonine Wall *y Mur*, and that thus we would be brought to the Aremuric city where we learn St. Patrick was made captive.

But (1) on what evidence, manuscript or printed, is the *ri* in *Burrii* cut away? (2) The *M* in Mungo or *B* in Bungo, when aspirated, gives the same sound, and thus there was a tendency colloquially to confound the letters with the sounds. It was otherwise with *Venta Burrii*, preserved from corruption in manuscript as if in a cast-iron mould. Moreover, the independent forms *venta*, corrupted into *ventar* or *nentur*, and *Burrii*, corrupted into *Hurni*, as I have shown elsewhere, were not compounds as Strath-bungo. We have evidence that *Bungo* is a corruption of *Mungo*; but there is none that *Burrii* was a corruption of *Muri*, or that this form was ever known up to the present time. (3) *y Mur*, a British word used for the Wall, could not inflect like a Latin word into *Muri*. (4) Even though *Muri* meant the wall, this would not justify the bibliographer in making it signify a city as he states: *Civitas Aremuric*. (5) Or if a wall be equivalent to a city on the borders of Caledonia, how is it reconcilable with his statement to the effect that 'Aramuric was near the Tuscan sea'? And if our writer, instead of servilely copying Dr. Moran, had gone to original manuscripts and to their editor, Colgan, he would have taught him¹ there was no such word as Aremuric, but

¹ Vid. Vita. 5 ta.

armoric (sea-bordering): thus bibliographer who began with assumption ended in absurdity. But we have had enough of this meaningless reading of the *Confession*.

The bibliographer is in error in stating that the first Life by Fiacc, St. Patrick's disciple, must have been written before the year 540, as if he was the author of it. Every scholar knows that, owing to the allusion to the destruction of Tara, the Life could not have been written before the year 570, and, owing to the peculiarities in the Irish, was not written before 700. The scholium on the Life with the new name *Nentur* did not appear till the ninth century.¹

He is in error in stating that about St. Patrick's birthplace *alone* any doubt has been raised, and insists it was always known. But the *Book of Armagh* states there was doubt as to a more striking object—his burial-place: *Ubi sunt ossa ejus nemo novit*.²

He is in error in asserting that 'our ancient Irish records are unanimous in pointing to the *neighbourhood* of Dunbarton as the saint's birthplace.' The first, second, third, fourth, and seventh Lives assure us the birthplace was *in* Nemptur: no Life unless one written so late as in 1185, by a Welshman, placed it *away* from Dunbarton.

He is mistaken in thinking he can 'poison the wells' or frighten me from my position by stating that 'it is discreditable to Irish tradition, scribes, and the Irish nation.' I recognise as truly Irish only those, whether living or dead, who preferred truth to national sentiment.

He is in error in giving the sea between Ireland and Scotland as the sea mentioned by Probus, *Mare Occidentale*, and descriptive of St. Patrick's birthplace.

He is boldly in error in stating there is 'not a single line to produce for the dechristianizing and barbarism of Dunbarton;' for I have produced pages from Skene and Jocelyn to whom he refers us.

I have shown elsewhere by a comparison of the five different MSS. on St. Patrick's birthplace that the admittedly

¹ Skene, *Celtic Scotland*, vol. ii., p. 435.

² Fol. 15 bb.

corrupt reading *Bonaventabur-niae* was originally *Bonauenta Burrii ac*, and have proved to demonstration that out of this was eviscerated the component part, but deformed, *uentur*. The scholiast having glossed this as Alclyde was followed by all the Irish Lives, except Probus, who, following more or less the *Confession*, said our saint was born in Banave, in the Tiburnian region.

During the interval between our saint's *Confession* and the alleged hymn of Fiacc the name of the birthplace got badly copied,¹ and the name of the street resulted in *nentur*: and in times of confusion, when the Danes had invaded our shores, the gloss on the word gave it as equivalent to Alclyde.

Our bibliographer urges that the *cultus* paid to St. Patrick in Kilpatrick and the authority of the Aberdeen Breviary are proof of the Scottish birthplace, and are independent of the scholiast's gloss. These, taken on their merits, I contend, prove nothing to his purpose.

I will consider now, firstly, the grounds for devotion at Kilpatrick; and, secondly, the authority of the Breviary of Aberdeen. The author of the sixth Life thus writes:—

Gormas, who was born blind, heard in sleep a voice which directed him to go and take the hand of Patrick, just baptized, and with it make the sign of the cross on the ground, and that on doing so a fountain would spring up, whose waters, applied to his sightless eyes, would give sight. He made the sign of the cross, the fountain sprung up, and the waters applied gave sight. The illiterate blind man became able to read and write at once . . . The loving devotion of posterity caused an oratory to be built over the well.

The same author, in the year 1185, thus proceeds:—

There is a stone near the fountain and oratory which the inhabitants of the country call St. Patrick's stone, because on it he said the first Mass. Whoever swears falsely, by laying his hands on the rock, makes it exude, but, swearing truthfully leaves the stone dry . . . Let it suffice to have mentioned the miracle, which Bishop Mel testifies to have often witnessed.

¹ 'Post exitum Patricii alumni sui valde ejus libros conscripserunt,'—*(Book of Armagh, fol. 21, C. 2.)*

Why, all the Lives state that our saint was ordained over the Gulf of Naples ; but I suppose he came to Caledonia to say his first Mass !

The *Tripartite Life* tells us that Gormas used Patrick's hand before his baptism, and that the blind man was a priest unable to read, to whom our saint was brought for baptism ; yet we are asked, for the sake of the well, to believe all this ! The Lives give the miracle on the strength of *they say*. If, as stated by the Welsh Jocelyn, Gormas went to have the cross made on the ground by Patrick after his baptism, we must then suppose him to have been at home ; yet we never heard that Patrick's father dwelt on the site of the well.

St. Mel, the reputed nephew of St. Patrick, is adduced as a witness to the miraculously sweating stone. Well, there is not the slightest allusion in any of the Lives of St. Mel to his ever having known anything of the stone or well, or to have been at all in Scotland.

Such historical errors and spurious miracles being deemed insufficient to establish a Scottish birthplace, Jocelyn adds another miracle. It runs thus :—

On a certain promontory, overhanging the eminent city of Nemthor, was a citadel whose ruined walls can still be traced. The lord of the place subjected to a hard service St. Patrick's nurse, whom he had enslaved. She had to sweep daily all the offices of the municipality, and carry away the ordure from the stable. When St. Patrick prayed for her not a trace of the horses' ordure was to be detected there or in the neighbourhood, without any human effort . . . The miracle was not evanescent, for it continued to the present day (an. 1185). The inhabitants of this place and of the neighbourhood attest that, if as many beasts of burden as the place could contain were gathered within the fortification, a particle of ordure from them could not be detected. This famous place, called Dunbarton, cannot be unknown to those anxious to learn of a miracle talked of by the *inhabitants* of the country.

The writer of the above, or rather the voice of the Dunbartonites through him, placed the scene first in a citadel near Nemthor, and ends by changing it to Dunbarton or Nemptor. Now, in attesting to the reality of this wretched imposture, in 1185, could the inhabitants of

Alclyde have believed in an Alclydan birthplace for St. Patrick? Did truth require such discrediting falsehoods? Are we Irish expected to believe them? If we believe them we justly lay ourselves open to the reproach of the Bollandists in their remarks on St. Patrick.¹

The dedication of a holy well in honour of St. Patrick in the valley of the Clyde, as in other countries, may have been before the time of the scholiast; but till his blundering gloss or conjecture on the supposed *nentur* there was no idea of connecting the place with our saint's birthplace.

Secondly, I now deal with the Breviary of Aberdeen. Our bibliographer writes: 'The Breviary informs us that Kilpatrick, near Dunbarton, was the birthplace of St. Patrick. . . . that evidence should be held to decide the question . . . when submitted to the test of comparison with other early sources of information it is found to be so faithful.'

The Aberdeen Breviary now lies before me, and on the question at issue, it appears more valueless than the 'fabulous' Lives. For these had the conjecture of the scholiast as a reason for mentioning Dunbarton, but the first lesson for the 17th March in the Breviary has no authority for stating our saint was *conceived* there. *Dunbartanae conceptus, et in Kilpatrick natus*. All the Irish Lives, knowing no better than the conjecture of the scholiast, give the city of Dunbarton as the birthplace. The Breviary of Aberdeen had not the least authority for making the place of conception different from that of the birth, and this birth to be in Kilpatrick.

But there was this plain reason for honouring Dunbarton, on the one hand, by the conception in that it was the scene of the standing miracle down to the year 1185, about the ordure of the horses, and, on the other hand, for honouring Kilpatrick by the birth in that it was the scene of the miraculous well and sweating stone of perjurers.

We are challenged to submit the Breviary to a comparison with really authentic documents. Very well: it

¹ 'Natio fabulis poetarum facilis ad credendum,' 17th March.

states that Palladius, immediate predecessor of St. Patrick, was sent to Scotland by Pope Celestine, where he died, after having evangelized the country for many years; but the *Book of Armagh* assures us he was sent to Ireland, lived there only for a short time, a year according to the *Lives*, and died in returning immediately to Rome.

The Breviary states that Palladius instructed and baptized Servanus and Ternanus, Scotchmen; and that Servanus was consecrated by Gregory the Great; but St. Gregory did not live till two hundred years after Palladius; and the scholiast on Aengus makes Ternanus not a Scotchman, but an Irishman, or Palladius himself! Thus Scotland, in the words of Skene, is derived of two traditionary apostles.

The Archbishop of St. Andrews had the supposed remains of Palladius disinterred at Fordun, and placed in the year 1494 in a silver shrine;¹ but the Breviary states he died not at Fordun, but at Lanforgund in the Mearns; now Langforgund was not in the Mearns, but in a different diocese in Gowry; furthermore, as stated by Skene, Palladius was never in Fordun or in Langforgund.²

The Breviary (lesson iv.) states that the nation of the Scots in a great measure was converted under Pope Victor (an. 203); but as admitted by Skene, there was not a nation of Scots for hundreds of years subsequently.

The Breviary is at variance not only with historical facts, but with itself; for, while its Calendar calls Palladius apostle of the Scots, its Lesson states they had been principally converted by Marcus and Dionysius (203). And to reconcile the title of apostle in Palladius with the alleged conversion of Scots two hundred years previously, the Breviary, following John de Fordun, travesties the history of the Church, and mischievously plays into the hands of Presbyterianism by stating³ that during two hundred and thirty-three years the supposed Scots had only priests and monks till Palladius came. Who ordained, I wonder, the

¹ Hector Boethius, *Scotch History*, vii., fol. 28.

² *Celtic Scotland*, vol. ii., p. 30.

³ Folio 24b.

priests! No wonder that even Skene asks, what sort of a Church had they between 203 and 431?

On the consecration of St. Patrick, the Breviary is at variance with the *Book of Armagh*, 'the oldest,' as Skene remarks, 'we now possess on St. Patrick.' 'The Breviary of Aberdeen decisive of the question'! Why, the authority of the Breviary on a historical point that turned up a thousand years previously is as unsavoury to the critical sense as the alleged miracle touching the ordure of the horses in Dunbarton.¹

Our bibliographer states:—'When, about eight years ago, excavations were made along the line of the Antonine Wall, I was enabled to see and examine part of them. This may suffice for the present'! This reminds us of a scene in the *Antiquary* by Sir W. Scott. Jonathan Oldbuck prided himself on having a little property rich in Roman remains. He brought a visitor, Mr. Lovel, to admire a sacrificing vessel lately unearthed, with the letters A. D. L. L., which he explained as meaning *Agricola dicavit Libens Lubens*; but the strolling beggar, Ochiltree, came on the scene, and said he saw the letters cut twenty years previously for a rustic bridal party, and meant, in reference to the party, 'Aiken's Drum Lang Ladle.'

In conclusion, the reader will bear in mind that the argument founded on the *Cultus* at Kilpatrick and on the Aberdeen Breviary has been patiently weighed on its own merits. In doing so, I have abstracted from the certain reference to Usk in St. Patrick's *Confession*, and from the evidently corrupt reading *nentur*, the conjectural gloss² on which led to the supposition of a Scottish theory.

But why pursue the subject any further? His 'case appears thrown up by the bibliographer when he says there are points about Emptor, and one or two other words about which we may not be quite certain: we may acquiesce in the limitation of our knowledge.' But everything depends

¹ 'The dates attached to the saints in the Scottish (Aberdeen) Calendar are in the main fictitious.'—(Skene, *Celtic Scotland*.)

² The glossarist on *nentur* states that, on the occasion of St. Patrick's captivity his parents were killed; but the contrary is stated by the saint himself.

on the two or three words of the *Confession*. If his knowledge is limited on these words he had no right to obtrude on the public; and as one of the public I may say he has given me neither light nor guidance. Again, he writes, 'Emptor's explanation is difficult, but the whole question is not of vital importance to those who believe ancient records and traditions (what as to those who repudiate them?); for neither records nor traditions enter into minute particulars such as we could recognise at the present day.' In other words, Scotch traditions are sufficient, *for* they give no satisfactory answer to the inquirer of the present day. The matter is bad, but its handling is worse, because woefully illogical.

Finally, who could believe on the strength of inconsistent statements that St. Augustine went to convert England before his own Rome was converted, or that St. Columba went to the northern Picts while his own Ireland was pagan? Yet, with no better reason, are we asked to believe that St. Patrick, reared on the border line of the northern and southern Picts, left them for the conversion of the Irish, partially 'believing in Christ.' St. Patrick, with other virtues to a sublime degree, possessed well-ordered charity; and if he were born and lived in the midst of the Scotch pagan from Galloway to Caithness, they assuredly had the first claim to the exercise of his well-regulated charity.

SYLVESTER MALONE.

[This controversy must now cease.—Ed. I. E. R.]

THE GOSPELS IN THE EARLY CHURCH

IF the four Gospels had never been written, or if all four had perished, the Catholic Church would still be essentially what she is. The faith of Christ had been widely preached, thousands of Jews and Gentiles had been converted, Christian communities had been established; in a word, the Church was complete in her essential constitution, before the first of the Gospels was produced. And, if any or all of them had perished, the same living voice of the Church that had sufficed for faith and salvation before their composition, would still have remained sufficient; for it has never been proved, and never can be, that Christ meant the written word, whether in the Gospels, or in the whole New Testament, or in the entire Bible, to supersede the living voice of the teaching Church. To the Apostles He had given command: 'Going into the whole world, preach (*κηρύξατε* = announce as heralds) the Gospel to every creature. He that believeth, and is baptized, shall be saved.'¹

Neither here nor in any other part of Scripture is there any intimation that a time was to come when the world was to take its faith, not from preachers, but from the written word. Hence St. Irenæus, writing in the end of the second century, says:—

What if the Apostles had not left us the Scriptures? Would it not still be necessary to follow the tradition which they handed down to those to whom they gave charge of the churches? To which tradition many nations of those barbarians, who believe in Christ, assent, without paper and ink, having salvation written by the Holy Ghost in their hearts, and diligently regarding the ancient tradition, believing in one God, &c.²

I have begun with this thought, not in order to show, against Protestants, the insufficiency of their rule of faith, though it does show this, but having in view the attacks of Rationalists on the Gospels. Rationalists seem to believe

¹ Mark xvi. 15, 16.

² *Contra Hæc.*, iii. 4.

that if they could succeed in destroying the authority of the Gospels, they could get rid of the supernatural, and demolish the foundations of Christianity. In reality, apart from the fact that the Church has accepted and declared the authority of the Gospels, and in this way staked her own authority upon theirs, she is quite independent of them, both in her constitution and her faith. Put them out of sight for the moment, and there still remain to us, from the first century, four Pauline Epistles, namely, the Epistle to the Romans, the two Epistles to the Corinthians, and that to the Galatians, the authenticity of which few even of the Rationalists have been bold enough to question. Now, in these Epistles, the Divinity of Christ, His resurrection from the dead,¹ the necessity of grace as a supernatural means towards the attainment of a supernatural state; in a word, all the fundamental doctrines of Christianity, are clearly and unmistakably put forward as the faith of the Christian Church at the very beginning. And what is true of these Epistles of St. Paul is true also of the writings of the apostolic fathers, some of whom, like St. Clement of Rome, belong to the first century. Hence, even if we abstract from the living voice of the Church, the Gospels are not the only evidences of the Christian faith, and their authority, apart from the fact that the Church has guaranteed it, is not vital to the existence or faith of the Catholic Church.

But if we could afford to dispense with the Gospels, and still maintain our faith intact, Rationalists, on the other hand, cannot afford to accept them. To men who start with a denial of everything supernatural, who scoff at miracle and prophecy, and reject the doctrine of Christ's Divinity, the Gospels are very inconvenient documents. On every page miracle and prophecy are written broad; Christ is miraculously conceived, and born of a virgin; miracles fill the record of His public life; and after His death He rises from the dead, appears on many occasions in His risen body, and in the end ascends in glory, in the sight of His

¹ 1 Cor. xv.

Apostles, into heaven. Hence Rationalists recognise that their views are inconsistent with the Gospels, if the latter are to be regarded as authoritative; and so, apparently without ever asking themselves whether they ought not to reconsider their own position, they set themselves to work, each in his own way, according to his own fancies or predilections, to undermine and destroy the Gospel authority.

I have no intention at present of writing a history of the ever-varying and mutually destructive theories of the leading lights of Rationalism. Such a work would, no doubt, be interesting, and would afford abundant evidence of the frivolous character of most of the reasons on which the various systems are based. But any such work would be altogether foreign to my present purpose. It will be more congenial to me, and more profitable, I believe, to the reader, to briefly classify their errors, and then deal not with individual opinions, but with the classes of error.

The views of Rationalists regarding the origin of the Gospels may all be reduced to two classes. Some deny that the Gospels were or could have been written before the second century. To this class belong Strauss, and all the Mythical school, and also the Tübingen school, headed by Baur. Strauss tells us that the picture of the personality and actions of Christ painted for us in the Gospels was impossible until a sufficient interval after Christ had elapsed for the growth of myths, and such an interval throws the Gospels back to the second century. Baur, too, and his school, though for different reasons, arrive at the same conclusion. Starting with a theory of early Church history, according to which two great hostile sections, Petrines and Paulines, existed in the early Church, Baur contends that only those books are genuine which disclose this hostility, and that with the exception of five books, all the books of the New Testament, the Gospels included, are spurious, and date only from the second century.

To the second class of Rationalists belong all who, while admitting that the Gospels are in some sense genuine, and date from the first century, yet endeavour in one way or another to deny their authority.

I shall endeavour in this article, and in those that may follow, to prove against the first class, that the Gospels are authentic, that they date from the first century, and are the work of Christ's Apostles, as in the case of St. Matthew and St. John, or of disciples of the Apostles, as in the case of St. Mark and St. Luke. Then, against the second class I shall show that the Gospels, being admittedly authentic, possess authority, and claim the assent of any reasonable man. I am not aware that any attempt has hitherto been made by a Catholic writer to treat this question in English; and I consider it important that the attempt should be made, because Rationalists are so bold and confident in their assertions, that the uninitiated reader is in danger of being led to conclude that there is little or no evidence in favour of the Gospels.

That we may begin on firm ground, where there is no room for cavil or question, I shall start with the end of the second century, and then go backward from that date towards Apostolic times. Now, at the end of the second century, Strauss himself admits that the same four Gospels that we receive were everywhere known and recognised in the Church as the genuine works of the Evangelists whose names they bear.

It is certain [he writes] that towards the end of the second century the same four Gospels which we have still are found recognised in the Church, and are repeatedly quoted as the writings of the Apostles, and disciples of the Apostles whose names they bear, by the three most eminent ecclesiastical teachers—Irenæus in Gaul, Clement in Alexandria, and Tertullian in Carthage. There were, indeed, current other Gospels, used not only by heretical parties, but sometimes appealed to by orthodox teachers—a Gospel of the Hebrews and of the Egyptians, a Gospel of Peter, of Bartholomew, of Thomas, of Matthias, of the Twelve Apostles—but the four were at that time, and from that time downwards, considered as the peculiarly trustworthy foundation on which the Christian faith rested.¹

With this admission before us, it is unnecessary to quote from Irenæus, Clement, or Tertullian, to prove that they knew our Gospels, and received them as authentic. But,

¹ *Leben Jesu*, § 10, p. 47.

though I will not delay upon unnecessary quotations, I wish to make a few remarks upon the evidence which these writers afford, that the Gospels were known and recognised not only in their time, but for a considerable time before it.

Irenæus himself, who died in 202 A.D., tells us that he had been a disciple of Polycarp, who had been a disciple of St. John the Evangelist:—

I can recall [says Irenæus] the very place where Polycarp used to sit and teach, his manner of speech, his mode of life, his appearance, the style of his address to the people, his frequent references to St. John, and to others who had seen our Lord; how he used to repeat from memory their discourses, and the things which he had heard from them concerning our Lord, His miracles, and His teaching, and how being instructed himself by those who were eyewitnesses of the life of the Word, there was in all that he said a strict agreement with the Scriptures.¹

Now if, as our adversaries admit, Irenæus knew the Gospels, and regarded them as authentic, does it not follow that Polycarp too, his master, must have known and received them? Can we suppose that Irenæus would accept as the genuine works of Apostles or disciples of the Apostles recent books about which he had never heard from his master Polycarp? And, again, can we suppose Polycarp to have received the Gospel of St. John, if St. John had never spoken of it, and if, as our adversaries would have us believe, it saw the light only in the middle of the second century? 'There are, in fact,' says Dr. Salmon, Provost of Trinity College, in his *Historical Introduction to the New Testament*, 'three links in the chain—St. John, Polycarp, Irenæus; and I do not see how it is possible to dis sever any one of them from the other two.'²

And it is important to note that St. Irenæus not only received the Gospels as the genuine works of those whose names they bear, but that he even accepted, in a very full sense too, their inspiration. There is a passage in his work *Against Heresies*, where he is arguing against those who held that Jesus was at first an ordinary man, who became Christ only when the Holy Ghost descended upon Him in

¹ Epistle to Florinus, Euseb. H. E., v. 20.

² Salmon, fifth edition p. 35.

His baptism. Irenæus argues against them from Matt. i. 18, where the manuscript he was reading seems to have read 'Christ,' not 'Jesus,' nor 'Jesus Christ,' nor 'Christ Jesus.'¹ And his argument supposes his belief in the inspiration of the Scriptures. 'Matthew,' he says, might have said: "Now the generation of Jesus, was in this wise," but the Holy Ghost, foreseeing the depravers of the truth, and guarding beforehand against their fraud, says through Matthew: "Now the generation of Christ was in this wise." It is clear, then, that Irenæus acknowledged not only the authenticity, but also the inspiration of the Gospels. And yet we are asked to believe, because these Gospels tell of miracle and prophecy, in which Rationalists cannot bring themselves to believe, that they are works very little older than Irenæus. Is it conceivable that works produced shortly before his time could have attained so soon to such a position in the Church, that a scholar like Irenæus would not only ascribe them to the Apostles, but found what he evidently regarded as a decisive argument upon their slightest word?

Clement of Alexandria presided over the catechetical school of that city, then one of the most literary cities in the world, from the years 192-202. As I have already remarked, nobody denies that Clement knew and received the four Gospels. But what I want to emphasize is, that Clement, like Irenæus, witnesses not only for his own time, but for an earlier period. He tells us that he had studied under masters of many nationalities both of the East and the West.

And these men [he continues] preserving the true tradition of the blessed teaching directly from Peter and James, from John and Paul, the holy Apostles, son receiving it from father (but few are they who are like their fathers), came by God's providence even to us, to deposit among us these seeds (of truth) which were derived from their ancestors and the Apostles.²

Hence we are justified in concluding that Clement's views regarding the Gospels represented the true tradition of the blessed teaching preserved directly from the Apostles.

¹ The Latin Vulgate has: 'Generatio autem Christi sic erat,' but the weight of ancient authority is in favour of the reading *Jesu Christi*.

² Stromata, i. l. 11.

Again, as Dr. Salmon points out :—

When we compare the quotations of Clement and Irenæus, a new phenomenon presents itself, which throws back the date of the Gospels still further behind their own times. We become aware of the existence of various readings. In fact, in some of the texts, where the reading is now controverted, there are second century witnesses on opposite sides. And the general type of the text in use in Alexandria was different from that in use in the West. Thus you see that the Gospels were not only in existence at the end of the second century, but that they had by that time been copied and recopied so often, that errors from transcription and otherwise had time to creep in, and different families of texts to establish themselves.¹

The same sort of evidence is derivable from the writings of Tertullian. His own acceptance of the Gospels is not questioned, and cannot be. But his writings, moreover, prove that they had been accepted and translated into Latin long before. Thus he finds fault with the Latin rendering of the first verse of St. John's Gospel that was current in Africa in his time. He would prefer the rendering, 'In principio erat ratio, et ratio erat apud Deum, et Deus erat ratio,' substituting in each case the word *ratio* for the word *sermo*, which was in use in the current rendering.² Yet so strong was the force of usage that in the same work (ch. xx.) he quotes the opening verse of the fourth Gospel in the very form to which as a critic he took objection. The same thing is met with in other parts of his works. It follows, then, that in the time of Tertullian, and the period of his literary activity lasted from about 197 to 230, that a definite and stereotyped rendering of the Gospels into Latin was already current in Africa. Now, even if we admit, with Zahn, that Tertullian does not speak of a written Latin version, but only of the oral interpretation usually adopted in the liturgical assemblies, still it follows that the Gospels must have been known for a considerable time in Africa, else he could not speak of a usage of translating in a certain

¹ Salmon, p. 37.

² *Adversus Prax*, ch. v. 'Jam in usu est nostrorum, per simplicitatem interpretationis *Sermonem* dicere in *primordio apud Deum fuisse cum majis rationem* competat antiquiorem haberi.'

way, a usage too so fixed and consecrated that he follows it even when he disapproves of it.

From the evidence of Irenæus, Clement, and Tertullian, therefore, it follows that the Gospels must have been well known in the Church, and received as authentic, not only at the end of the second century, but for a considerable time before. And these witnesses, be it noted, speak for portions of the Church wide apart. Indeed, if we take into account the Asiatic origin and education under Polycarp of Irenæus, and his residence in Gaul, the cosmopolitan character of the education of Clement, and the wide reading of Tertullian, we are justified in concluding that these three witnesses, of themselves, prove that, considerably before the end of the second century, the four Gospels were received as the genuine writings of the Evangelists whose names they bear everywhere throughout the whole Christian world. To unprejudiced minds this evidence in itself might well suffice to settle the question. The authenticity of many of the classics is not so well attested, and yet nobody questions their genuineness. The first six books of the Annals of Tacitus are known only through one manuscript that first saw the light in the fifteenth century. The Roman History of Paterculus is known only through a single manuscript, and that too a very corrupt one, and the work is not referred to before the time of Priscian, a grammarian of the sixth century, and yet no one doubts its genuineness. Cicero and Horace quote the plays of Terence as his; and though they lived a hundred years after him, their evidence as to the authenticity of the plays is deemed sufficient. And if in ages to come it were proved that we, at the end of the nineteenth century are unanimous in describing the *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* to Gibbon, or *Ivanhoe* to Scott, this evidence, even if there were no other, would probably suffice to satisfy every reasonable mind.

From what I have been saying, however, it is not to be inferred that we have no earlier evidence in favour of the Gospels than that derived from the writings of Irenæus, Clement, and Tertullian. I hope to show that we have much valuable evidence at considerably earlier periods.

The next witness to which I will appeal in favour of the Gospels is a document commonly known as the Muratorian Fragment. It was discovered in the Ambrosian library at Milan, and first published in 1740, by the Catholic scholar Muratori. It is interesting to know that the manuscript, which in the opinion of experts belongs to the seventh or eighth century, was brought to Milan from the old Irish monastery of Bobbio founded by St. Columbanus. Westcott, who examined the manuscript, says that it contains a miscellaneous collection of Latin fragments, including passages from Eucherius, Ambrose, translations from Chrysostom, and brief expositions of the Catholic Creed. But its special interest lies in the fact that it contains the earliest known attempt to give a list or catalogue of the New Testament Books that were received as genuine. According to the common opinion, the list of which the existing manuscript contains a copy, was drawn up about 170 A.D., and is therefore an earlier witness in favour of the Gospels than those with which we have dealt. The evidence for its date is derived from the Fragment itself, for it refers to the Pontificate of Pope Pius I., as very recent. Now though there is some difficulty as to the exact dates, it is certain that Pius reigned not later than from 142 to 157; and the question is, how long after his time would a writer be likely to refer to his times as very recent.¹ I believe we ought to conclude that it was within twenty years, perhaps much less. For it is to be noted that the writer not only refers to the times of Pope Pius as *very recent*, but he also adds *in our own times*.

Now this document, drawn up about 170, perhaps 160 A.D., and representing the faith of some portion of the Church, most probably the Church of Rome, at the time, affords indisputable evidence that the four Gospels were then not only regarded as authentic, but held to be inspired. It is true that only two of the Gospels, those of SS. Luke and John, are mentioned, but it is admitted

¹ 'Pastorem vero nuperrime temporibus nostris in urbe roma herma conscripsit, sedente (in) cathedra urbis romae ecclesiae Pio eps, fratre ejus.'

on all hands that in the original the opening, which had apparently perished when the existing manuscript was copied, contained reference to SS. Matthew and Mark. Indeed this cannot be denied, for the Gospel of St. Luke is referred to as the *third*, and the Gospel of St. John as the *fourth*. The whole fragment is very interesting, but I must content myself with giving here those parts of it that bear upon our present subject. It will be noted that the Latin is corrupt; I may add that it seems almost certain that the present Latin text is a translation, by one who lacked even a schoolboy knowledge of Latin, from a Greek original. The following, then, is the text that concerns us at present, after the facsimile published by Tregelles:—

quibus tamen interfuit et ita posuit.

Tertio (tertium)¹ Evangelii librum secundo (secundum) Lucan.

Lucas iste medicus post acensum (ascensum) $\overline{\text{XPI}}$,
Cum eo (eum) Paulus quasi ut juris studiosum

- 5 Secundum adsumsisset, numeni (nomine) suo
ex opinione concribset (conscripsit); dum tamen nec Ipse
dvidit (vidit) in carne, et idē prout assequi potuit:
ita et ad (ab) nativitate Iohannis incipet (inceptit) dicere.
Quarti Evangeliorum Iohannis ex decipolis (discipulis).
- 10 Cohortantibus condescipulis et eps suis
dixit: conjejunate mihi odie (hodie) triduo (triduum), et
quid cuique fuerit revelatum, alterutrum
nobis enarremus. Eadem nocte reve-
latum andreae ex apostolis, ut recognis-
- 15 centibus (recognoscentibus) cuntis (cunctis) Iohannis
(Joannes) suo nomine
cunta (cuncta) describret (describeret) et ideo licit (licet)
varia sin-
culis (singulis) evangeliorum libris principia
doceantur, Nihil tamen differt creden-
tium fidei, cum uno ac principali spu de-
clarata sint in omnibus omnia, de nativi-
tate, de passione, de resurrectione,
de conversatione cum decipulis (discipulis) suis,
ac de gemino ejus advento (adventu),
Primo In humilitate dispectus (despectus), quod fo-

¹The bracketed words are not in the manuscript, but are corrections suggested by Cornely.

- 25 tu (fuit), secundum potestate regali pre-
clarum quod foturum (futurum) est. quid ergo
mirum, si Iohannes tam constanter
sincula (singula) etiā In epistulis suis proferat
dicens in semeipsu : Quae vidimus oculis
30 nostris et auribus audivibus et manus
nostrae palpaverunt, haec scripsimus vobis ;
Sic enim non solum visurem (visorem), sed et auditorem,
sed et scriptorē omnium mirabiliū dui per ordi-
nem profetetur (profitetur). Acta autē omniū apostolorum
. Pastorem vero
nuperrim et (nuperrime) temporibus nostris In urbe
75 roma herma conscripsit, sedente (in) cathe-
tra (cathedra) urbis romae ecclesiae Pio eps, frater
(episcopo fratre)
ejus ; et ideo legi eum quidem Oportet, se pu-
blicare (publicare) vero in ecclesia populo Neque inter
profetas (prophetarum) completum numero (numerus)
neque Inter
80 apostolos In finē temporum potest.

This is not the place to enter into a critical examination of the peculiarities of this ancient Fragment.¹ It may be useful, however, to direct the reader's attention to the character of the evidence it furnishes in favour of the Gospels. Not only do the second and ninth lines refer to St. Luke and St. John as the authors of the third and fourth Gospels respectively, but the passage contained in lines 16-26 declares that the various accounts of the Nativity, Passion, and Resurrection of our Lord—in a word, the various Gospels—were all written under the guidance of the same Spirit ; so that, though different subjects (*principia*, probably the same as *στοίχεῖα*, heads of doctrine) may be treated of in the different Gospels, this matters nothing to the faith of believers, since, in reality, *all proceed from the same Divine Spirit*. It would be hard to express more clearly belief in the inspiration of our four Gospels than it is expressed here. The last lines that I

¹ Those who desire to do so for themselves will find much valuable help in Cornely's *Introd.*, vol. i., pp. 168-173 ; in Westcott's *Canon of the New Testament*, Appendix C ; and in Dr. Tregelles' work on the subject (Oxford, 1867).

have quoted, 73-80, are deserving of note too, not only because they serve to fix the date of the Fragment, but also because they show how the early Church would have regarded later works, such as our adversaries hold the Gospels to be. It would seem that there was a disposition on the part of some to set the Pastor, or Shepherd of Hermas on the same level with the writings of the New Testament. Against these the Fragment declares that it is a recent work, and, *therefore*, though it may be read for edification, it can never, till the end of time, be publicly received in the Church, whether among the prophets, whose number was already complete, or among the Apostles; that is, neither in the Old Testament nor in the New.

The next witness that I will cite is Tatian the Assyrian. Tatian was at first a pagan, then a Christian and a disciple of Justin Martyr, and, lastly, a heretic. It is generally held that his works were written during the third quarter of the second century. Now, Tatian, among other works, composed a *Harmony of the Four Gospels*, or rather a compilation based upon them. Eusebius refers to the work: 'Tatian,' he says, 'the former leader of the Encratites, having put together, in some strange fashion, a combination and collection of the Gospels, gave this the name of the *Diatessaron*, and the work is still partially current.'¹ From the way in which Eusebius speaks it is plain that he considered the *Diatessaron* (διὰ τεσσάρων, the Gospel by the four) to be based on the four Gospels received in his time; and these, I need hardly add, were unquestionably the same four that we have now. Till recently the work of Tatian was known only through a commentary on it by St. Ephrem; but in 1883 an Arabic translation of the original work, which was in Syriac, was discovered in the Vatican Library by Father Ciasca, O.S.A. This, together with a Latin translation of it, was published by Father Ciasca, in 1888, as a present for the jubilee of our Holy Father Leo XIII. As I have already indicated, the work is an attempt to compile a life of our Lord from the

¹ *Ecc. Hist.*, iv. 29

four Gospels. It begins with the prologue of St. John's Gospel regarding the Word's eternity; then takes up the first chapter of St. Luke; and so passes freely from one Gospel to another, evidently regarding all four as of the same authority, and recognising no other. It is worthy of note, too, that it makes use of a part of the last chapter of St. John's Gospel, the genuineness of which has, in modern times, been called into special question. Thus Tatian's evidence in favour of our Gospels, notwithstanding some omissions, is complete and unassailable.¹

From Tatian I go back to his master, St. Justin Martyr. If the disciple was familiar with our four Gospels, we may expect to find that the master also knew and used them. Justin was of Greek origin, but he was reared in Palestine, in the Roman colony of Flavia Neapolis, near the site of the ancient Sichem, in Samaria. Of the many writings attributed to him, three are admitted by all to be undoubtedly genuine—the two Apologies, and the Dialogue with the Jew, Tryphon. All these were written probably not later than the year 150. After a careful examination of all the evidence, Dr. Hort concludes that—

We may, without fear of considerable error, set down Justin's first Apology to 145, or, better still, to 146, and his death to 148. The second Apology, if really separate from the first, will then fall in 146 or 147, and the Dialogue with Tryphon about the same time.²

Now, let us inquire what evidence these three works, written before the middle of the second century, afford in favour of our four Gospels. I shall begin by stating what all, even the most advanced Rationalists, admit.

In the first place, Justin knew the substance of our Gospels, wherever he may have found it, for he refers to all the chief incidents of our Lord's life, and to most of His discourses, at least as recorded in the Synoptic Gospels. In the second place, he tells us that he had written sources on

¹ Harnack, in his *History of Dogma*, vol. ii., p. 42, says: 'He (Tatian) was the first in whom we find the Gospel of St. John alongside of the Synoptists, and these four the only ones recognised.'

² *Journal of Class. and Sac. Philology*, iii. 139.

which he relied in his accounts of our Lord's life. In the third place, he calls these written sources: The Memoirs of the Apostles (τὰ ἀπομνημονεύματα τῶν ἀποστόλων),¹ and says that they were written by Apostles and by those who followed them: a description which suits exactly our four Gospels, two of which were written by the Apostles Matthew and John, and two by the disciples Mark and Luke. In the fourth place, he tells us that these Memoirs of the Apostles were read on Sundays in the liturgical assemblies of Christians:—

And on the day called Sunday (τῇ τοῦ Ἡλίου λεγομένη ἡμέρᾳ), he says, all who live in cities or in the country gather together to one place, and the Memoirs of the Apostles or the writings of the prophets are read as long as time permits; then, when the reader has ceased, he that presides verbally instructs and exhorts to the imitation of these good things.²

Now, surely, we are entitled to ask what became of the Memoirs of the Apostles, which were honoured side by side with the Prophets of the Old Testament in the days of Justin, if they are not the same Gospels that were everywhere known and recognised less than fifty years after, in the days of Irenæus, Clement, and Tertullian? If they were different what became of them? Can there be any reasonable doubt that they were our present four Gospels, seeing that these were, as we have shown, everywhere received and honoured in the Church in less than fifty years afterwards? Lastly, let me give an idea of the extent to which Justin was acquainted with the substance of our Gospels. I will do so by quoting the exhaustive summary of Westcott, regarding our Lord's infancy and the last days of His life:—

He [Justin] tells us. that Christ was descended from Abraham through Jacob, Judah, Phares, Jesse, and David: that the angel Gabriel was sent to foretell His birth to the Virgin Mary: that this was a fulfilment of the prophecy of Isaiah (vii. 14): that Joseph was forbidden in a vision to put away his espoused wife, when he was so minded: that our Saviour's birth at Bethlehem

¹ Ap. I., chaps. 66, 67; Dial. chaps 100, 101, 103, 104, &c.

² Ap. I., ch. 67.

had been foretold by Micah : that His parents went thither from Nazareth, where they dwelt, in consequence of the enrolment under Cyrenius : that as they could not find a lodging in the village they lodged in a cave close by it, where Christ was born, and laid by Mary in a manger : that while there wise men from Arabia, guided by a star, worshipped Him, and offered Him gold, and frankincense, and myrrh, and by revelation were commanded not to return to Herod, to whom they had first come : that He was called Jesus as the Saviour of His people : that by the command of God, His parents fled with Him to Egypt, for fear of Herod, and remained there till Archelaus succeeded him : that Herod being deceived by the wise men commanded the children of Bethlehem to be put to death, so that the prophecy of Jeremiah was fulfilled, who spoke of Rachel weeping for her children : that Jesus grew after the common manner of men, working as a carpenter, and so waited in obscurity thirty years, more or less, till the coming of John the Baptist. . . .

Then he narrates Christ's triumphal entry into Jerusalem from Bethphage, as a fulfilment of prophecy ; the (second) cleansing of the Temple ; the conspiracy against Him ; the singing of the Psalm afterwards ; the Agony at night on the Mount of Olives, at which three of His disciples were present ; the prayer ; the bloody sweat ; the arrest ; the flight of the Apostles ; the silence before Pilate ; the remand to Herod ; the Crucifixion ; the division of Christ's raiment by lot ; the signs and words of mockery of the bystanders ; the cry of sorrow ; the last words of resignation ; the burial on the evening of the day of the Passion ; the resurrection on Sunday ; the appearance to the Apostles and disciples, how Christ opened to them the Scriptures ; the calumnies of the Jews ; the commission to the Apostles ; the ascension.¹

This summary, I hope, proves abundantly that the sources used by Justin told substantially the same story that is told in our four Gospels ; equally implied a belief in the supernatural ; and were therefore equally incompatible with the views of Rationalists.

J. MACRORY, D.D.

To be continued.

¹ Westc., *Canon of the New Testament*, 7th ed., pp. 104, 105, 107.

Notes and Queries

THEOLOGY

INTERPRETATION OF FACULTY TO DISPENSE.

REV. DEAR SIR,—Will you kindly reply to the following question in an early issue of the I. E. RECORD, and so help to settle a dispute among certain theologians and canonists of whom your humble servant is one. When a bishop gives ‘to all the confessors of his diocese’ the faculty or privilege of granting certain dispensations, can priests use this faculty in the tribunal of penance only, or can they use it outside the tribunal?

A MUNSTER PRIEST.

A faculty to dispense granted by a bishop to the confessors of his diocese may, we think, be used outside the tribunal of penance. For in the first place the natural interpretation of the bishop’s words is that, by the expression ‘confessors’ or ‘approved confessors’ of his diocese, he merely wishes to define the class of persons to whom he grants the faculty to dispense. Now a priest who habitually has the faculties of a diocese is a ‘confessor’ or ‘approved confessor’ of that diocese, even when he is not actually engaged in hearing confessions. It follows, therefore, from the terms of the bishop’s concession that such a priest can exercise the faculty to dispense outside the tribunal of Penance.

But, moreover, it is an accepted principle of Canon Law, that a *general* faculty to dispense—as distinct from the dispensation itself or from the faculty to dispense in a particular case—is *latae interpretationis*. So that, even though it may be contended that by the expression ‘confessor’ or ‘approved confessor,’ the bishop seems to have had in mind to grant the faculty to dispense to priests only while in the actual exercise of their jurisdiction in the Sacrament of Penance, it must be admitted, we think, that the interpretation given above is, in the absence of evidence to the contrary, also reasonable and admissible. If so, seeing that the faculty is *latae interpretationis*, we may still hold that a priest can exercise his dispensing faculty outside the tribunal of Penance.

It will, perhaps, be sufficient to quote Marc's opinion in support of our response: 'Potestas dispensandi,' he writes, 'etiam delegata cum sit bono publico favorabilis late interpretanda est' (vol. i., n. 242). Again, 'Qui habet privilegium *pro foro Poenitentiae* . . . valde probabiliter eo uti potest etiam, *extra Sacramentum* etiamsi facultas concepta esset his terminis "sacerdoti confessario." Haec enim verba stricte denotant sacerdotem pro confessione approbatum non autem audientem confessiones' (n. 251).

ARE THE CHILDREN OF HERETICS IRREGULAR?

REV. DEAR SIR,—Does the son of a Protestant in Ireland require a dispensation from his bishop in order to receive Holy Orders? Is the same true of more distant descendants of Protestant parents?

CONVERSUS.

1. Heresy entails an irregularity not only on heretics themselves, but also within certain limits on their descendants. Moreover, the irregularity arises for children, even though only one of the parents be a heretic.

2. The irregularity ceases for children if the heretical parent be converted.

3. If the father be a heretic the irregularity extends to children and grandchildren; if the mother only be a heretic, to children only.

4. Heretics in this connection are those who have been born in a heretical or schismatical sect, and those who have left the Catholic Church and joined such a sect;¹ also, heretics, who having been personally excommunicated and denounced, fail to make their submission within a year.

5. All such persons and their descendants, with the limits above stated, are prohibited from receiving not merely Holy Orders but minor orders, and even tonsure.

6. Bishops cannot, unless in virtue of special faculties, give a dispensation in this irregularity.

7. A dispensation is necessary, even in this and other such countries where heresy widely prevails.

D. MANNIX.

¹ Children born before the apostacy of their parents do not become irregular by reason of that apostacy.

DOCUMENTS

LETTER OF POPE LEO XIII. TO THE ABBOT OF MONTE
CASSINO

LEO XIII. BENEDICTINOS NIGROS LAUDAT, DATQUE 25000 LIB. ITAL.
PRO EXORNANDO S. BENEDICTI SEPULCHRO. EPISTOLA DILECTO
FILIO BONIFACIO M. KRUG ABBATI CASSINENSI

LEO PP. XIII.

DILECTE FILI, SALUTEM ET APOSTOLICAM BENEDICTIONEM

MONACHORUM coetus, qui nomen a Benedicto auctore unaque cum sanctissimis legibus miram, in hominum utilitatem, agendi perpetiendique vim mutuavit; is plane est, qui diuturno saeculorum spatio optime de religione veraque humanitate est meritus. Quam nos laudum praeteritarum gloriam reputantes certumque habentes eadem ex Benedictinorum opera, aetati nostrae commoda comparari posse, quam sunt prioribus allata; eos peculiari caritate amplexi, antiquae amplitudini restituendos suscepimus, neque ideo patrono alio uti fruique, quam Nobis ipsis volumus. Quum autem veteris dignitatis memoriam repetimus, convertitur sponte animus ad Cassinense Coenobium; ubi Ordo vester maxime floruit totque insignes viri in publicae religiosaeque rei utilitatem formati sunt. Quam ob causam decere visum est, ut qui argumentis aliis voluntatem Nostram in Benedictinos sodales, pontificia largitate, testati sumus; aliquod in Cassinensi Coenobio caritatis Nostrae monumentum extare decerneremus. Cum igitur comperissemus eo nunc curas vestras animosque intentos ut cellam ac tumulum, quae sancti Conditoris vestri exuviis honestantur, splendidiore cultu exornetis; placet in eam rem symbolam quoque Nostram conferre. Damus ergo adtribuimus XXV millia nummum libellarum italicarum: eamque summam ad vos tradidimus preferendam dilecto Filio Nostro Francisco Satolli S.R.E. Cardinali, cuius religionem in sepulcrum Benedicti patris factis probatam non ignoramus. Ex auctis vero sancto Conditori vestro honoribus id plane futurum confidimus, ut exempla eius ac documenta egregia id dies magis ad commune bonum apud alumnos valeant vigeantque. Idque ut cedat divinorum munerum ubertas faxit; quorum auspiciem esse volumus Apostolicam benedictionem, quam

tibi, dilecte fili, monachis Cassinatibus universoque Ordini amantissime in Domino impertimus.

Datum Romae apud S. Petrum die ix Martii MDCCCXVIII, Pontificatus Nostri anno vicesimo primo.

LEO PP. XIII.

**LETTER OF POPE LEO XIII. TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE
SOCIETY FOR THE PROPAGATION OF THE FAITH**

EPISTOLA DILECTIS FILIIS PRAESIDIBUS COMITATUUM OPERIS A
PROPAGATIONE FIDEI. LUGDUNI ET PARISIIS

LEO PP XIII.

DILECTI FILII, SALUTEM ET APOSTOLICAM BENEDICTIONEM

Ad venerandas insignesque Orientis Ecclesias vix dum, Deo Nobis provide praebente initia, animum adhibuimus, strenuos vos adiutores consilii Nostri experti sumus, praesidiis, quae ad apostolicas alendas Missiones undique conferuntur, large satis in Orientalium utilitatem derivatis. Voluntatem hanc vestram utpote quae Nobis grata cumque votis Nostris coniuncta, frequenti quidem meritaque commendatione prosequuti libenter sumus. Eam autem non imminutam profecto, quin immo auctam vestrae nuper litterae demonstraverunt, Nobis quam quae maxime acceptae. Iis namque nuntiabatis, largius catholicorum liberalitate in Institutum vestrum influente, copiosiore vos Nobis in Orientalium emolumentum hoc anno subministrare opem, largioremque adhuc futuro tempore subministraturos, si spem, quam de fidelium liberalitate coepistis, non fallat exitus. Id vobis ut cedat vehementer optamus, nimium enim refert ut ea praestentur quae orientalium bono ecclesiarum constituimus. Habetote igitur grati benevolentisque a Nobis animi testimonium. Divinarum autem gratiarum auspex sit Apostolica benedictio, quam vobis, dilecti filii, et comitatibus, quibus praeestis amantissime in Domino impertimus.

Datum Romae apud S. Petrum die xxi Martii MDCCCXVIII, Pontificatus Nostri anno vicesimo primo.

LEO PP. XIII.

**BEATIFICATION AND CANONIZATION OF THE VENERABLE
CAESARE SPORTELLI, C.S.S.R.**

DECRETUM NUCERINA PAGANORUM BEATIFICATIONIS ET CANONIZATIONIS VEN. SERVI DEI CAESARIS SPORTELLI SACERDOTIS PROFESSI E CONGREGATIONE SSMI REDEMPTORIS

Sancto et Apostolico viro Alphonso Mariae de Ligorio quem cum sua religiosa familia in Ecclesiae praesidium et incrementum Deus Optimus Maximus opportuno tempore excitavit, praecipuum adiutorem atque alterum veluti auctorem Congregationis Ssmi. Redemptoris divina Providentia adiunxit Servum Dei P. Caesarem Sportelli. Hic, die 19 Iunii anno 1701 Mola Bariensi natus ex piis honestisque parentibus Bernardino et Barbara Pavia, inde a pueritia mitem et ad sacra proclivem praetulit indolem. Annum decimum sextum aetatis agens Neapoli humanioribus et severioribus disciplinis sedulam dedit operam laude et praemio pluries cohonestatem. Eximii sacerdotis Falcoia e Piis Operariis, postea Episcopi Stabiensis, usus est consilio, cuius etiam regimini in spiritualibus se totum subiecit. Emenso utriusque iuris curriculo, inter Doctores et Advocatos Neapolitanae Curiae relatus est; atque in agendis causis egenorum rationes libentius suscipiebat tuendas opera et impensis suis. Erudiendis educandisque puellis prospicere cupiens, a sua genitrice adiutus Institutum Piarum Magistrarum Roma Neapolim deduxit. Adhuc laicus quasi angelus consolator publica valetudinaria frequenter adibat, et suae pietati indulgens plures horas in templo coram Ssmo. Eucharistiae Sacramento vel ante Deiparae Virginis imaginem devote insumebat. Meliora aemulatus charismata, persequi statuit vestigia Beati Alphonsi de Ligorio qui forensi curia relicta et clericali militiae adscriptus iam prima Congregationis Ssmi. Redemptoris iecerat fundamenta. Eidem libentissime se dedit comitem anno aetatis suae trigesimosecundo, atque in eius fide iugiter mansit, peculiarem finem pro viribus tuendo novae Congregationi a legifero patre praestitutum, sacrarum missionum. Sacerdotio insignitus a praelaudato Falcoia, qui ad Episcopalem sedem Stabiensem iam fuerat evectus, iisdem sacris missionibus constanter adlaboravit. Hisce aliisque inspectis, ipsomet S. Alphonso imperante plurium domorum rector et universae Congregationis a consiliis fuit. Tandem infirmitatibus et laboribus fractus, imminentem obitum praesentiens, extrema Ecclesiae sacramenta recepit, atque elatis in caelum oculis piissimam animam Deo reddidit die 19 Aprilis anno 1750 in Festo Patro-

cinii S. Ioseph Sponsi B. M. V. Eius sanctitatis fama in vita et post mortem celebrata atque in dies magis clara et perdurans pluribus confirmata est attestationibus tum iudicialibus per Ordinarium Processum Nucerinum Paganorum super ea constructum, tum extraiudicialibus per litteras postulatorias complurium Rmorum. Archiepiscoporum et Episcoporum, cleri et populi Nucerini, atque ipsius Rmi. P. Matthiae Raus, Rectoris Maioris Instituti Ssmi. Redemptoris, de Causa beatificationis et canonizationis huius Servi Dei rite introducenda. Quibus omnibus a Rmo. P. Claudio Benedetti eiusdem Instituti Postulatore Generali ad Sacram Rituum Congregationem delatis, Emus. et Rmus. Dnus. Cardinalis Hieronymus Gotti huius Causae Relator, in Ordinariis Comitibus subsignata die ad Vaticanum habitis, sequens dubium discutiendum proposuit: 'An sit signanda Commissio Introductionis Causae in casu et ad effectum de quo agitur?' Porro Emi. et Rmi. Patres Sacris tuendis Ritibus praepositi, omnibus mature perpensis, auditoque voce et scripto R. P. D. Ioanne Baptista Lugari Sanctae Fidei Promotore, rescribendum censuerunt: 'Affirmative seu Commissionem esse signandam, si Sanctissimo placuerit.' Die 28 Novembris 1899.

Facta postmodum de his Sanctissimo Domino Nostro Leoni Papae XIII per infrascriptum Cardinalem Sacrae Rituum Congregationi Praefectum relatione, Sanctitas Sua Rescriptum Sacrae ipsius Congregationis ratum habens, propria manu signare dignata est Commissionem Introductionis Causae Venerabilis Servi Dei Caesaris Sportelli, sacerdotis professi e Congregatione Ssmi. Redemptoris, die quarta Decembris eodem anno.

C. Ep. Praenestinus Card. MAZZELLA, *S. R. C. Praefectus*.
L. ✕ S.

DIOMEDES PANICI, *S. R. C. Secretarius*.

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

A UNIVERSITY FOR CATHOLICS, IN RELATION TO THE MATERIAL INTERESTS OF IRELAND. By Edward Thomas, Bishop of Limerick. Dublin: Catholic Truth Society of Ireland, 2, Lower Abbey-street. Price 6d.

THIS first pamphlet of the 'Catholic Truth Society of Ireland' gives us more hope for the settlement of the University question than all the debates in Parliament that have taken place during the past five years. The Bishop of Limerick has brought home to the door of every Irish homestead the conviction of injustice and wrong from which the whole country suffers. He has made clear what had hitherto been only dimly seen by the masses, that the University question is a practical question for every farmer, every shopkeeper, every artisan and labourer in Ireland.

As the pamphlet has only just come into our hands, we can not do more than express our appreciation of the great and practical service Dr. O'Dwyer has rendered to the cause of faith and fatherland by this simple and popular statement of Ireland's grievance. We trust that the pamphlet will be scattered broadcast through the country, and that it will find its way into every home in the land. When the first edition is exhausted, as no doubt it will be very soon, we trust that the 'Catholic Truth Society' will find it possible to issue it for half, or even less than half, its present price. The Society has made a good beginning, and deserves to be congratulated on this first result of its zeal. Its efforts to circulate good Catholic literature will be followed with interest and sympathy by the whole country; and, assuredly a great and blessed work lies before it, and a great reward is in store for those who, directly or indirectly, give it a helping hand.

LEAVES FROM ST. AUGUSTINE. By Mary Allies. Edited by T. W. Allies. London: R. & T. Washbourne, 18, Paternoster-row. Price, 5s.

ANTHOLOGIES, Dr. Garnett tells us, are the order of the day. Abridgments of all that has been said and written in every department of knowledge are in growing demand in the world

of letters. And the explanation obviously lies in the fact that a veritable forest of literature has grown around every subject under the sun. If we roam at will through one of those forests we shall infallibly get entangled in the brushwood and the saplings. 'A pathless immensity stretching' to the skies, away 'beyond our vision and beyond our reach,' can never be traversed by a single explorer much less by an unsophisticated wanderer. If we hope to derive any benefit whatever from our reading, we must husband our efforts for what is indispensable in the wisdom of all the ages. We have no time to spare for mediocrities, even though good, and *a fortiori* none to waste on bookmaker's prattle.

These remarks apply with all their force to the literary remains of the early Christian Church. If anyone doubts the vast range and extent of patriotic literature, a glance of Migne's catalogue of three or four hundred volumes will speedily disillusion him. A lifetime could never master them. When a scholar of Mr. Allies' great learning and wide experience declares that a heart of oak, cased in triple brass, is needed for her who set her frail bark to traverse the ocean of St. Augustine, and to give in the compass of a small volume a notion of the beauty, the vastness, the proportion, and the grandeur of that master-mind, we may safely conclude that a random attempt to read all the writings of all the fathers would leave as slight a mark behind as the foam that gathers round the keel of a passing boat.

And yet it behoves every student of our Christian heritage to know something of those inspiring teachers. The historical aspect of theology becoming more and more important every day, can be gleaned only from their writings. The capacity of Christian doctrines to develop is a secret not to be learned in the schools; our highest authorities and most trusted leaders tell us it is to be sought out in the fathers. We know that the full bearing of any doctrine, its many-sided significance, its active, living force, its ramification into other parts of the sacred sciences, are not to be met with in our scholastic handbooks. And we feel, when we come to express our ecclesiastical knowledge in words, that the stereotyped propositions laid down, explained, proved, and defended in the manuals to which we have been accustomed, are bald, lifeless, circumscribed formulas when compared with the selfsame truths set forth in the glory of a scholar's

style. How many of us read the sermons of Cardinals Manning and Newman without realizing for a long time that the lessons they inculcate are identical with our own collection of eternal verities? Whence comes the difference? From many sources, doubtless. Still, there has scarcely ever been a Catholic preacher or apologist who did not acknowledge that much, if not most, of his power, came from the perusal of the fathers of the church.

For the reasons we have thus glanced at we are glad to meet a book like that of Miss Allies. The honoured name she bears is proof positive of its worth. It would be impossible to find a more intelligent or sympathetic guide to St. Augustine. She reveals to us the intellect, the will, and the heart of the great, good bishop. Robert Browning once said that the highest object of human genius was the revelation of a human soul. Here we have the revelation, not of an ordinary human soul, but of the soul of a saint, a hero, a leader of men! We have derived genuine pleasure from the reading of these 'Leaves.' They prove how simple and intelligible St. Augustine is—without the commentators. And they make us look in wonder for the cause of all the controversy that has gathered round his name.

E. N.

VENERATION OF THE BLESSED VIRGIN. By Rev. B. Bohnes, O.S.A. New York: Benziger Brothers. \$1 25.

It is consoling to Catholics, in the midst of all the wild writing they have had to read of late, to find so many genuine tributes to the Immaculate Mother of God from across the Atlantic. Devotion to the Blessed Virgin is one of the surest tests of a loyal Catholic heart; and if it had a firm hold upon the convictions and the affections of all our writers and speakers there can be little doubt that the storm which some seated in high places have sought to raise against authority and against the brethren, would never have offended pious ears. In the pages of the I. E. RECORD many edifying treatises on our Lady, coming from our American friends, have been reviewed within recent years: it is but a short time since the writer of this notice wished God-speed to an *Ave Maria* reprint in defence of the glorious prerogatives of Mary. The present work is the latest addition to the series, and to it, as to its predecessors, we extend a hearty welcome.

The Veneration of the Blessed Virgin is not a volume of sermons on the Mother of God. In fact, it contains very little by way of direct exhortation ; but it imparts an amount of most useful information that could be woven, with the best results, into the texture of our pulpit discourses. It is quite an easy matter to talk vaguely and with a sort of high-sounding eloquence of the height and depth and immensity of Mary's gifts and graces. Given the most elementary grasp of the dogmas of our faith in her regard, and presupposing the characteristic word power of our countrymen, a priest with but slight practice in public speaking, could hold forth on the subject longer than his congregation would be willing to listen. Such, however, is not the class of preaching that tells in the long run. Solid instruction in dogmatic truths, and the facts of sacred history, must always be the ground-work of the spiritual edifice. In this, as in other matters, we long for facts ; something tangible, something that will rivet our attention and remain fixed in our memories ; and in this respect the present book will prove eminently useful.

It sets forth clearly the nature of our devotion to the Mother of God. It shows what kind of veneration has been paid her by the Church. It deals with the reasons why we should be devout to her. It traces the origin and growth of the devotion to her from her own lifetime to the present day. It explains the meaning of, and locates historically, every festival instituted in her honour. The place her titles and dignities held, in the early years of Christianity, in the writings of the fathers, even before the Council of Ephesus, the homage rendered her by architecture, painting, sculpture, music and poetry, are all touched upon. The space allotted to these latter very interesting questions is disappointingly meagre ; but, considering the fact that the author addresses himself not to a cultured audience solely, or even primarily, the limitation is defensible. Many things are said, and said well, on the Litany of Loretto, the Holy Rosary, the Golden Crown, the Miraculous Medal of the Immaculate Conception, the 'Memorare,' the 'Salve Regina,' and the 'Angelus.' The reflections on the latter beautiful prayer are touching and thought-inspiring. Familiarity is so apt to beget, if not contempt, at least indifference, that it is well to be reminded of the profound meaning attaching to the hallowed words we all utter three times a day. A few chapters on the honour given to Mary by the

religious orders, especially by those closely connected with her in name and duties, and an account of the spread of devotion to her in America, bring this commendable work to a close.

THE REACTION FROM AGNOSTIC SCIENCE. By Rev. W. J. Madden. Freiburg: Herder.

A PLEASANT racy refutation of agnostic science. This is the second edition within one year, a fact which speaks eloquently for the worth of the book. We should be inclined to find fault with the author for having dealt so briefly with far-reaching difficulties, were it not that an honest statement of his purpose in the Preface disarms any such criticism. 'It is a short book. I have purposely kept it short. In a busy age it will have a better chance of being read.' Yes, and of being remembered. A learned refutation of agnosticism would necessitate a ponderous volume of facts and figures and Johnsonian argumentation which the masses for whom Father Madden writes, would not think of opening. Father Lambert, in his slender 'Notes on Ingersoll,' covered as much ground as the present writer. Yet, where is the director of souls in America or England who does not know the value of that famous pamphlet? A like career of usefulness may be before *The Reaction from Agnosticism*. It presents our teaching in a very readable, spicy style; it is filled with a sound Catholic spirit, and it leaves a decidedly enjoyable impression on the mind of the reader. The author's humour breaks out now and again into a phrase or expression, whose happy sarcasm makes us lay down the book to laugh. The poor toiler who returns to his home in the evening, after the burden of the day and the heats at the factory or in the mine, will find both recreation and instruction in these pages. They will supply him with answers to the objections raised by his sceptical companions, and they will afford him agreeable entertainment as well.

E. N.

CHRISTIAN EDUCATION; OR, THE DUTIES OF PARENTS. By Rev. William Becker, S.J. Freiburg: B. Herder. 5s.

IF the perennial importance of a subject to the Church and to the world is to be measured by the frequency and the constancy with which it is brought before the public, then, surely, the Education Question must have paramount claims on the time

and attention of the human race. In every shape and form it is brought before us and kept before us unremittingly. Every *dilettanti* theorist takes care to give us the benefit of his views on the subject, and the more peculiar these views are the louder is the wail he raises against existing institutions. The quarterlies, the monthlies, the weeklies, and even the dailies, harp upon the same string, and wake therefrom the most hopeless dissonance. 'Impressions' and 'practical conclusions,' the most confusing and contradictory, are gravely proclaimed by neo-evangelists from the housetops of the press—all for the edification, the culture, the elevation of poor, ignorant, stupid 'humanity' beneath! What with the voice of truth left crying in the wilderness, it is little wonder that we are tired of the polemical aspects of the Education Question.

But this book has nothing to do with controversy. It leaves all that severely alone. It assumes as first principles the teaching of the Church upon her own claims upon the rights of parents, and upon the needs of the state. It has to do with the moral side of the subject. It shows how parents are to bring up their children in the fear and love of God.

And a very thorough treatise on the duties of parents it is. Starting with the belief that all the efforts of pastors will be unavailing if not seconded by home influences, he proceeds to lay down the rules by which, in the first place, the child is made a good, capable citizen: and, in the second place—what is far more important—how his eternal destiny is to be safeguarded. In clear, catechetical form he develops this main idea, devoting eight sermons to the temporal concerns of the child, and the remainder to the spiritual. He lays great stress on the proper grounding of the little ones in their faith; on the removal of temptations and dangers as far as may be; on unceasing vigilance for their moral safety; on judicious punishment when necessary, and on good example. He never minces his words in denunciation of parental shortcomings. He deals fearlessly with the dangers that beset youth; sometimes, it is true, entering into details not of practical interest here in Ireland, but always earnest and striking. We must admit that we are inclined to agree with some of the author's critics in thinking that the discourses seem somewhat out of keeping with the dignity of the pulpit. Nor are we disposed to limit our animadversion to any isolated passages. Through the most of them we find a tendency

to descend to *minutiae*, of real consequence in themselves, but sounding slightly grotesque when coming from the preacher of God's word. At the same time, we are fully prepared to concede that our objection may seem squeamish to American frankness. And, of course, now that the sermons are in cold print, they are to be treated as constituting a book to be read. Under the latter aspect, we have nothing but praise for the work, and wish it a wide circulation.

ADOREMUS. 100 Cantica Sacra ad tres voces aequales (C. I, II., et A. vel T. I., II., et B.). Edidit. Fr. Hamma, Op. 23. Ratisbon : Martin Cohen, 1899.

AN unpretending collection of simple settings for three equal voices. The compositions are mostly by the editor, partly by other composers of good name. The style is popular, with melodies more or less 'catchy,' though, on the whole, sufficiently choice to deserve recommendation. Separate voice parts are not issued, but the cheap price of the large collection makes the provision of copies for the singers a matter of small moment.

H. B.

AULA CANTORUM. 80 Cantica Sacra ad quatuor voces aequales (Ten. I., II., et Bass. I., II.). Pro totius anni Temporibus edidit. Fr. Hamma, Op. 24. Ratisbon, Martin Cohen.

To this collection of chants for four male voices the same remark apply as to the preceding collection

H. B.



EARLY NATIONAL SYNODS IN IRELAND

I.—INTRODUCTORY

BENEDICT XIV., confessedly the highest authority on the subject, adopts the common division of councils or synods into four classes; that is, general or oecumenical, national, provincial, and diocesan; and he describes the national synod as that in which the archbishops and bishops of a single kingdom or nation assemble together under the presidency of a patriarch or primate.¹ 'Such a national synod has sometimes,' he adds, 'been called universal, because it embodies the whole episcopacy of the nation;' and so early as the year 418 an African synod was called plenary in the same sense, as including a *full* representation of the *entire* African Church, or, as St. Augustine called it, 'Synodus plenaria totius Africae.' Such a synod usually includes the metropolitans and suffragans of several provinces, and hence has been called a 'synodus comprovincialis,' which seems to imply that in its essence it is still provincial, though consisting of the episcopal representatives of many provinces.

The term 'plenary' is that which is most in use at the present time, and has been officially applied to the Council of Maynooth, of Westminster, and of Baltimore. The

¹ Strictly speaking, there is no 'primacy' where there are no subordinate metropolitans. There may, however, be an archbishop who has no suffragans; but he cannot be regarded as a metropolitan, except, perhaps, in *posse*.

term 'national,' when applied to synods or churches, is not viewed with much favour in Rome. It seems to imply a distinct national or primatial jurisdiction, which hardly exists any longer in the strict sense of the term; and it is, moreover, apt to beget the idea of individuality and distinction rather than of absolute unity and conformity. National peculiarities will, no doubt, always exist in the Church; but the policy of its chief rulers has always been to promote, as far as possible, unity of government, of ritual, and of discipline throughout the world.

The subjection of national and provincial synods to the supreme authority of the Pope has been recognised from the beginning of the Church's history. It is not necessary to prove here that such subjection is involved in the very idea of the primacy of the Pope; for, if he is the Supreme Pastor and Doctor of the Universal Church, his jurisdiction extends to the laws and customs regulating the holding of synods, which are the living expression of the manifold spiritual energy of the Church. If these synods are not *de jure divino* in the strict and formal sense of the word, they are certainly *secundum jus divinum*; they are the natural and necessary outcome of the divine constitution of the Church; and the vigilance of the Supreme Pastor is nowhere more necessary than in promoting, regulating, and reviewing the action of those assemblies, which exercise so powerful an influence over the whole spiritual life both of the clergy and of the people.

The right of the Pope, therefore, to intervene directly, or by his legates, in the convocation and celebration of plenary and provincial synods, so far as he deems it necessary or useful, cannot be questioned. Of course, the legislation of the Church regulating this intervention has varied at different periods. Certain general principles, however, have been always recognised and acted upon, although the specific legislation has varied at different times. Thus the principle that '*Causae Majores*' were reserved to the Holy See has always been admitted, although there has been great diversity of practice in determining what the *Causae Majores* were. Another principle universally recognised

was, the right of appeal to the Pope from the judgment of any plenary or provincial synod, and such appeals have been made from the beginning of the Church's history. A third law, of strict and universal obligation, at least since the Bull of Sixtus V., requires that the decrees of all provincial synods shall, before publication, be transmitted to Rome, to be reviewed by the Holy See. If published without the review and sanction of the Holy See, they are altogether null and void, and have no force, even as diocesan laws.

Our present purpose is to show that the most important of these general principles were recognised and acted upon in our Irish Church from the very beginning, although for many ages Ireland might fairly be described, with reference to Rome, as one of the most remote countries in the world, situated, as Patrick himself describes it, 'at the very ends of the earth.' No doubt, the documents connected with the earliest period of the history of our Irish Church are very meagre; still, quite enough remains to show that in all its main features its discipline was identical with the discipline of the fifth century throughout all the churches of the West. The very keenness of the disputes about the form of the tonsure and the Paschal question only places the general uniformity of discipline in a clearer light.

The anxiety of our national apostle, though 'placed at the ends of the earth,' to keep in touch with Rome, is strikingly illustrated by one incident in his history which deserves more attention than it has usually received.

Under date of A.D. 441, the Annals of Ulster state:— 'Leo ordained 42nd Bishop of the Church of Rome; and Patrick the Bishop was approved in the Catholic faith.' This entry has puzzled Protestant writers; but its meaning is very clear to those acquainted with Catholic discipline.

Pope Leo the Great was consecrated on September 22, A.D. 440; but news of his elevation to the papal throne could scarcely reach Ireland before the beginning of the next year. Patrick was at that time preaching in the West of Ireland; and, in accordance with his custom, he was keeping the Lent at Croaghpatrick, in the county Mayo, when the news of the elevation of the new Pope reached

him. He at once despatched, from Cruachan Aigle, Muinis (his nephew), 'with counsel unto the Abbot of Rome, and relics were given to him there.'¹ That is, he sent Muinis to Rome to pay homage in his name to the new Pope, to give an account of his Irish mission, to ask the Pontiff's counsel in his difficulties, and to beg a supply of relics for the consecration of the new churches which he was every day founding. We know, too, that Muinis soon returned from Rome, crossing the Shannon at Clonmacnoise, with his case of relics;² that he brought the Pontiff's blessing to Patrick, confirming the commission which he had received from Celestine and his successor, to convert the 'Scottish' tribes to the faith of Christ. This is what the annalist means when he tells us that in A.D. 441, 'Patrick was approved in the Catholic faith.'³ There was no one to 'approve' him but the new Pope, to whom Patrick had sent a special messenger to procure his approbation.

II.—THE SYNOD OF ST. PATRICK

Patrick could not hold a plenary synod in our sense of the word, for there was then, and long after, no archbishop or metropolitan in the country but himself and his comarbs or successors. But he certainly held a general synod, or, if you wish, a metropolitan synod of Ireland. He could not, of course, do this until he had completed his missionary visitation of the whole country, and established his own primatial see in Armagh. This was about the year A.D. 457.⁴ The decrees of that synod are still extant, and, in fact, prove their own authenticity by many incidental references to paganism, to slavery, to clerics coming from Britain, to the Brehon Laws—all of which go to show the undoubted authenticity of the decrees of this synod. The heading is: 'Incipit sinodus episcoporum, id est, Patritii, Auxilii, Issernini;' and, in accordance with Patrick's usual custom

¹ *Rolls Tripartite*, vol. i, p. 84.

² *Rolls Tripartite*, p. 85.

³ *Annals of Ulster*, loco citato.

⁴ The *Annals of Ulster* place the founding of Armagh in A.D. 444, that is when Patrick first preached in Oriel. He then founded a church on the plain of Macha, but did not found his cathedral on the height of Macha until A.D. 457—thirteen years later.

it begins with an act of thanksgiving: '*Gratias agimus Deo Patri et Filio et Spiritui Sancto*;' and is addressed: '*Presbyteris, et diaconibus et omni clero Patritius, Auxilius Isserninus salutem.*'

The absence of the name of Patrick's coadjutor and destined successor, Secundinus, goes to prove that this synod was not celebrated during his life, for he was the first of the Irish bishops to die nearly ten years before.¹ We must not, however, infer from the fact that only three names are mentioned, that there were only three bishops present. We may be sure that Patrick kept the law, and invited all the prelates who could come to be present at the synod, and that a large number were present. But it was not customary then, nor is it necessary even still, that all the prelates present sign their names, or that the decrees should run in the names of all. The celebrated jurist, Fagnanus, says that the decrees of a provincial synod are not attributed to the synod, but to the archbishop,² and that the ordinary formula is this: '*Nos Metropolitanus &c., decernimus.*' Patrick might have used the same form, and have merely said—'*Presbyteris et diaconibus et omni clero Patritius episcopus salutem*;' but he adds the names of Auxilius and Isserninus, because they were destined like himself for the Irish mission from the beginning, and had a subordinate commission from Germanus, if not from the Pope himself, to aid Patrick in preaching the Gospel to the Irish. Moreover, having been trained on the Continent, they had acquired some knowledge of the Canon Law, of which the Irish-born prelates trained by St. Patrick himself could have known little or nothing at that time.

The decrees of this synod, as published by Spellman, in 1639, from a manuscript in the Cottonian Library, are incomplete. He gives thirty-four canons according to his own enumeration, which deal entirely with domestic questions concerning the Irish Church. But the large

¹ '*De quo fertur quod ipse primus episcopus sub humo Hiberniae exivit*'
—A.D. 448.

² See Bouix, p. 89.

continental Collection of Irish canons contains a great many decrees not included in Spellman's Collection, some of which are of the highest importance as evidence of the Canon Law of the eighth century, if not all of the time of St. Patrick himself.

It is now impossible to determine where this 'Synod of Patrick' was held. All the national assemblies of ancient Erin were held in some part of the Kingdom of Meath—at Uisnech, Tara, or Teltown (Taitenn). We know also that the national synods of the twelfth century were nearly all held in Meath, and Adamnan also held his synod at Tara, even after it had ceased to be a royal residence. The presumption, therefore, is that Patrick's synod was held somewhere in Meath, probably at Teltown, for we find a reference in the *Life of St. Bridget* to a synod of clerics held at that place, the date of which would fit in very well with the time of holding this national synod. As Armagh was not founded, at least as the primatial see, before A.D. 457, and as Auxilius, who is said to have been present at the synod, died in A.D. 460, we may fix the date of the synod somewhere in A.D. 458, or 459.

We need not now refer to the canons regarding domestic discipline enacted by this synod. The most important of all was the decree establishing the primacy of Patrick's see at Armagh over all Ireland, and formally recognising, at the same time, the right of appeal to the Pope in the *Causae Majores*. The authenticity of the canon is undoubted, for it is contained not only in the *Codex of Irish Canons*, but also in the *Book of Armagh*; and it is quoted by Cumminian, as we shall presently see, in his Letter on the Paschal Question, written probably in A.D. 634. The words of the second part of this canon regarding the appeal to Rome are worth quoting from the text in the *Book of Armagh*.

After declaring that the 'Prelate of Armagh' was to be

¹ Cardinal Moran tells us that the Imperial Library of Paris has two copies of this collection, one of the twelfth, the other of the eighth century. Darmstadt has one of the ninth century; St. Gall has another ancient copy; the Vatican Archives of Rome have a copy of the tenth century; and the Cottonian Codex has a copy of the eighth century; and a Cambray MSS. has another of the same date. See *Essays, &c.*, p. 125.

the judge of appeal, not only in ordinary but even in more difficult causes, it is significantly added:—‘*Si vero in illa (Cathedra Archiepiscopi Hiberniensium, id est Patricii) cum suis sapientibus causa facile sanari non potest, ad sedem Apostolicam decrevimus esse mittendam, id est, ad Petri apostoli cathedram auctoritatem Romae Urbis habentem.*’ Rome was thus declared to be the final court of appeal for the *Causae Majores*, in accordance with the general discipline of the Church at the time, as expressly laid down in the General Council of Sardica,¹ which was held more than one hundred years before the Synod of St. Patrick. This decree is attributed in the *Book of Armagh* to Auxilius, Patritius, Secundinus,² Benignus, two of whom in succession were coadjutors of St. Patrick, that is, Secundinus and Benignus, and would, therefore, naturally be represented as concurring in the decree; whilst Auxilius, the nephew and co-apostle of St. Patrick, would be added to give further weight to the synodical statute.

It is quite obvious, therefore, from the most ancient documents we possess, that the general practice³ of referring the *Causae Majores* to the Holy See was a fundamental principle recognised in all the legislation of the early Church of Ireland.

III.—THE SYNOD OF MAGH LENE

But this principle was not merely recognised—it was acted upon. The first ‘great cause’ that arose in the early Church of Ireland was the famous controversy known as

¹ The Synod of Sardica, held most probably in A.D. 344, formally recognises the right of appeal to Rome in its third, fourth, and fifth canons; but the exercise of the right had long before been recognised in practice, and Pope Victor, so early as the beginning of the third century, claimed the right to decide the Paschal Controversy as one of those ‘*Causae Majores*’ that essentially devolved on his Supreme Tribunal.

² Secundinus could hardly have been present if the synod were held in 458.

³ The *Codex Can. Hibern.* gives the general decree (adopted by St. Patrick) as the canon of a Roman Synod. ‘*Synodus Romana: si in qualibet provincia ortae fuerint questiones et inter clericos dissidentes non convenient ad maiorem sedem referantur*’—that is the Apostolic See.

Cummian cites it briefly as the decree which enacted that the graver causes should be referred to Rome. ‘*Juxta mandatum . . . ut si causae fuerint majores Juxta decretum synodicam ad caput urbium sint referendae.*’ See further on for explanation.

the Paschal Question. It is unnecessary here to explain the nature of this controversy, or describe the grave evils and angry passions which it excited even amongst the holiest men in Ireland, as well as in North and South Britain. The evil became so very grave that it was considered desirable to convene a national synod to settle, if possible, the question. But the old jealousy between North and South prevented the assembly of a plenary synod representing all the provinces of Erin. A considerable number of prelates, however, did assemble at Magh Lene, in the year 630, for the discussion of this, as well as of some other important questions; and even the North was not unrepresented, for the Comarb of Ciaran of Clonmacnoise was there, and although his monastery was on the ancient border line, his territory was commonly regarded as a part of the Kingdom of Meath.

What took place at the synod we only know from the letter of St. Cumman of Clonfert to Segienus of Hy; but that letter is one of the most important documents connected with the early Church of Ireland, and affords the most convincing proofs of the recognition of the Papal supremacy by the fathers of that Church.

Bede tells us that Pope Honorius wrote a letter to the 'Scots,' that is the Irish, who, he was informed, had erred on the matter of the observance of Easter, admonishing them to conform themselves in that matter to the observance of the universal Church. This letter was probably written in A.D. 628 or 629. Its immediate consequence was the convocation of this Synod of Campus Lene, as Cumman calls it; that is, the famous plain of Magh Lene, between Tullamore and Clara, on the very border line separating Conn's Half and Mogh's Half, which was the scene of the great battle in which Mogh himself was overthrown by his victorious rival. The synod was probably held at the old church of Templekieran, south of Durrow, rather than in Durrow itself, which was a Columbian monastery, and, therefore, opposed to any change in the ancient discipline.

We cannot say who presided; but as Cummain puts the successor of Ailbe at Emly first, and as the King of Cashel

lived in his diocese, we may fairly infer that he presided in the absence of the Primate, Thomian, who appears to have been adverse to changing the ancient discipline. Cumman states that the fathers of the synod at first resolved to celebrate the Easter of the coming year (631), in accordance with the practice of the universal Church as the Pope had admonished them, for 'our predecessors, as we know from the testimony of competent witnesses, some of whom are still living, but others resting in peace, had commanded us to accept without scruple and in humility the wise decisions brought to us from the fountain of our baptism and learning, and the successors of the Apostles of the Lord;' or, in other words, the Popes. It is important to note how the fathers of the synod, like their fathers before them, recognised Rome, as 'the fountain of their baptism and learning (sapientiae),' and 'the source from which they were to derive sound doctrine (meliora et potiora).' But before leaving, although they had said the final prayer, a certain whitened wall rose up, and, pretending to adhere to the traditions of the elders, refused to accept the decision of the synod directing the celebration of the coming Easter in accordance with the practice of the universal Church.

So, as the synod was now divided on this grave question, nothing remained but to go to the place which the Lord had chosen for a final decision, in accordance with the synodic decree which directed, 'Si causae fuerint majores, ad caput urbium sint referendae.' Here we find Cumman, in the year A.D. 634, quoting this as a synodic decree, and a *mandatum*, as he calls it, coming down to them from their fathers; that is, the synodic decree of the Synod of St. Patrick, to which reference has been already made. This was done; 'they sent to Rome, as to a mother, wise and prudent men in A.D. 631, as it seems, who returned on the third year after departure, that is 633, and told the Irish prelates how they had seen the whole world celebrating the Roman Easter together in the great church of St. Peter; they also carried back with them relics of the saints and martyrs; and we know that there was in them a divine virtue, for with our own eyes we saw a girl wholly blind opening her eyes at

the touch of the relics, and also many demons driven out of the possessed.'¹

When the Roman messengers returned, a second synod was, it appears, convened at Campus Albus, or Magh Ailbe near Carlow,² to receive their report. In this synod it appears that St. Laserian of Leighlin presided, because it was held in his diocese, and he was most likely one of the delegates sent to Rome. The result was that the Roman Easter was received throughout the south of Ireland, and St. Cumman, who tells us himself that he had spent a whole year studying the question, was commissioned to write a letter to the Abbot of Hy, which was the stronghold of the conservatives, setting forth the true doctrine as well as the results of the Roman mission. The letter was not immediately successful in winning over the prelates of the north; but, as we have said, it is an invaluable monument of the doctrine and the bearing of the primitive Church of Ireland. So far as we can judge it was written in A.D. 634.

IV.—ADAMNAN'S SYNOD OF TARA

But neither the synod nor the letter finally settled the Paschal controversy, which for the next sixty years was not only warmly but violently discussed both in Ireland and North Britain. We know that it led to the great conference at Whitby, in A.D. 664, and that Colman of Lindisfarne, with his Irish monks, left his see, and migrated to the stormy island of Innisboffin, off the county Mayo, rather than accept the new discipline advocated by Wilfrid at the conference of Whitby. We are told also that the rival factions went with deadly weapons to the synods, prepared, if necessary, to defend their own opinions at the sacrifice of their lives. Some of the annalists, too, attribute the terrible evils that afflicted the country, towards the close of the seventh century, to the divine vengeance for the crimes arising from the prolongation of the foolish controversy. Adamnan

¹ See Cumman's letter in full in Migne's *Patrol.*, vol. xxxvii., p. 968.

² The Campus Albus lay on the right bank of the Barrow, and included the churches of Sletty and Leighlin (see *Tripartite Life of St. Patrick*), but some writers place it in the south of Kildare.

himself seems inclined to take the same view when he speaks of 'the stupid ingratitude of those who greatly abuse God's patient mercy.'¹ Indeed, Ireland was never more grievously afflicted than during the last decade of the seventh century. There was a cow plague lasting for three years, which carried off the most of the cattle, the chief wealth of the people. There was, as a natural consequence, a famine and plague of man, so that 'man would eat man.'² which never happened before in Ireland. The very fruit on the trees was blighted, and there was no food for man or beast. The Britons and Saxons, too, made hostile incursions on the eastern shores, committing slaughter and depredations. The very heavens were filled with portents of dread. 'It rained a shower of blood in Leinster this year (693 *recte*). Butter was also turned there into lumps of gore and blood, so that it was manifest to all in general; and a wolf was heard speaking with a human voice, which was horrible to all.' So the Four Masters tell us. 'It is not good for the land when the clergy are divided,' says an old writer, and it was amply proved then.

But a saviour was at hand in the person of the great Adamnan himself. He broke away from the stupid prejudices of his own monastery of Hy, and resolved at any cost to bring back his fellow-countrymen of the North to the discipline of the Catholic Church. For this purpose he made at least two journeys to Ireland. He came first, it seems, in 692, and spent some three or four years visiting the prelates and churches of the North, with a view to bring them to uniformity of discipline. Then he returned home to his island monastery; but he found his own monks so angry with him, that, according to some authorities, they expelled him from the island; yet he was not to be daunted. Returning to Ireland, in 697, he resolved to convene, at Tara, a great synod which would formally accept the new discipline, both as regards the Roman tonsure and the Easter question. There was no other man at the time who

¹ 'Valde stolidi qui ingrati Dei patientia male abutuntur.'—*Life of St. Columba*, p. 184.

² *Chronicon Scotorum*, A.D. 696.

could succeed in gathering such an assembly as Adamnan did, for he was widely known and universally esteemed for his sanctity, his great learning, and his apostolic labours. Loinsech, the High King at the time, belonged to his own tribe of the Cenel Conaill. The Primate, too, seems to have been his friend; and, if we can believe tradition, he wisely chose Tara as the seat of the great *Mordail*, or national assembly, which he induced the King and the Primate to convene on the royal hill, although the kings dwelt there no more. But the Rath of the Synods is still shown at Tara, and the Pavilion of Adamnan, and Adamnan's Cross, and Adamnan's Chair, and Adamnan's Mound, are still remembered in tradition, and are all shown on Petrie's map of Tara. There were present, we are told, thirty-nine ecclesiastics, over whom presided Flann Febla, the Bishop-Abbot of Armagh.¹ But he and Cennfailadh, Abbot of Bangor, seem to be the only prelates from the North present at the synod, so strong was the feeling there in favour of the ancient discipline. But the High King was present also, and forty-seven kings of various territories; so that, on the whole, it was a very imposing assembly. Amongst others present was the famous Muirchu Maccu Machtheni, the author of the 'Life of St. Patrick' in the *Book of Armagh*. Reeves says that the acts of this synod were transcribed from the *Book of Raphoe* by Michael O'Clery, and are still preserved in one of the Irish manuscripts in the Burgundian Library at Brussels. Perhaps they are now in Dublin; but we have not seen them. The leading decrees of the synod, however, are referred to by various writers.

1. First of all, the synod accepted the Roman discipline as regards the tonsure and the Paschal question, which was the primary object of Adamnan. On this point Beda says, though not expressly referring to the synod, that 'Pene omnes, qui ab Hiisensium dominio erant liberi, ab errore avito correctos ad unitatem reduxit (Adamnanus) Catho-

¹ The word *abb* or *abbot*, applied to a prelate at this period in our annals, does not imply that he was not also a bishop. The Pope is frequently called the Abbot of Rome, and St. Patrick himself is called Abbot of All Ireland—*Abb Erinm uile*.

licam, et legitimam paschae tempus observare perdocuit.' So that now all Ireland, except a few still under the influence of Hy, returned to Catholic unity of discipline.

2. He induced the assembly, which, as we have seen, was a mixed one, to sanction and promulgate the 'Law of the Innocents,' as it is called; that is, a law forbidding women to take any part in the bloody battles of the time, and also strictly forbidding the killing of either women or children as non-combatants in battle. And it would appear that this law was to be enforced not only by the temporal authority, but also by the spiritual authorities under penalty of excommunication.

This was, undoubtedly, a great social reform, which even St. Patrick was not able to carry out in his own time, so fiercely vindictive were the passions of the rival tribes in Erin, as the history of all that period clearly shows.

3. A third enactment, according to some authorities made at this synod, is called the Cain Adamnain, or Canon of Adamnan; about which, however, there is much difference of opinion. Some say, like Reeves, that it can hardly be the *Lex Innocentium* itself, but rather appears to have been a fixed tax which the prelates and chiefs freely imposed upon themselves and their people in favour of the monastery of Hy; and, doubtless, also in recognition of the signal services which Adamnan had rendered to the country by his untiring efforts in the cause of Catholic unity. We cannot now discuss the question further, merely observing that this seems to be the most probable explanation of the term. The visitation dues of the Primate were also called the *Lex Patricii*—Patrick's tax. It would appear, too, that a large number of disciplinary decrees, doubtless drawn up by Adamnan from various sources, were formally adopted by this great synod, and became thenceforward what we may call the common law of the Irish Church. In the Collection of Irish Canons, which was certainly published very shortly after this synod, we find constant reference to the decrees of 'the synod' without any further qualification. The learned Cardinal Moran thinks that 'the synod' here referred to is this great Synod of Tara; and we think a careful

examination of the decrees in the Collection will go far to confirm the justice of this view.

Examining this Irish Collection, we find four different kinds of headings made use of by the compilers, who keep them carefully distinct.

1. We find a very considerable number with the mere heading 'Patricius':—before the decree; or 'Patricius dicit;' or 'Patricius ait.'

2. Then we have a second class of decrees quoted with the heading: 'Synodus Hibernensis;' or 'Synodus Hibernensis ait;' or 'Synodus Hibernensis decrevit.'

3. Then there is a third and numerous class of the decrees which bear the heading: Synodus':—or 'Synodus ait;' or 'Synodus dicit;' or 'Synodus decrevit;' and those headings are oftentimes clearly contrasted with those of class 2, so as to show that the references are to different synods.

4. Lastly, there are a number of the decrees not derived from Irish, but from foreign authorities; and in these classes the headings expressly declare the sources from whence they are taken. Thus we have 'Gildas ait,' 'Synodus Cartaginiensis ait,' 'Romani statuunt,' 'Synodus Agathensis,' &c.

Now, it appears quite clear that the decrees of the first class which bear the name of St. Patrick are decrees of the Synod of Patrick, Auxilius, and Isserninus, to which we have already referred, and are properly and canonically attributed to Patrick, the metropolitan and president of that synod.

We think it highly probable that the second class, which are manifestly of a later date, and are attributed to the 'Synodus Hibernensis,' are the decrees of the Council Magh Ailbe, or the Campus Ailbe, in the county Carlow. For the Synod of Campus Lene, held three years before, was broken up in a hurry; and it is unlikely that the fathers, failing to agree on the Paschal question, would take that opportunity of drawing up a disciplinary code. Whereas, after the return of the Roman delegates, who were, doubtless, commissioned to convene a synod, nothing would

be more likely than that the assembled fathers, having accepted the Roman discipline, would also draw up with their wide knowledge and experience a disciplinary code to meet the wants of the Irish Church. So it came to be known, both at home and abroad, as the 'Synodus Hibernensis' by excellence.

The third class of the decrees, which are attributed to the 'Synod' simply, appear to belong to the great collection sanctioned and published by Adamnan and the Primate in the great Synod of Tara.¹ It seems highly probable that the great Irish Collection of Canon Law, afterwards carried to the Continent and frequently copied there, was compiled at, or shortly after, this great Synod of Tara; and the compilers, whilst carefully separating the decrees of 'Patrick' and of the 'Irish Synod,' would naturally quote their own new decrees as those of 'the synod' which had just been celebrated, and was well known to them all.

We hope to pursue this question on a future occasion.

✠ JOHN HEALY.

¹ Several disciplinary decrees are given in the extracts from the *Codex Can. Hibern.*, published by Martene, as *Canones Adamnani*. They refer mostly to abstinence 'from blood and from things strangled.' It is highly probable that the *Codex* was first compiled at Iona by Adamnan after the Synod of Tara; then, perhaps, somewhat enlarged there, and carried thence to the Continent by monks of Iona, who fled from the bloody raids of the Danes.

'THE BLACK FRIARY OF TRIM'

IN a previous number of the I. E. RECORD an article appeared on the 'Yellow Steeple' of Trim. Not more than fifty perches from this ancient monument, and quite close to the old church of St. Patrick, and the Athboy Gate, one of the principal fortified entrances to the town in former times, there once stood a stately pile of buildings known as the 'Black Friary.'

Owing to the character of its founder, the princely munificence with which he endowed it, as well as the central position it occupied in the very heart of the rich Palatinate of Meath, this religious house has been justly regarded as one of the most important institutes of the Dominican Order in Ireland. It was founded by Geoffrey de Geneville, Lord of Meath, in the year 1263, and placed under the patronage of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary. The founder belonged to an ancient Catholic family of Champagne in Normandy, brother of the famous Joan de Geneville or Joinville, the companion and historian of Louis IX., and his faithful comrade in arms throughout all his military expeditions in the East.

In the year 1250 Sir Geoffrey married Maud de Lacy, and through his marriage came into possession of the greater portion of the rich territory of Meath. Soon after his marriage, imitating the example of his illustrious brother, he joined the Crusades, and thirteen years afterwards, on his return from the Holy Land, was appointed Lord 'Justiciar'—or Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and took up his residence in Trim.¹ One of his first works was the building of a house in Trim for the Order of Friars Preachers.

De Burgo tells us that in the year 1756, just before the publication of his book, he paid a special visit to Trim, in order to verify certain statements he had made in reference

¹ *Hib. Dom.*, p. 263.

to the Trim foundation. On his arrival he found all the walls completely levelled; and the stones, he was informed, were sold for a small sum, and used in the building of dwelling houses, stables, boundary walls, and fences, so that when he came on the scene nothing was to be seen, except a few heaps of concrete rubbish—which still remain to mark the spot hallowed by so many interesting memories of the past. A few years before his visit the massive walls were still standing, and from them one could easily form a fair idea of the extent and magnificence of the original building.¹ ‘*Paucis abhinc annis muros videre erat, licet haud integros tum domus, tum aedium sacrarum, qui antiquae structurae magnificentiam ad oculum demonstrabant. Nuperime autem eo loco versans, paucissima duntaxat deprendere potui rudera, saxa siquidem inde ablata fuerunt et pro alienis fabricis diventita.*’

It is quite certain that the entire structure was in existence and in good repair long after the destruction of monastic houses in Ireland. For we find that in the year 1584, Robert Draper, parson of Trim, and afterwards bishop of Ardagh, when sending a memorial ‘to the Right Honorable the Lord Burghley, Lord High Treasurer of England,’ for a university to be established in Trim, laid special stress on the fact that there was in Trim—

One greate and large abbey, nothing thereof defaced; but the church and therein greate store of goodly roomes, in meetely good repair; the howse is put to no use, and will, I think, be easily boughte of the owner, Edward Cusack of Lesmollen. The said Edward hath also a fryary, in the said towne, a very fit place for a college, which also may be easily gotten of him. Further your suppliant hath a fryary having stanche and goode walls, for an hall, for foure or five lodgings—a cellar—a kitchen, a place for lectures with a pleasant backside conteyning three acres at leaste, all which your said suppliant will freelye give to the furtherance of this good worke.²

Beyond doubt, the abbey alluded to in the above communication was the abbey of canons regular of St. Austin, that stood on the site marked by the ‘yellow steeple,’ and the

¹ *Hib. Dom.*, p. 264.

² State Paper Office, Ireland, 15th May, 1584.

church defaced was the one in which the far-famed statue of our 'Lady of Trymme' was kept; the friary in the possession of the suppliant Robert Draper was the grey friary of the Franciscans that stood on the site of the present court-house; and 'the fryary that could be easily bought of Edward Cusack of Lesmollen,' was no other than the veritable 'Black Friary of Friars Preachers'—the subject of our present sketch.

There is an impression, especially in the neighbourhood of Trim, that the 'Black Friary' was the first house of the Dominicans established in Ireland. That impression is not founded on fact. In Dublin, Drogheda, Kilkenny, Waterford, Limerick, Cork, Mullingar, and other centres flourishing houses of the Dominicans were working earnestly and energetically for the good of religion for a considerable time before the 'Black Friary' of Trim was established. But though the Trim house was not the first in the order of time, it undoubtedly holds a high place in the order of importance. Shortly after its foundation, Dean Butler assures us this convent was far ahead of every other Dominican convent in Ireland, and gained such celebrity and distinction that a general chapter of the order was held in it on three different occasions—viz., in 1283, 1300, and 1315.¹

This statement is copied without comment by Mr. Conwell in his *brochure*, entitled *A Ramble Round Trim*, and adopted by Dean Cogan in his learned work, *The Diocese of Meath*. Before endorsing the statement, we think it right to say, in order to guard against misconception, that at this time, and, in fact, for more than two centuries after the introduction of the Dominican Order into Ireland—from 1224, the date of the Dublin and Drogheda foundations, down to 1448—Ireland was not a distinct, independent province. All that time it was subject to the English provincial, who transacted the business of the twenty-four Irish houses through a vicar. The meetings, therefore, alluded to above, held in 1283, 1300, and 1315, could not, strictly

¹ *Dominican Friary*, p. 189.

speaking, be called provincial, much less general chapters, and could be said to be general only in this sense, that they comprised representative men from every house of the Order in England, Ireland, and Scotland, in contradistinction to those particular chapters held frequently in every convent where a chapter of the rules is read and expounded for the guidance and direction of the members of the community. But, whilst denying to the Trim house the privilege of three general chapters, in the strict sense of the word, we cannot withhold from it the high honour of having witnessed within its hallowed walls one of the most remarkable meetings ever recorded in the history of the Irish Church.

This meeting was held on the Feast of St. Matthew, in the year 1291, and it deserves special notice, inasmuch as it lets in a flood of light on the strained relations that subsisted in those days between the Church and State in this country. It was the largest and, perhaps, the most important ecclesiastical convention ever assembled in Ireland. It comprised all the archbishops, bishops, deans, and Church dignitaries of the kingdom, and was held under the presidency of Mac Molissa, Archbishop of Armagh and Primate of All Ireland. The chief object of the meeting was to strengthen and consolidate the powers of the Church, and defend its rights and liberties against the encroachments of the civil power.

The Crown and the more prominent members of the Anglo-Irish aristocracy were constantly intermeddling in the concerns of the Church, striving to intrude into her special domain, seeking to exercise rights of advowson to which they could lay no claim, and in sundry petty ways to hamper and impede the Church in the free and legitimate exercise of her powers. And yet these are the days, as some writers would fain have us believe, when the laity of all classes and conditions of life were absolutely under the feet of Churchmen!

To secure united action all the members of that celebrated convention bound themselves by oath to carry out to the letter the various enactments passed at the several

sessions. The following are a few of the most important ones. They speak for themselves, and in tones, too, the import of which it is impossible to mistake :—

1. First, they swore that if they or any of them, their churches, rights, jurisdictions, liberties, or customs, should, by any lay power or jurisdiction *whatsoever*, be impeded, resisted, or grieved, they would, at the common expense, in proportion to their respective incomes, support, maintain, and defend each other in all courts and before all judges, either ecclesiastical or secular.

2. If any of their messengers, proctors, or the executors of their orders should suffer any loss or damage in the execution of their business by any lay power or jurisdiction, that in each case they would amply and without delay make up to them all such losses and damages out of their own fortune, according to a rateable proportion of their revenues.

3. If any ordinary should pronounce sentence of excommunication against a delinquent, that all the other bishops should promulgate and with effect prosecute such sentence in their respective dioceses ; so that, if a person excommunicated in one place should fly to another, the place he continued in should be placed under an interdict, as also wherever he had his habitation or the greater part of his fortune, provided notice thereof be given in writing by the bishop publishing such sentence.

4. If any of the archbishops should prove cool or negligent in the execution of the said agreement, then they bound themselves, by virtue of the oath they had taken, in 500 marks to the Pope, and as much to their brethren who should keep up to the terms prescribed.

5. Lastly, they agreed that if any archbishop, bishop, or dignitary, absent at the time of the agreement, should, upon request, refuse to comply with the terms stipulated, then they engaged and promised to complain of him to the Pope, and to prosecute such complaint at their common charges ; and not only so, but that they would not afford him any aid, counsel, or assistance in any other affairs relating to him or his church.¹

¹ Ware, *Bishops*, p. 70.

The foregoing resolutions are very definite, and proclaim trumpet-tongued that the Irish hierarchy were resolved to act as one man, and to resist, to the utmost of their power, all unwarrantable interference with their jurisdiction or the exercise of their lawful rights.

The Black Friary was the scene of many other stirring events during the three centuries of its chequered career. These events, and the lives of the great men who took part in them, the services they rendered to religion and literature, would be very interesting, but would far exceed the limits of one paper. I shall, therefore, for the present, pass over such eminent men as Darcy, of Platten Hall, near Drogheda, a distinguished *alumnus* of this house, and subsequently Bishop of Ardagh, and confine my attention to one to whom this religious institute owes its very existence.

On the 28th June, 1835, Dean Butler, of Trim, writing to an old college friend, Cosmo Innes, M.A., and Professor of History in Edinburgh University, says:—

I am absolutely printing in Trim an account of the castle thereof. How you would despise my duodecimo blue pages, taken from abstracts and second-hand authorities; still the thing occupies and amuses me. My present object is confined to the castle; it may extend hereafter to the church and abbeys. I have thought so much of Geoffrey de Geneville and others—to many the names will be names only—that I have a most distinct conception of their persons and character; but I cannot personify my imaginings, and must leave the notices of my heroes in their original dryness and meagreness.¹

The author of the *Discovery of the Tomb of Ollamh Fodhla* expresses his regret that the Dean did not give the public the benefit of his 'imaginings,' and present in popular book form a faithful portrait of his heroes.² I confess that I cannot share in that regret. For whilst one must admire the patient research of the worthy Dean, he cannot at the same time close his eyes to the fact that he possessed hardly any of these descriptive powers that are at the command of practised writers who can connect and arrange their

¹ *Memoir of Dean Butler*, by his widow, p. 84.

² *A Ramble Round Trim*, p. 56.

thoughts and express them easily. Besides, the very outline the Dean gave of Geoffrey, the young noble of Champagne—

Wooing his wealthy bride in the Court of England, retiring with her to her great seignories in Ireland, joining with her in founding a religious house, taking the cross for the Holy Land, administering for a short time the government of his adopted country, busy for years in the councils and campaigns of the bold and politic Edward I., and closing his career by the resignation of the lordship of Meath to his youthful granddaughter and her ambitious husband, and ending his days in the cloister which he had built almost fifty years ago—¹

all this and more shows the Dean failed to fully appreciate the character of his hero. In the Dean's mind Geoffrey was little more than a man of the world, well up to all the cunning and arts practised by courtiers in winning the affections of those whom they want to captivate; retiring with the bride he had thus wooed and won to her grand seignories in Ireland; and then catching up the spirit of chivalry and romance of the times, setting out with his cross to the Holy Land, to achieve fame by the rescue of Christian captives out of the hands of the Saracens.

This, I think, would hardly be a true portrait of Geoffrey, the founder of the Black Friary. In my mind, he was a man of noble character, with high ideals before him, with faith as the fountain and mainspring of his actions, and the guiding and ruling principle of his life. It was this spirit of faith that prompted him to found a religious house for the spread of the Gospel and the salvation of the poor. It was the same supernatural spirit that inspired him to leave his lordly mansion at Trim, his valued friends, and warm fireside and the thousand enjoyments of home life, and set off to the far East to brave the perils, the privations, and exceptional hardships involved in an every-day warfare with savages in those primitive times; and then, on his return, with a generosity begotten of faith, renounce all his possessions, and enter as a simple friar into the cloister established by himself forty-five years before.

But whilst forming a different estimate of Geoffrey's

¹ Butler's *Trim Castle*, p. 32.

character from that given by the Dean, I am in thorough accord with him when he applies to Geoffrey certain stanzas which were written by another crusader, and which give a beautiful picture of the sort of life Geoffrey may have been supposed to lead in the Black Friary at Trim :—

Ipse post militiae cursum temporalis
 Illustratus gratia doni spiritualis
 Esse Christi cupiens miles specialis
 In hac domo, monachus, factus est claustralis
 Ultra modum placidus dulcis et benignus
 Ob aetatis Senium candidus ut cygnus
 Blandis et affabilis ac amari dignus
 In Se Sancti Spiritus possidebat pignus
 Nam sanctam ecclesiam saepe frequentabat
 Missarum mysteria laetus auscultabat
 Et quas scire poterat laudes personabat
 Ac caelestem gloriam mente ruminabat
 Ejus conversatio dulcis et jocosa
 Valde commendabilis et religiosa
 Ita cunctis fratribus fuit gratiosa
 Quod nec gravis nec fastidiosa.

The Dean rightly adds :—

We may easily suppose that the old crusader who had been engaged in the wars and embassies of the time had tales of travel and of danger which would make him a very acceptable companion in a monastery, and hence the concluding lines would be equally appropriate :—

Hic per claustum quoties transiens meavit
 Hinc et hinc ad monachos caput inclinavit
 Et sic nutu capitis eos salutavit
 Quos affectu intimo plurimum amavit.¹

Lance, shield, and sword relinquished by his side,
 A bead roll in his hand, a clasped book,
 Or staff, more harmless than a shepherd's crook,
 The war-worn chieftain quits the world,
 To hide his thin autumnal locks where
 Monks abide in cloistered privacy.²

On the 21st October, twelve years after the death of his wife, and six years after his entrance into the friary, he

¹ *Thesaurus Martene Nov. Anec.*, vol. iii.

² Wordsworth's *Eccl. Sketches*, p. 97.

founded, Geoffrey died, and was interred in the cemetery attached to the convent.

The burial-place of the De Genevilles is Clairvaux, and as the family were remarkable founders of religious houses, as well as celebrated crusaders, beautiful allusion to these two characteristic traits is made on the family vault. It is in Old French, and runs thus :—

Tout cils, qui sont iseus di li doibvent avoir
 Esperance qui Die la mis en sa compagnie
 Quar les saints tes moignent qui faie
 Maison Dieu en terre il acquier propre
 Maison en cil.

On another portion of the vault are the De Geneville arms. They consist of three barnacles, or, on a chief argent a lion naissant gules.¹ Dean Butler adds :—

The barnacles are not the birds so called, but instruments of torture used by the Saracens, and resembling the instruments used for bruising hemp, and that many of the old Meath gentry, the Husseys, Prestons, as representing Loundres, Flemings, De la Hides, Cruises and others are entitled to quarter these arms,² of which the old rhyme says :—

He is not worthy in court to dwell,
 Who knows not the arms of Genevell.

After the death of its founder, the convent continued in its career of usefulness down to May, 1539, when the Commissioners of Henry VIII. took possession of the premises and of every form of property that could be converted into money, and dismissed the 'Friars Preachers' most unceremoniously from the home that belonged to the community for centuries. On such occasions the commissioners, to give their proceedings an appearance of legality, were wont to present a deed of voluntary surrender to the monks for their signature; and when signed, those whose names were affixed to the instrument were entitled to a yearly pension, generally speaking, levied off the very lands that had been the property of the monks themselves. Hence we find on the 15th May, 1539, when Geoffrey Dardice,

¹ *Menestrier de l'ongue des Armoiries.*

² Butler, p. 199.

abbot of the house of St. Mary's, Trim, surrendered, he was granted the yearly pension of £15; William Harte, 26s. 8d.; John Ashe, 20s.; Walter Caddell, 26s.; Patrick Smart, 20s.; Patrick Finglass, 20s.; David Young, 20s.; and Dominick Longe, 26s.

No such deed of *voluntary* surrender was signed by the Friars Preachers. All honour to them; they spurned the document, and with true apostolic spirit cast themselves upon the care of Divine Providence, and the generosity of a faithful, loyal, and devoted people. That their confidence was not misplaced, the subsequent history of the Order records. For we read, that the scattered members of the community continued to live in Trim and its neighbourhood down to the close of the last century. They stood as of old in the counsels of the Lord, and made His words known to the people. As an evidence of the esteem in which they were held, we find one of their number, John Dillon, sworn a freeman of the Trim corporation, in the year 1690, and his signature is still to be seen in the town records, J. Dillon, Prior Trimmensis, May 14, 1690. No doubt the members of the Order did not live in strict community life. But it must be borne in mind, that the necessities of the times forced them to take charge of the parishes around, to mix with the people, to administer to them the sacraments, to pour balm into the wounds inflicted by persecution, and to console and comfort in life and death a faithful but afflicted people. Seeing their devotion to duty, and admiring their grand unselfish character, a Protestant gentleman, Joseph Ashe, triumphing over the narrow-minded spirit of bigotry that was rife amongst a certain section of his co-religionists, set a small farm to them at Donore, about six miles west of Trim. There, near the conflux of the river Boyne and Deel, they built a neat but unpretentious convent. In that secluded picturesque spot the gallant little band, when there were few vocations for the mission, and few opportunities for educating priests, stepped into the breach, took charge of the parishes

around, and attended to all the duties usually discharged by the secular clergy. The diocese of Meath, like many other dioceses in Ireland, undoubtedly owes much to the zeal and self-sacrificing labours of the Dominican fathers, especially during the last century. 'Quae regio in terris, nostri non plena laboris.' At all events, as far as the diocese of Meath is concerned, there is hardly a parish in which members of this distinguished Order have not made their mark.

It was only yesterday morning, after the celebration of the holy sacrifice of the Mass, when putting up the chalice still in use in the parish of Tullamore, that I noticed on the pedestal the following inscription: 'Ora pro anima Fratris Petri Gogherty Prioris Trimensis qui me fieri fecit 1713.'

Near the Donore convent, standing along the wall in the interior of the old church of Kilyon, where the Dominican fathers ministered, there is an upright stone still frequented by many a pious pilgrim, around which a thousand memories of holy deeds and pastoral zeal ascend and linger. This simple slab marks the grave of the Dominican fathers, where, after having fought the good fight, and preserved the faith, they are resting from their labours.¹

Christians,

To God your dayly homage pay,

And for the following fathers pray :

Rev. Vincent Cusack, died June 5, 1737, aged 72.

Rev. James Dillon, D.D., died May 2, 1743, aged 84.

Rev. Francis Lynagh, P.P., and P.G., died Nov. 24, 1750, aged 99.

Rev. Michael Wynne, P.G., died May 5, 1758.

Rev. James Flynn, V. General of Meath, and P.P. of Rathmolyon, died March 17th, 1775, aged 54.

Rev. Thomas Hussey, P.P., and P.G., died Sept. 13, 1786, aged 97.

Requiescant in pace.

This monument was erected at his own expense, in pious remembrance of the above brethren, by the Rev. Michael Fleming, Vicar-forane of Meath, P.G., and Prior of Donore, April 17th, 1787.

¹ Vol. i., *Diocese of Meath*, p. 309.

No such monument marks the spot where the fathers of the parent house at Trim are laid to rest, for not only were the stones of their convent sold away, but even the tombstones shared the same fate, so that beyond a meagre outline of the abbey and the abbey well given in the Ordnance Survey, nothing is now left to tell the tale of the former greatness of the Black Friary, or recall the history of its illustrious founder, Geoffrey de Geneville.

PHILIP CALLARY, P.P., V.F.

FATHER HUGH MACCAUGHWELL, O.S.F.

ARCHBISHOP OF ARMAGH, 1626

HUGH MACCAUGHWELL was born at Saul in the barony of Lecale, in the county of Down, about the year 1571. As a boy he grew up within sight of the place where the three great saints of Erin, Patrick, Bridget, and Columkille had lain buried in the one grave for centuries.¹ From his childhood he had listened to the traditions about these saints, which the people of Saul and Downpatrick cherished carefully; he had learned by heart the history of their holiness, and wondrous power as it had been handed down from sire to son in every household around Saul; and from all this he had kept gathering memories which could not fail to be fruitful unto blessing in the years that were to come. Together with the traditions of the saints of Down there were others which Hugh learned in his childhood; but they were neither holy, nor happy in the deeds which they enabled him to recall, because they told of human cruelty and bitter wrong. Hugh was only two years old when Brian Mac Art O'Neill of Clanaboy² was invited by Walter Devereux, Earl of Essex, to a banquet in Belfast; and there, in the midst of the festival, two hundred of Brian's retinue were slain before his eyes, and then he and his wife

¹ Saul is only two miles from Downpatrick.

² The *Ards* in Down.

were carried off prisoners to Dublin. A year later the massacre of Rathlin Island took place, in which six hundred and fifty old men, maidens, and little children were butchered in cold blood. In 1577, when Hugh was six years old, one hundred and eighty unsuspecting men were set upon, at the rath of Mullaghmast, and treacherously slaughtered in two hours. Hugh Mac Caughwell was too young to understand the meaning of these crimes while they were being done; but he was old enough to hear the narrative of them as it was told by the fireside in winter, and to lay it up in his memory, to be recalled and understood fully in later years. Times like those in which Hugh was born were fitted to train men into rebellion against all earthly power.

Hugh's parents were not wealthy when he was born, but they were as noble as the highest in the land. The *Ulan cathmael*, or family of the Mac Caughwell's, dwelt chiefly, it is said,¹ in the northern portion of the barony of Clogher, in the county of Tyrone, and traced back their pedigree to Niall of the Nine Hostages.² A branch, however, of this family was a sept of the tribe of Magennis of Iveagh, in the county of Down, and this branch claimed to be descended from Dichu, the first convert whom St. Patrick baptized in Ulster. The barony of Lecale was the ancestral territory of this branch of the Clancathmael, and from these Hugh Mac Caughwell was descended. His family was poor when he came into life; but poverty in Ireland scarcely means dishonour, and it could easily be accounted for during the centuries when English adventurers, under the mask of their new religion, were seeking to enrich themselves by turning the native Irish from their homesteads as well as from their churches. The MacCaughwells of Lecale had known persecution and robbery; on the 31st May, 1532, an indenture was drawn up between Leonard Grey, the Lord Deputy, and one Raymond Savage, by which it was agreed that Raymond would settle in Lecale, taking up the chieftaincy thereof on condition that he would pay one horse, and one

¹ Lynch, *Cambrens. Evers.*, p. 244.

² Vernuleus.

hundred fat kine to the Lord Deputy. Savage strove to seize upon Lecale, but the whole tribe of Magennis rose against him. After a bitter struggle he was driven forth, and for a time the MacCaughwells were left in quiet possession of the territory they had always looked on as their own. Almost from the time of her accession, in 1558, Queen Elizabeth had been striving for the destruction of Shane O'Neill, the head of all the clans of Tyrconnell; Neill Grey was offered a hundred marks to murder Shane, but could not earn them; one Smythe sent poisoned wine to Shane, who would not drink it. Only in 1567 was Elizabeth's wish gratified, when Piers, an agent of Earl Sussex, persuaded Alistar Oge McDonnell with the Antrim Scots to murder Shane with his wife and fifty followers in the camp of North Clanaboy in county Antrim. As soon as Shane was dead the crown seized on all his lands and the lands of those who acknowledged him as chieftain. The Magennises and their adherents were included in this act of attainder, and Sir Henry Sydney marched northwards to enforce it with the sword. Again, in 1573, Walter Devereux, Earl of Essex, obtained a grant of land in the north-east of Ulster, and strove to enter into possession. In times and circumstances like these it was not easy for the Irish of Tyrowen to be wealthy, for what was saved from the ravages of war was lost by law or spoliation.

Through troubled years Hugh grew up, and when old enough to leave home safely he was sent to the Isle of Man to find the learning denied to him at home. For many centuries there had been constant intercourse between the coast of Down and the Isle of Man. The Franciscan convent of Downpatrick was founded, in 1240, by Africa, daughter of Godred, the Norwegian king of Man. During his stay among the Manx, Hugh MacCaughwell grew in age and in learning—faster, they said, in learning than in years—outstripping all his fellows, and making a name for himself which went before him into the valleys and among the mountains of his native Down. So clever was he, that on his return to Ireland he was chosen by Hugh O'Neill, Earl of Tyrone, to be tutor to Henry and Hugh, two sons of his

first marriage.¹ At that time, in Ireland, there was scarcely anyone better educated than Hugh, The O'Neill. When Matthew O'Neill, his father, was murdered, the English Government took charge of Hugh, brought him to England, and had him educated in all the learning of the time. He was very clever; he availed himself of the advantages given him, and became, by his varied accomplishments and fitness for even the weightiest business, a great favourite with Queen Elizabeth. Better than anyone else he understood the difficulties and dangers which would beset the path of his sons through life, how needful wise and clever training was for such as they; and when he chose Hugh MacCaughwell to be tutor to his sons, he must have done so in the belief that he could find none more trustworthy in every way than he.

Hugh entered into the household of The O'Neill, and in a short time gained for himself not only the love of the two boys, but the fullest trust also which their father could place in him. Hugh was consulted in every weighty matter, and became the most intimate counsellor of the Earl of Tyrone, who made him one of his chosen knights, presenting him on the occasion with a Spanish sword of the most exquisite workmanship and temper. When the time came for Henry O'Neill to go abroad to finish his education at some of the great universities, Salamanca was the one selected, and Hugh MacCaughwell went thither with him, about the year 1599. For some time the life of Hugh and his pupil went on quietly, both of them attending the lectures with remarkable regularity and profit. After some time, however, letters began to come from Tyrone, in which Hugh was instructed to make friends among the Spaniards, that thereby he might be able, at some later time, to crave help for The O'Neill and the Irish Catholics who were banded with him. At last Hugh was told to go with young Henry O'Neill to the court of the King, and ask help, in

¹ 'Habuit tres uxores, primam omnium lectissimam foeminam ex familia O'Donnellorum ex qua suscepit plures proles, inter quas duo filli optimae indolis, nunc adolescentes, Hugo et Henricus.'—Lombard, *De Regn. Hib.*, p. 383.

O'Neill's name, for the Irish. They went, and were received kindly by the King of Spain. Many promises were given ; but, after much luckless waiting, young O'Neill returned to Ireland, laden with hopes which were as empty as Dead Sea fruit ; and Hugh MacCaughwell went back to his books and his lectures in the halls of Salamanca, the quiet of which seemed most in keeping with his spirit.

During the years of his residence in Salamanca, Hugh had come to love the world less as he knew it more. The intrigues of courts, the hollowness of princely promises, the fickleness of kingly favour, the things he had known and with which he had come in touch during his years in Spain, made him learn that his heart was not of the world, that it was not fitted for the world's diplomacy, and that it could never be at rest in the midst of worldly ways. Quietly, but very steadily, he felt his heart drawn towards the Order of St. Francis, until at length he turned away from the bright career which lay before him in the university, and became a Franciscan novice in the convent of Salamanca. This must have happened about the year 1603. We know that on the 30th March, 1602, when Hugh O'Neill made his submission, at Mellifont, to Lord Mountjoy as the deputy of Queen Elizabeth (who was then really six days dead), one of the conditions imposed was, that he should write to Philip III. of Spain to send home his son, Henry, who had gone with Hugh MacCaughwell to finish his studies at Salamanca. It must have been after the return of Henry O'Neill to Ireland that Hugh became a Franciscan novice.

Out in the world the life of Hugh MacCaughwell had always been most exemplary. When he entered the cloister he became a model whom many that were old in religion could profitably imitate. The old cleverness was with Hugh still, the easy dignity of manner which had come to him by nature, and from long and familiar intercourse with the noblest and most educated both at home and in Spain, the unobtrusive learning which had won for him so much honour, the soft and solemn speech which charmed those who met him—all these things remained ; but there were

added unto them other qualities which were wonderful in the eyes of those who had served God blamelessly and long. The Franciscan rule obliges to many fasts ; but as it was observed by Hugh MacCaughwell, it seemed to be a long fast that was seldom broken. He often went for whole days without tasting one morsel of food. Many a time his only meal was the yolk of one egg, which was not eaten until sundown, and at no time did he eat what seemed enough to keep his frail body from parting with its soul. One who knew him well has said of him : ' His food was fasting ; sobriety was the law of his life ; abstinence his daily meal.'¹ On entering the cloister he left the world utterly behind him, and thenceforth his life seemed to be a prayer which never ceased ; at all times and in all places his mind was lifted up to God ; the divine mysteries or the greatness of the Most High were the theme of his frequent speech ; his thought was winged to soar always heavenwards, it touched the earth only to feel, like Noah's dove, that it could find thereon nowhere to stay and rest. When the novitiate had ended, Hugh was solemnly professed, and with his profession his earnestness was increased. He was by no means a strong man ; his health was frail when at its best ; yet the energy of his soul supplied for the weakness of his body. He never faltered before any duty, never failed in any task he was set to do. Soon after his profession he was ordained priest, and the dignity of the priesthood seemed to befit him well. He understood the greatness of his office, and he lived up to it to the utmost of his power. A few years after his ordination we find him back again in the schools of Salamanca, holding the Chair of Theology, teaching where he once was taught. As a Franciscan, Father Hugh had to follow Scotus as his master, and the task was an easy one for him. He seemed to thoroughly understand the Subtle Doctor ; and as both were natives of the same county, and of the same barony therein, there may have been more than scholastic relationship between

¹ 'Ita victus ejus jejunium, lex vitæ sobrietas, refectio abstinentia.'—Vernuleus.

Duns Scotus and his countryman, who explained him best in the schools of Salamanca. Father Hugh taught well, showing in all things ripe scholarship and varied learning, gathered in camp and court as well as in the schools. It was in Salamanca his scholars said of him that he was 'acute, grave, modest, and sublime'—words which betoken qualities rarely found together in anyone, and least of all in a professor.

After teaching for some years at Salamanca, Father Hugh MacCaughwell, was sent to Louvain to help Father Florence Conry in the foundation of the Irish Franciscan College of St. Anthony. The enlightened and civilising English law had made it unlawful for Irish priest or friar to have or to impart any learning; the Franciscan schools of philosophy and theology which had flourished at Timoleague, Donegal, Multifarnham, and elsewhere, were closed, owing to these laws, and the Franciscan students were sent here and there through Europe to find that knowledge which the Scripture says: 'shall be sought from the lips of a priest.' For many years after the foundation of St. Anthony's at Louvain, Father Hugh was continued in the guardianship of the convent and in the Chair of Theology. He laboured with his whole heart to set the house on a firm foundation, and to make the Irish Franciscans equal, if not superior, to any other students of the university; when we know that Fleming, Colgan, and Hickey, were among those he taught, we may safely say that St. Anthony's did not disgrace the Franciscan Order, or the Irish nation. Father MacCaughwell's heart seems to have been always in St. Anthony's, for even when he left Louvain for ever he was always kept thinking and working for its welfare.

There is scarcely anything more amazing in the lives of men of the seventeenth century than the industry which marked their years. They had neither steam, nor telegraph, the letter post was costly and uncertain, newspapers were few and very small, and means of communication were slow and at the mercy of the weather; yet they were able, the learned men of that time, to write books which are store-houses from which the world has been drawing ever

since all that is best and surest of its learning. Father MacCaughwell was neither a Samson, nor a Stylite, he was delicate at his best, and he was never allowed to rest long in any place. While guardian of Louvain he spent his vacations, not by choice but by command, in travelling on foot from Louvain to Salamanca, and back to Louvain again. Thence he went to Segovia, to Paris, and to Rome, as his superiors called him, and he always went on foot. While he was busy with his lectures as professor, he was engaged by the General of the Order in many matters relating to the discipline and government of the Order. In the intervals between his many journeys, and while he was still at Louvain, Father Hugh was able to prepare material for a new edition of the *Commentaries of Scotus on the Four Books of the Sentences*. There had been on commentary by an Irish Franciscan on the great Irish doctor since that published by Maurice O'Fihely De Portu; and in order that this new edition might be as perfect as possible, Father Hugh compared all the printed editions with an old MS. copy of the work; he added marginal references to other authors who treated of the matter in the text; gave a copious index to the whole work, and left nothing undone to make this edition worthy of Scotus and of his editor. It was this edition of *Scotus in Libros Sententiarum* which Father Hickey followed in the collected edition of the works of Scotus published by the Franciscans of St. Isidore's under the leadership of Father Luke Wadding.¹ The preparation of the *Books of the Sentences* for the press would be the labour of a lifetime for most men, yet it was only one of the many works which Father MacCaughwell was able to finish in his life of twenty years in the Order of St. Francis. To this new edition of the *Sentences* Father Hugh prefixed a life of Duns Scotus, in which he enters largely into the question of

¹ 'Imprimis secutus sum impressionem correctam Antwerpiensem (1620), quam Illustrissimus Dominus et observandus magister meus Fr. Hugo Cavellus, Primas Hiberniae Ardmachanus, edidit, ejusque partitiones per scholia ut vel sic per membra et articulos commentarius distribueretur juxta ipsius textus divisionem, ne continua serie deductus gravis fieret et prolixus. Hic stylus magis placuit, quia claritate praestat et commoda de scholio in scholium explicatio subjecta lectorem continet, ne longius excurrendum esset.' (Fr. Hickey, in Praef. 4, *Lib. Scoti*.)

his birthplace, showing, of course, that he was an Irishman and a native of Down, and setting the question at rest for ever.

As an appendix to the 3. quest. i. Distinct. iii. Lib. Sentent., he wrote a wonderful tract on the Immaculate Conception of our Blessed Lady, which was then hotly debated in the schools. The *Reportata* and *Quodlibetalia* of Scotus were also edited, with notes, by Father Hugh. He wrote and published a complete commentary on the work of Scotus in *Porphyrianum*, and it is to this improved edition of the works of the Subtle Doctor that the great revival of Scotist doctrine throughout the schools of Europe was chiefly due. It was very fitting, indeed, that a native of Down would be the editor of Scotus, and it was providential that one as clever as Hugh MacCaughwell was found to do the mighty work.¹ Besides the works of Scotus edited by him, Father MacCaughwell wrote some works on the rule of St. Francis, and also, in the Irish language and character, *A Mirror of Penance*, which shows forth the piety as well as the learning of its author. This book was printed in Louvain, in 1618.²

In the year 1617, Father Hugh was elected *Custos* of the Irish Franciscans. Three years later, on the 29th May, 1621, by the chapter held at Segovia, he was elected Definitor-General, and went to reside in Rome, at the convent of Aracoeli, near the Capitol. He was not long in Rome when he was appointed to the Chair of Theology, which he had held with such honour in Salamanca and Louvain. The fame of his learning went abroad through the city of the Popes; and as rapidly as he won minds to

¹ 'Duo Archiepiscopi Hiberni plurimum illustrarunt potiora Doctoris (Subtilis) opera. Primus Mauritius a Portu, Archiepiscopus Tuamensis . . . Secundus Hugo Cavellus, Archiepiscopus Ardmachanus, Hiberniae Primas, prius Louvaniensis, mox Romanus Professor, Generalis sui Ordinis Definitor, vir notae pietatis et ingenui candoris, quem ego peramanter suspiciebam. Ille in omnes fere Scoti elucubrationes, strictiores vel largiores uti occasio ferebat notas edidit, sed quaestiones dumtaxat in opus Scoti *Porphyrianum* et adnotationes in tractatum de *Primo Principio*, in *Theoremata* et in *Metaphysicam* nobis licuit habere. Hic Libros *De Anima* scholiis varioque ornatu illustravit et supplemento perfecit; utrumque opus *Metaphysicae*, *Scriptum Oxoniense* et *Parisiense*, *Quodlibeta* et *Collationes* similibus notis et cura dilucidavit.' (In Praefat. General in opera Scoti a Pre. Luca Waddingo edita.)

² A copy of this book is in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin.

honour his learning, he won hearts to love his pious and gentle ways. He was as good as he was clever; his own friars loved and revered him. Father Wadding 'looked up to him very lovingly;' Father Hickey called him his honourable master.

Outside the Order he was held in equal, if not greater, honour. His piety was as heartfelt as his learning was solid; and while honour came upon him steadily, he seemed to heed not the praise of men. Through the changing years he went on his way unchangingly, keeping up in Rome the practices which he had begun in Salamanca. He never entered his cell without going instantly on his knees to say a prayer; the name of Jesus was constantly on his lips throughout the day, and whenever he awoke at night. He could not go to sleep if he had not said our Lady's Litany. Before leaving the house he always said the *Veni Creator*; he never set his hand to anything without first asking God's blessing on his undertaking; he wore a hair shirt constantly, took the discipline every day; he spent the greater part of the night praying, or writing, and was as clever to find ways of penance as to answer a strong objection in a dispute. This portion of his life reads like a leaf from the life of a saint, and he was a saint; yet withal he was the gentlest of men. The Pope himself looked on Father Hugh as one of the cleverest men in the city; yet he many a time asked and took advice from the youngest, or most unlettered in the convent. Poor and rich were equally at home with him. He certainly fulfilled, in his own life, the words of St. Paul: he 'was made all things to all men;' and by his unfailing power to feel with everyone won the hearts of all who met him.

Omnibus carus, sibi corda nexu
Vinxit amoris.

While he lived in Rome it was his constant practice to visit the seven basilicas once or twice a month. In the winter this might have been an easy thing, but in the hot summer days it was more a penance than a pastime to go round, after the morning's work in school, these seven

churches ; yet the energy of his soul outstripped always the weakness of his frail body. There was one pleasure which he had in Rome, and it must have been a great one for him. Father Luke Wadding had come to Rome, in the year 1618, as theologian for the King of Spain's embassy on the question of the Immaculate Conception, and from the year 1620 had been living with Father Anthony Hickey in the convent of St. Peter's, in Montorio, already showing that wonderful energy and grasp of detail which won for him honour and power not only in Rome, but throughout the length and breadth of Catholic Europe. Father Hickey, as we know, had been a pupil of Father MacCaughwell in Louvain ; and on the arrival of the latter in Rome, towards the end of 1621, it was not long before master and pupil met again. Father Luke Wadding was not missing from their meeting. Having once found his way to St. Peter's, in Montorio, Father Hugh returned thither many a time during his years in Rome ; for those he had known longest and loved most were buried in that Franciscan church on the Janiculum. On the 20th July, 1616, The O'Neill, the great Hugh, who had been the bulwark of Ulster on many a bloody field, gave back his soul to the God who had created it, after six and seventy years of life ; and all that was earthly of that great soldier was laid to rest in the Church of St. Peter in Montorio, under a simple stone, which said :

D. O. M.
Hic Quiescunt
Ugonis. Principis. O'Neill
Ossa.

Near him were buried, in the same church, Rory, Earl of Tyrconnell, Caffar, his brother, and Hugh O'Neill, Baron of Dungannon. Nowhere in Rome could Hugh MacCaughwell recall so well happy days and early years as by the graves of his early patrons ; and many a time his heart must have led him, in the bright spring mornings, or in the autumn evenings, to those graves on the Janiculum, to think over and to pray for those dead whom he could justly call his own. Many a time, too, Fathers Wadding and Hickey and

Father Hugh must have thought and talked together over the story of their own poor land, and of the cruelty which drove The O'Donnell and The O'Neill to their graves on a Roman hillside. Exiles they themselves were by the graves of noble exiles; and it was these evenings on Montorio, and the memories which they left, that made Father Wadding so earnest, in later years, in the cause of his native land.

In the year 1622 some Spanish Franciscans built the Church of St. Isidore on the slopes of ancient *Collis Hortulorum*, but after a year or two they found that they were unable to keep the convent, and resigned it to the General of the Order. The General sent other Spanish Franciscans in the stead of the former, but these latter fell into debt, or added to the debt of their forerunners, with the result that church and convent were to be sold off, if the debt were not paid speedily. In this state of things the General, Father Bernardine of Siena, turned to Father Wadding, whose power even then in Rome was very great. Many a time Father Hugh and Father Luke had talked together over the possibility and advantages of having an Irish Franciscan College in the city of the Popes, like that which Father Hugh had helped to establish in Louvain, and it seemed to both of them that St. Isidore's would answer admirably the end they sought. Father Hugh was then Definitor General, and had a voice in the disposal of the convent. Father Wadding had countless friends in Rome, and after some delay was able to find what money was needed to pay the debt, on condition, however, that St. Isidore's should belong thenceforth and for ever to the Irish Franciscans exclusively. The General with his Council accepted these conditions, and on the 21st June, 1625, Father Luke Wadding took possession of the convent in the name of the Irish Franciscans. A little later Father Anthony Hickey was installed first Lector of Theology, and Father Patrick Fleming first Lector of Philosophy, both of whom had studied under Father MacCaughwell at Louvain. Father Martin Walsh was named second Lector of Theology and Father John Ponce second Lector of Philosophy. In

the November following Pope Urban VIII. confirmed by a special Bull the exclusive right of the Irish Franciscans to St. Isidore's—a right which is owing to both Father MacCaughwell's and Father Wadding's united labour.

Towards the end of the year 1625, the Archbishop of Armagh, Peter Lombard, breathed his last, and a great many were presented to the Holy See as fit and worthy to fill that high position. Major-General John O'Neill, a son of the late Hugh, Earl of Tyrone, was at that time commanding the Irish regiment in Flanders; he was all powerful in Rome, and, remembering his old master gratefully and with honour, he wrote to Pope Urban VIII. to say that only a native of Ulster should be appointed, and that there was no Ulsterman so thoroughly worthy as Father Hugh MacCaughwell. He had the experience which years bring, he was well versed in theology and Canon Law; was admittedly a clever man; he had held weighty and honourable positions in his own Order, and was in all things most acceptable to the people of the diocese over which he would have to rule. The word of the O'Neill had weight, the Pope himself knew well, and understood his worth; and the end was that on the 7th June, 1626, Father Hugh MacCaughwell was consecrated Archbishop of Armagh, having been preconised by the Pope on the 17th March before. Having been consecrated he made ready to set out at once to take charge of the diocese over which he had been appointed chief pastor. Things were in readiness, and he felt, as he was about to leave Rome, never perhaps to see it in his life again, that he would make a last round of the basilicas he had so often visited. He did so, and thereby lost his life. He caught a tertian fever, of which they say :

Febres autumnales aut aeternae, aut mortales.

He returned to Aracoeli, as he felt, for the last time. While he was still able, he wrote to Pope Urban VIII. requesting that his successor in Armagh would not be named without consulting the Earl of Tyrone. He then received the last sacraments; two brothers, who were friars, Fathers Edmond and Anthony Dungan, were with him to the

end. He gave his pastoral cross and ring to Father Edmond, and his habit to Father Anthony. When the end was near he fixed his eyes on a painting of St. Anne, and calmly breathed forth his soul into the hands of his Creator. When the Pope heard of his death he said : ' We have lost not a man, but an angel.' Father MacCaughwell was buried in the Church of St. Isidore, before the chapel of SS. Francis and Patrick, to the Gospel side of the high altar, and the Earl of Tyrone placed a marble slab to his memory with the following inscription :—

D. O. M.
 Illustrissimo et Reverendissimo Domino
 Fr. Hugoni Cavello.
 Ordinis Minorum Strictioris Observantiae
 Lectori Definitori Generali,
 Archiepiscopo Armacano.
 Primati Hiberniae.
 De Patria Religione Litteris Benemerito
 Cujus Mortem Merita.
 In Patriam Reditum
 Mors Praevenit.
 Excellentissimus D. Joannes O'Neill Tironiae Comes
 Hunc Lapidem Poni Fecit.
 Obiit XXII. Septembris M.D.CXXVI.
 Pietatis LV.

The tread of many feet during the passing centuries has worn away the epitaph from the marble slab, but his pen wrote for Father Hugh, across the learning of the ages, an epitaph which shall be legible for ever.

E. B. FITZMAURICE, O.S.F.

THE GOSPELS IN THE EARLY CHURCH

II.

WE have already shown that St. Justin Martyr, in the middle of the second century, was familiar with the whole substance of our Gospels, that he relied upon written sources which he calls *The Memoirs of the Apostles*, and that he says these were publicly read in the liturgical assemblies of Christians, like the prophecies of the Old Testament.¹ And when we bear in mind that Irenæus, less than fifty years after Justin, knew and received only our present Gospels, and that Tatian, Justin's own disciple, recognised no others, there can remain no reasonable doubt that the *Memoirs* spoken of by Justin were identical with our present four Gospels.

Let us now see what reasons Rationalists can offer to combat this conclusion. They point to the fact that the quotations of Justin do not agree exactly with our present Gospels; in other words, that they are not *verbatim* quotations; that he refers to other sources besides the *Memoirs*; and that he speaks of certain incidents or circumstances of our Lord's life not mentioned in our Gospels. For these reasons, some of them conclude that if he used our Gospels, they had not yet attained their present form; while others infer that he did not use our Gospels at all, but a Gospel or Gospels now lost. With regard to this latter conclusion, I may here remark, that, as far as the evidences of the Christian religion are concerned, it matters nothing whether Justin used a lost Gospel or the four that we receive. Whatever his sources were, they contained, as we have shown, the same story of Christ's life that is contained in our Gospels; they taught the same faith in Christ's Divinity; they equally supposed the same belief in the supernatural. Consequently, they were equally opposed with our present Gospels to the fundamental tenets of Rationalism, and it

¹ See the I. E. RECORD of last month.

remains undeniable that a father of the middle of the second century taught as the doctrine handed down by the Apostles the same doctrine the Church professes to-day.

But let us examine in detail the reasons just mentioned, on the strength of which Rationalists deny to Justin a knowledge of our present Gospels. Regarding Justin's quotations, I frankly admit at once that many of them present slight differences from the text of our Gospels. But every student of the New Testament knows that in many instances there are slight differences between St. Paul's quotations of the Old Testament and the present text as it has been handed down, whether in the Hebrew or the Septuagint. And yet no one, on this account, denies that St. Paul in such cases is quoting from the Old Testament. It must be borne in mind that in the days before printing was invented reference to a text was not so easy as it is now with our clearly printed books and the aid of concordances; and, consequently, a writer frequently depended on his memory, satisfied if he was giving the substance of the passage he quoted.¹ That this, in fact, was Justin's habit, is proved from the character of his quotations from the Old Testament. In this case we know what he intended to quote, and we find that his quotations differ from our present text of the Old Testament just as they do from our present text of the Gospels. In the one case he frequently quotes loosely, adapts, or combines texts just as he does in the other. Westcott gives a long list of examples under each of these heads.² We shall content ourselves with referring to a few. Thus in *Apol.* i. 59, Justin quotes loosely Gen. i. 1-3, and in *Dial.* 127, Gen. vii. 16. In *Apol.* i. 62, he adapts Exod. iii. 5, and in *Dial.* 94, Numb. xxi. 8, 9. Again, in *Apol.* i. 32, he combines Isai. xi. 1, 10, with Numb. xxiv. 17, and in *Dial.* 43 and 46, Isai. vii. 10-16, with Isai. viii. 4, and Isai. vii. 17.

Hence it is clear that Justin did not consider himself

¹ This would be especially the case in works like Justin's, intended for unbelievers. In such a case, he would naturally be solicitous to give a general view of the Gospel teaching rather than to reproduce exactly any one account.

² *Canon of the New Testament*, 7th edition, pp. 176, 177.

bound to quote *verbatim*, and that it was not by any means his invariable custom to do so. Nor was this peculiar to him. The same looseness of quotation, as we have already remarked, is met with in the writings of St. Paul, and is also to be noticed in the writings of the other early fathers, even after the time of Justin; as, for instance, St. Irenæus. Nor were the sacred writers peculiar in this respect. Loose quotation, preserving the sense, but not all the precise words, was rather the rule than the exception. I find in Dr. Salmon's *Introduction to the New Testament* a very apposite quotation on this point, taken from the Preface to Pearce's *Longinus*, in which it is stated that Longinus never quoted *verbatim* if the quotation contained more than two or three words, and that it was not the custom to do so.¹ Granting, then, that Justin's citations do not agree *verbatim* with the present text of our Gospels, it by no means follows that it is not from them he quotes. The slight variations—in many cases very slight—such as the interchange of synonyms, is abundantly accounted for by the custom of the time. We ought to bear in mind, moreover, that Justin may have used a manuscript in which different readings from those with which we are familiar were found.

If all that we have just shown to be true regarding the habit of loose quotation in early times, the usage of Justin himself when quoting from the Old Testament, and the similar usage of St. Paul be borne in mind, we hold that it is impossible for any unprejudiced reader to deny that Justin quotes our Gospels. That the reader may judge of this for himself we shall now give at some length some of Justin's quotations, and allow them to declare for themselves the source from which they are taken. In chapters xv., xvi.,

¹ 'Neque enim aut Longino aut aliis priorum saeculorum scriptoribus videtur usitatum fuisse accurate fideque satis verba citare. Imo nusquam si bene memini, Longinus per totum suum Commentarium cujusvis auctoris locum iisdem verbis (modo pluribus quam duobus aut tribus consisteret) exhibuit, nec aliter ab aliis scriptoribus factum video. Si enim sensum auctoris et praecipua citatae sententiae verba ob oculos lectoris ponerent, de caeteris minus solliciti fuere. Accurata haec citandi diligentia, qua hodie utimur, quaeque laudabilis sane est, frustra in veteribus quaerenda est.' (*Praef. in Longinum*, p. xix., ed. 1782.)

and xvii. of the *First Apology* he quotes for the Emperor, Antoninus Pius, various precepts of our Lord in order to prove to the Emperor the pure and lofty character of the Christian teaching:—¹

But lest we should seem to be reasoning sophistically [he says], we consider it right, before giving you the promised explanation, to cite a few precepts given by Christ Himself. And be it yours, as powerful rulers, to inquire whether we have been taught and do teach these things truly. Brief and concise utterances fell from Him, for He was no sophist, and His word was the power of God. Concerning chastity He uttered such sentiments as these: 'Whosoever looketh upon a woman to lust after her, hath committed adultery with her already in his heart before God.' And, 'If thy right eye scandalize thee, cut it out, for it is expedient for thee to enter into the kingdom of heaven with one eye, rather than, having two eyes, to be cast into everlasting fire.' And, 'Whosoever shall marry her that is put away from another husband, committeth adultery.'¹ And, 'There are some who have been made eunuchs by men, and some who were born eunuchs, and some who have made themselves eunuchs for the kingdom of heaven's sake; but all do not receive this saying.'² . . . And of our love to all He taught thus: 'If you love them that love you, what new thing do you? For even fornicators do this. But I say unto you, pray for your enemies, and love them that hate you, and bless them that curse you, and pray for them that calumniate you.'³ And that we should share with the needy, and do nothing for glory, He said: 'Give to him that asketh, and from him that would borrow turn not away; for if you lend to them of whom you hope to receive, what new thing do you? Even the publicans do this. Lay not up to yourselves treasures on earth, where moth and rust consume, and where robbers break through; but lay up to yourselves treasures in heaven, where neither moth nor rust doth consume. For what doth it profit a man, if he gain the whole world, and suffer the loss of his own soul? Or what exchange shall a man give for it? Lay up treasure, therefore, in heaven, where neither moth nor rust doth consume.'⁴ And, 'Be ye kind and merciful, as your Father also is kind and merciful, and maketh His sun to rise upon sinners, and the just, and the wicked. Be not solicitous what you shall eat, or what you shall put on. Are you not of more value than the birds and the beasts? And God feedeth them. Be not solicitous, therefore, what you shall eat, or what you shall put

¹ Compare Matt. v. 28, 29, 32.

² Matt. xix. 12.

³ Matt. v. 46, 44. Luke vi. 28.

⁴ Luke vi. 30-34. Matt. vi. 19, xvi., 26, vi. 20.

on ; for your heavenly Father knoweth that you have need of all these things. But seek ye the kingdom of heaven, and all these things shall be added unto you. For where his treasure is, there also is the mind of a man.'¹ And, 'Do not these things to be seen by men, otherwise you shall not have a reward of your Father who is in heaven.'

All the preceding quotations are taken from a single chapter, the fifteenth of the *First Apology*. And in the two following chapters Justin continues in the same manner, quoting the precepts of Christ in a form in nearly every case identical with that in which they are found in our present Gospels. I believe, therefore, that I cannot be thought to have spoken too strongly when I said that it is impossible for any unprejudiced reader to deny that Justin quotes our Gospels.

It will be noticed that the quotations we have given—and the same is true of nearly all Justin's quotations—are taken from the Gospels of SS. Matthew and Luke. We must not, however, conclude, on this account, that the Gospels of SS. Mark and John were unknown to him. The fact that they were known to Tatian, Justin's disciple, and held of such account by him that he used them in the same way as the Gospels of SS. Matthew and Luke in compiling the *Diatessaron*, would afford a strong presumption, even if we had no direct evidence, that Justin, too, must have been acquainted with them. St. Mark's Gospel contains so little peculiar to itself, so little that is not found either in St. Matthew or St. Luke in almost similar words, that in anonymous quotations like Justin's, we need not be surprised that it is difficult in any particular instance to say that the reference is made to St. Mark. Yet there is a passage in the *Dialogue*, chapter 106, which places beyond doubt Justin's use of the Gospel of St. Mark. 'And when it is said,' he writes, 'that He (Christ) changed the name of one of the Apostles to Peter ; and when it is written in the *Memoirs* (of Him) that this so happened, as well as that He changed the name of other two brothers, the sons of Zebedee, to Boanerges, which means sons of thunder, this

¹ Luke vi. 36. Matt. v. 45, vi. 25, 26, 33, 21.

² Matt. vi. 1.

was an announcement,' &c. Now, the change of name of the sons of Zebedee is mentioned *only in the Gospel of St. Mark*, and there it is mentioned in immediate connection with the change of Peter's name, so that the *Memoirs* to which Justin here refers can be no other than the Gospel of St. Mark.

Again, though Rationalists insist specially on Justin's ignorance of St. John's Gospel, there can be no doubt that he was acquainted with it. In the *First Apology*, chapter 61, speaking of converts, he says :—

They are brought by us where there is water, and are regenerated in the same manner in which we ourselves were regenerated. For, in the name of God, the Father and Lord of the universe, and of our Saviour Jesus Christ, and of the Holy Spirit, they then receive the washing with water. For Christ also said : 'Except ye be born again, ye shall not enter into the kingdom of God.' Now, that it is impossible for those who have been once born to enter into their mothers' wombs, is manifest to all.

If anyone will take the trouble of comparing this with Christ's discourse to Nicodemus, recorded in the Fourth Gospel,¹ it will be equally manifest that there can be no doubt St. Justin had the words in St. John before his mind. Moreover, the whole doctrine of St. Justin concerning the eternal 'Logos' presupposes, and is founded upon, the Gospel of St. John. It must be remembered that outside the writings of St. John the term is nowhere in the New Testament applied to the Son of God, except, perhaps, once, in Heb. iv. 12. Yet Justin speaks of the 'Logos' more than twenty times; according to him, this 'Logos' existed before all creation, dwelling with the Father, being Himself God (αὐτὸς ὢν οὗτος ὁ Θεὸς ἀπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς τῶν ὁλῶν γεννηθεῖς); by Him all things were made, He became man, and was called Jesus Christ, and was the only begotten (μονογενὴς) of the Father.² Now, where except in the Fourth Gospel could Justin have found this doctrine of the Divine 'Logos'? Not only is the doctrine the same, but Justin reproduces even the language of St. John. It is true

¹ iii. 3-5.

² *Apol.* i. 52, 63; *Apol.* ii., 6; *Dial.* 56, 58, 61, 62, 105, 126, 128.

Plato and the Alexandrian Jew, Philo, had written of the 'Logos;' but in a very different manner from Justin. With Plato the 'Logos' was not a distinct Person, but only an attribute of God; while Philo denied His divinity, and held that matter was not created by Him, but was eternal; and neither ever dreamt of the mystery that 'The Word was made flesh, and dwelt among us.' We may reasonably conclude, therefore, that Justin was familiar with the Fourth Gospel, and derived his doctrine regarding the Divine 'Logos' therefrom.¹

I have not thought it necessary in discussing the character of Justin's quotations, to dwell at any length on the point that, in his references to his apostolic sources, he does not name Matthew, Mark, Luke, or John. No one who knows anything of the literary practice of the time, especially in apologetic writings, will find anything to wonder at in this.² The three certainly genuine works of Justin that have come down to us, namely, the two *Apologies* and the *Dialogue*, were all addressed to unbelievers, and it would have served no purpose to tell them whether, in any particular instance, the quotation was from this or that Evangelist. It was enough for them to know that the works quoted were of apostolic origin, publicly received, and of acknowledged authority, among Christians, and, therefore, reliable sources from which to learn what Christians really believed; and so much Justin takes care to tell them.

It follows, then, from all we have said, that there is nothing in the character of Justin's quotations to justify the view that he was not acquainted with our Gospels in their present form; on the contrary, everything points to the conclusion that the *Apostolic Memoirs* on which he relied, were the same four Gospels that we have at present.

But it is said that Justin used other sources than the *Memoirs*, and among them an apocryphal work still in existence, and known as the *Acts of Pilate*. It is hard to

¹ That Justin makes so little use of the Fourth Gospel may be largely due to the fact that its singularly spiritual and exalted character made it unsuitable for quotation in works intended for unbelievers.

² See, e.g., Westcott, pp. 120-122.

see what Rationalists can hope to conclude from an objection like this. Suppose Justin was deceived as to the value of some of the sources upon which he drew, would it not still be true that he used our Gospels, and would not his use of them, whether it was well advised or not, prove at least that they were in existence? But let us inquire what evidence there is that Justin used apocryphal sources, and set them on the same level with the *Memoirs*. The chief—indeed we may say the only—argument advanced for this, is that he refers twice to the *Acts of Pilate*, and Rationalists at once conclude that he speaks of the 'apocryphal book now known under that name. The two passages in which the references occur are found in chapters 35 and 48 of the *First Apology*. In the first, Justin after describing the incidents of the crucifixion, and showing that they had been predicted by the prophets, says: 'And that these things did happen, you can ascertain from the 'Acts of Pontius Pilate.' And in chapter 48 he says:—

And that it was predicted that our Christ should heal all diseases and raise the dead, hear what was said. There are these words: 'At His coming the lame shall leap as a hart, and the tongue of the stammerer shall be clear-speaking; the blind shall see, and the lepers shall be cleansed; and the dead shall rise and walk about.' And that He did those things, you can learn from the Acts of Pontius Pilate.

Now, which is more probable, that Justin, the philosopher, writing to the Roman Emperor, regarding the very foundations of his faith, here refers to an apocryphal book, which admittedly contains many silly absurdities, and is evidently of Christian origin, or that he refers to a genuine report furnished by Pilate, the Roman Governor of Palestine to the Emperor and Senate? We are helped towards a conclusion on this point by the fact that Tertullian, who was a lawyer, and who would, therefore, be naturally careful about the authorities he quoted, appeals in his *Apology*, chapter 21, to the same Acts of Pilate. We may reasonably conclude, I think, that both Justin and Tertullian refer to an authentic document of the Roman Governor, which, though it has perished since, perhaps was

early destroyed because of the evidence it afforded in favour of Christianity, was preserved in their time in the Roman archives. But, as I remarked already, even if we admitted that Justin on a few occasions referred to a worthless source,¹ it would still remain true that he used our Gospels, and therefore that they must have been already in existence.

Lastly, it is urged that Justin was acquainted with some details of our Lord's life, and with certain sayings of His which are not referred to in our Gospels, and from this it is inferred that his sources cannot have been our Gospels in their present form. Thus he adds to the Gospel account, that our Lord was born *in a cave*, that the wise men came from *Arabia*, that Christ worked as a *carpenter*, that at His baptism a fire was kindled in the Jordan, and the voice from Heaven said: 'Thou art My Son, this day have I begotten Thee.' And these are really all the incidents of our Lord's life found in Justin, and not found in our Gospels. Ought we not rather to wonder at the identity of range in both, than be surprised that Justin adds a few points which may well have come down to him, native of Palestine as he was, by local tradition? In not a single one of these instances does he refer to his written sources as the authority for his statement. Nay, more, when speaking of the voice: 'Thou art My Son, this day have I begotten Thee,' and of the fire in the Jordan, he seems to imply clearly that he was not relying in either case on the *Apostolic Memoirs* which were in his hands. His reference to the voice is as follows:—

For the devil of whom I just now spoke, as soon as (Christ) went up from the river Jordan—when the voice had been addressed to Him: 'Thou art My Son, this day have I begotten Thee'—is described in the *Memoirs* of the Apostles as having come to Him, and tempted Him so far as to say, 'Worship me.'²

It will be noted that the *Memoirs* are quoted for what they actually record, namely the temptation of Christ, but

¹ Both Clement of Alexandria and Origen quote the 'Gospel according to the Hebrews,' yet it is not denied that both received only our four Gospels as canonical.

² *Dial.*, 103.

not for the words of the voice from heaven.¹ Similarly, in regard to the fire, Justin makes the statement on his own authority, and not on the authority of the *Memoirs*. His words are :—

When Jesus came to the Jordan where John was baptizing, when He descended into the water, both a fire was kindled in the Jordan, and the Apostles of our Christ Himself recorded that when He came up out of the water the Holy Spirit as a dove lighted upon Him.²

Thus it transpires that Justin does not even once quote his *Memoirs* for any incident of our Lord's life not found in our present Gospels. With this we may well rest satisfied. Whether he drew from some apocryphal sources the few incidents he mentions that are not found in the Gospels, or derived them from tradition, matters little.³ It remains true that his *Apostolical Memoirs* appear to have contained all the events of our Lord's life found in our present Gospels, and to have contained no others besides.

If we add to these few details of our Lord's life two sayings attributed to Him by Justin, we shall have mentioned all that is found in Justin and not contained in our present Gospels. These sayings are : 'In whatsoever I find you, in this will I also judge you ;'⁴ and : 'There shall be schisms and heresies.'⁵ Neither saying in this form, be it noted, is found in any apocryphal Gospel, and we may hold Justin merely gives the substance of various words of our Lord contained in our present Gospels, or that he derived the sayings in this exact form from tradition. This, then,

¹ It is worthy of note that the words of the voice as given by Justin are held by textual critics to have stood in some MSS. of Luke iii. 22, as early as the second century.

² *Dial.*, 88 κατελθόντος τοῦ Ἰησοῦ ἐπὶ τὸ ὕδωρ καὶ πῦρ ἀνέφθη ἐν τῷ Ἰορδάνῃ, καὶ ἀναδύντος αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ τοῦ ὕδατος ὡς περιστερὰν τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα ἐπιπτήναι ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἔγραψαν οἱ ἀπόστολοι αὐτοῦ τούτου τοῦ χριστοῦ ἡμῶν. The construction is changed, and the Apostles are referred to only in regard to the descent of the Holy Ghost.

³ We learn from St. Epiphanius (*Adversus Haer.*, xxx. 13) that the apocryphal Ebionite Gospel gave the words of the voice from heaven as Justin does, and mentioned also the fire in the Jordan. It may well be that both relied upon tradition ; but even if we admitted that Justin in these instances quoted an apocryphal Gospel, his evidence for our Gospels would still be complete.

⁴ *Dial.*, 47.

⁵ *Dial.*, 35.

is all the extra-canonical matter found in Justin, and our readers are now in a position to draw their own conclusions. From these same data that we have examined Strauss draws the astonishing inference:—

We see, therefore, about the middle of the second century, the evangelical matter reduced to different versions, which in part correspond to our present Gospels, in part present discrepancies from them, which, like the cave at Bethlehem and the fire at the Jordan, place before our eyes the still unextinguished impulse of evangelical legendary poetry.¹

To us it seems absolutely clear from the whole inquiry that Justin used our present four Gospels and no others, and that he possessed the four in the same form in which we have them now; and we cannot help wondering that such evidence in their favour, both positive and negative, should be furnished by three comparatively short works of a father who wrote so early as the middle of the second century.

From St. Justin I go back to St. Papias. Papias, who was Bishop of Hierapolis, in Phrygia, belonged to the first half of the second century. He wrote five books entitled *Expositions of Dominical Oracles*,² which were still in existence in the time of Eusebius.

Five books of Papias are extant, which bear the title, *Expositions of Oracles of the Lord*. Of these Irenæus also makes mention as the only works written by him, in the following words: 'These things Papias, who was a hearer of John, and a companion of Polycarp, an ancient worthy, witnesseth in writing in the fourth of his books. For there are five books composed by him.' So far Irenæus.³

The exact date of composition of the work of Papias is not certain. Some have held that it was written almost at the beginning of the second century, while others will not allow it to be earlier than the time of St. Justin. The chief data that remain to determine the question must be sought in the few fragments of the work that have been preserved.⁴

¹ *A New Life of Jesus*, 2nd ed., p. 74.

² Λογίων κυριακῶν ἐξηγήσεις.

³ Euseb., *Hist. Eccles.*, iii. 39.

⁴ The *Paschal Chronicle*, a compilation of the sixth or seventh century, represents Papias as martyred at Pergamum, in the year 164, but coincidences

From these it is clear that Papias was separated by only one generation from Peter and the Apostles generally, while he was actually a contemporary of two personal disciples of Christ, Aristion and the Presbyter John. In his preface, which has been preserved for us by Eusebius, Papias says :—

But I will not scruple also to give a place for you along with my interpretations to everything that I learned carefully and remembered carefully in time past from the elders, guaranteeing its truth. For, unlike the many, I did not take pleasure in those who have so very much to say, but in those who teach the truth ; nor in those who relate foreign commandments, but in those (who record) such as were given from the Lord to the faith, and are derived from the truth itself. And again, on any occasion when a person came (in my way) who had been a follower of the Elders I would inquire about the discourses of the Elders—what was said by Andrew, or by Peter, or by Philip, or by Thomas or James, or by John or Matthew, or any other of the Lord's disciples, and what Aristion and the Elder John, the disciples of the Lord say. For I did not think that I could get so much profit from the contents of books as from the utterances of a living and abiding voice.

It will have been noticed that Papias here mentions the name of John twice, and in the second instance in such a way as to show that the John in question was still alive. Now, it is disputed whether the second reference, in which the present tense is used ('and what Aristion and the Elder John, the disciples of the Lord *say*') regards the Apostle John or a later disciple of the same name. It may, indeed, be that the Apostle is meant, and only referred to in this manner to show that he and Aristion, unlike the others mentioned, were still alive. It is true St. Jerome understood Papias to speak of two Johns,² and so did Eusebius in the 39th chapter of the third book from which we have quoted, but in other parts of his works Eusebius himself speaks of Papias as a contemporary of John the Evangelist,³

of language show that the compiler of the Chronicle confounded Papias with Papyrus, who, according to Eusebius was martyred at Pergamum in that year. The similarity of the names Papias and Papyrus makes the blunder intelligible.

¹ Euseb., *Hist. Eccles.*, iii. 39.

² From which it is clear that in his list of names itself there is one John who is reckoned among the Apostles, and another, the Elder John, whom he enumerates after Aristion.' (*St. Jer., De viris, illust.*, 18.)

³ Irenæus and others record that John, the Divine and Apostle survived until the times of Trajan, after which time Papias of Hierapolis and Polycarp,

and this was undoubtedly the common view among later writers. In any case, his own words prove that Papias was separated from such Apostles as St. Peter (who was martyred in 67 A.D.) by only one generation; and hence, while he may have written soon after the beginning, it seems certain that he must have written before the middle, of the second century.¹

Any evidence from so early an authority bearing on the present inquiry must plainly have great weight, and we now proceed to inquire what Papias has to say about the Gospels. Here, then, are his words as given by Eusebius:—²

And the Elder said this also: Mark, having become the interpreter of Peter, wrote down accurately everything that he remembered, without, however, recording in order *what was either said or done* by Christ. For neither did he hear the Lord, nor did he follow Him; but afterwards, as I said (attended) Peter, who adapted his instructions to the needs (of his hearers) but had no design of giving a connected account of the Dominical oracles (or words).³ So, then, Mark made no mistake, while he thus wrote down some things as he remembered them; for he made it his one care not to omit anything that he had heard, or to set down any false statement therein. But concerning Matthew [Eusebius adds] the following statement is made (by him): So then Matthew composed the oracles in the Hebrew language, and each one interpreted them as he could.⁴

Eusebius quotes nothing from Papias regarding the Gospel of St. Luke or of St. John. But it must be carefully borne in mind that it cannot, on this account, be concluded that Papias did not know and accept these Gospels. On the contrary, if anything in the work of Papias had led

Bishop of Smyrna, his hearers, became well known.' (Euseb., *Chronicon* for *Olymp.*, 220.)

And again, in his *Eccles. Hist.*, iii. 36, Eusebius says: 'At this time flourished in Asia, Polycarp, a disciple of the Apostles, who had received the bishopric of the Church in Smyrna at the hands of the eye-witnesses and ministers of the Lord. At which time Papias, who was himself also a bishop of the diocese of Hierapolis, became distinguished.'

¹ Lightfoot dates the work of Papias between 130 and 140; Salmon, between 125 and 130; and Cornely says: 'Inter omnes autem constat exeunte saeculo 1, et ineunte 2. saec. Papiam floruisse.'

² *Hist. Eccles.*, iii. 39. Eusebius introduces the quotation by saying that he will give the words of Papias concerning Mark *who wrote the Gospel*.

³ The readings here vary between *λόγιων* and *λόγων*.

⁴ *Ματθαῖος μὲν οὖν Ἐβραϊδὶ διαλέκτῳ τὰ λόγια συνεγράψατο, ἡρμήνευσε δ' αὐτὰ ὡς ἦν δυνατὸς ἕκαστος.*

Eusebius to suspect that he did not accept the third and fourth Gospels, we may be sure that Eusebius would have noted the fact. So far, however, is he from having any doubt regarding the view of Papias or any other father on this point, that he makes the confident and formal statement that the four Gospels were received by the common consent of all,¹ and that the Fourth Gospel was recognised as St. John's by all the Churches under heaven.² It must be seen from this, except by those who will not see, that the object of Eusebius in quoting Papias in reference to the Gospels of Matthew and Mark was not to prove that Papias received those Gospels which, according to Eusebius, everybody received, but to preserve from Papias interesting particulars regarding them; namely, that Matthew wrote in Hebrew, and that Mark recorded the preaching of Peter, but not in order. Hence if Papias had nothing special to say regarding the Gospels of St. Luke and St. John, there was no reason why Eusebius should preserve any reference of his to these Gospels. The chief object of Eusebius was to show what ancient ecclesiastical writers used books *about which in his time there was doubt*;³ and it is a complete, and I must add stupid, misunderstanding or misrepresentation of his scope to imagine that he meant to accumulate all available evidence in favour of books, the authority and authorship of which nobody denied. Let anyone read Eusebius,⁴ where he proposes to give the views of Irenæus on the Scriptures, and his object, and the plan he followed will at once be apparent. He begins by giving a few extracts from Irenæus about each of the four Gospels, not to show that Irenæus received them, but to give his views on certain points in connection with them. Then he quotes Irenæus regarding the Apocalypse, mentions that he had used the First Epistle of John, and the First (former) of Peter,

¹ Εὐλογον δ' ἐνταῦθα γενομένους, ἀνακεφαλαιώσασθαι τὰς δηλωθείσας τῆς καινῆς Διαθήκης γραφάς. Καὶ δὴ τακτέον ἐν πρώτοις τὴν ἁγίαν τῶν Εὐαγγελίων τετρακτύν. . . Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἐν ὁμολογουμένοις. *Hist. Eccles.*, iii. 25.

² Καὶ δὴ τὸ κατ' αὐτὸν Εὐαγγέλιον, ταῖς ὑπὸ τὸν οὐρανὸν διεγνωσμένον Εκκλησίαις, πρῶτον ἀνωμολογήσθω. *Hist. Eccles.*, iii. 24.

³ *Hist. Eccles.*, iii. 3.

⁴ *Hist. Eccles.*, v. 8.

and that he not merely knew, but also accepted as Scripture the *Shepherd of Hermas*. And this is all he has to tell about Irenæus' use of the Scriptures. Not a word is said to show that Irenæus knew or received the Epistles of St. Paul, though, as a matter of fact, he refers to them more than two hundred times. We can fancy how Rationalists would have concluded from the silence of Eusebius, had the works of Irenæus himself not come down to us, that Irenæus was an anti-Pauline writer, who never received as Scripture the writings of the Apostle of the Gentiles. But just as Eusebius thought it unnecessary to state, or give quotations to prove, that Irenæus received the Epistles of St. Paul, which everybody received; so it was unnecessary to quote Papias in favour of the Gospels, since nobody questioned their authorship. It is, therefore, I hope, clear and beyond question, that we ought not to conclude from the silence of Eusebius that Papias was unacquainted with the Gospels of SS. Luke and John. Rather, since, as we have seen, Eusebius declares that the four Gospels were everywhere received, we ought to expect that if Papias, an early father and a bishop, was an exception, and was unacquainted with, or rejected, any of them, Eusebius would have noticed the fact.

But if express references of Papias to all Four Gospels had been preserved for us, the Rationalists would still be unconvinced. His references to the works of Matthew and Mark, which I have already quoted,¹ are not, they contend, to be understood as everybody, until the rise of Rationalism, understood them, of our present Gospels of Matthew and Mark, but of earlier works.

One might be pardoned for supposing that Eusebius, who had the complete works of Papias before him, would be more likely to know what Papias meant by the Gospels of Matthew and Mark than Rationalists in the nineteenth century, who have only the few fragments of Papias preserved by Eusebius on which to form their judgment.

¹ See on page 437.

² Renan in his *Life of Jesus*, Introd., p. 10, says: 'That which appears the most likely is that we have not the entirely original compilations of either

Though, as we have shown, Irenæus and his contemporaries, and the author of the *Muratorian Fragment*, and Tatian and Justin knew and received our Gospels in their present form, we are asked to believe that Papias, who wrote only twenty or thirty years before Justin, used different Gospels, and that these Gospels, known to Papias, somehow disappeared so completely, that not only no manuscript of them, but no reference to them, remains. If Renan's theory of a slow and gradual formation of our present Gospel texts were true, should we not expect to find the process resulting in a large number of Gospels instead of Four, or in one 'complete copy' that contained the substance of all, and should we not expect to meet somewhere traces of them in their undeveloped form? Yet no such trace is found, not even in Papias, as we shall show.

Silently and completely they must have disappeared, although, be it remembered, the earlier form is that which is supposed to have come from the Apostles; and while nobody took the trouble of retaining those precious Apostolic documents of Papias in their original form, other works are found installed in their place, and honoured side by side with the writings of the Old Testament, in the time of Justin! Surely, all this is supremely improbable, and we have a right to demand convincing evidence before we believe it.

What, then, is the evidence on the strength of which it is alleged Papias used other Gospels than our present Matthew and Mark? To this Rationalists reply that the Gospel of Matthew, mentioned by Papias, was a Hebrew work containing only our Lord's *discourses*, while the Gospel of Mark used by him was deficient in order. I shall now briefly consider these reasons, which are really the only reasons, for saying that Papias does not refer to our present Matthew and Mark. And, first, I deny that the words of Papias mean that his St. Matthew contained only dis-

Matthew or Mark; but that our first two Gospels are versions in which the attempt is made to fill up the gaps of the one text by the other. Everyone wished, in fact, to possess a complete copy. He who had in his copy only discourses, wished to have narratives, and *vice versa*. Similarly, Strauss and the other Rationalists, who deny the authenticity of the Gospels,

courses. The word *Logia* (λόγια) means properly oracles or communications having divine or scriptural authority, and must not be confounded with *Logoi* (λόγοι), discourses. It is used four times in the New Testament,¹ and in no instance does it mean discourses. For example, in Rom. iii. 2, where St. Paul begins to point out the advantages possessed by Jews over Gentiles, he mentions, in the first place, that the 'words (or oracles) of God (i.e., the Scriptures of the Old Testament) were committed to them.' And in the fathers, as well as in Philo and Josephus, *Logia* is used in the sense of oracles or inspired writings.² Hence, in saying that Matthew wrote *The Logia*, Papias simply meant to say that he wrote an inspired book.³

That the Gospel of which Papias speaks was written in Hebrew (i.e., Syrochaldaic, the vernacular of Palestine at the time), though Strauss lays great stress on this point, is no proof that it was different from our present Greek Gospel of St. Matthew, unless in the sense that an original text is different from its translation.

J. MACROBY, D.D.

To be continued.]

¹ Acts vii. 38; Rom. iii. 2; Heb. v. 12; 1 Pet. iv. 11.

² St. Irenæus, *Contra Haer. Prooem.*, speaks of the Gospel as τὰ λόγια τοῦ κυρίου; Philo, *De Conj. erud. grat.* 24, quotes as a λόγιον the words of Deut. x. 9: 'The Lord God is His inheritance;' and Josephus, *Bell. Jud.*, v. 5, 4, refers to the Sacred Scriptures as τὰ λόγια.

³ The few fragments that remain of Papias' work show that it dealt with the narrative of the Gospels as well as with the discourses of our Lord. Seeing, then, that the work was entitled Λογίων κυριακῶν ἐξηγήσεις, the title of the work proves that *Logia* is to be understood in the wider sense.

THE BLACK CARDINALS

ON February 2nd, 1808, the French troops entered Rome, took possession of the Castle St. Angelo, placed a battery of cannon before the Quirinal, in which, at that time, Pope Pius VII. was saying Mass, and, says Cardinal Pacca, 'were considerably astonished to see the cardinals immediately enter their carriages and take their departure without showing the slightest trace of emotion in their countenances.'

The cardinals, as they left the Quirinal, were probably not in the least surprised at the sight, either of the soldiery or of their warlike preparations. For three years Napoleon had been pursuing a line of conduct towards the Pope which, if persisted in, must bring about worse things than even the taking of the Eternal City. The Emperor had, undoubtedly, conferred many benefits upon the Catholic religion. He had accomplished the tremendous task of restoring that religion to France from the soil of which it had been cruelly swept away during the Revolution. He had been pleased to say, that 'France, taught by her misfortunes, has at length opened her eyes, and has recalled Catholicism to her bosom.' He had seemed genuinely pleased when, on Easter Sunday, 1802, he had assisted at its solemn re-instatement; and when, on the previous day, he adjured his countrymen to 'let that religion which once civilized Europe be again the bond which reconciles its inhabitants to each other.' And for this action, Pope Pius never ceased to be grateful to Napoleon. Yet, it must be acknowledged, that never was gratitude more sorely tried. Before ten years were passed, the Emperor had informed the Pontiff that unless he did as he desired he would make him from being Pope to be the simple Bishop of Rome. He had taken away the temporal possessions of the Papacy, occupied Rome, carried off the Pope to Savona, and after confiscating the revenues of the cardinals, had ordered them to take up their residence in Paris. There can be little

doubt that had not Napoleon been prevented by a higher will than his own, he would have made the French capital the chief city in Christendom, with the Pope as the nominal, but himself as the actual head in spiritual, as well as in temporal affairs. The conduct of the Black Cardinals was, perhaps, the first intimation he received that his supremacy in matters of faith might need a larger amount of power than even he possessed before it became an established fact.

Who were the Black Cardinals? They were thirteen members of the Sacred College, to whom this name was given, because, in addition to other punishments, they were ordered to wear the black dress of an ordinary priest, as a sign that Napoleon had degraded them from their cardinal's dignity. They had the misfortune to incur the Emperor's displeasure by the attitude they adopted with regard to his marriage with the Archduchess Marie Louise of Austria.

It would seem that, if not before his coronation in 1804, at least a short time afterwards, Napoleon was contemplating a divorce from his first wife, Josephine Beauharnais. She was at that time over forty years of age, and, as she had already borne him no children, it appeared not only improbable, but almost impossible, that now the Emperor should expect her to present him with an heir to his throne. As years went on he might also have considered that he alone, of all the princes in Europe, was without royal ancestors, and that a new marriage into one of the kingly houses, while it would attach some semblance of possessing ancient lineage to himself, would certainly bestow the reality of it upon his posterity. 'My poor uncle Louis,' he was accustomed to say after his marriage with Marie Louise, when speaking of the unfortunate Louis XVI.

The religious rites of Napoleon's first marriage were performed on December 1st, 1804, at midnight, the day before the coronation. It was Josephine herself who informed the Pope that only a civil contract had, up till then, united her with the Emperor; and that, although she had repeatedly asked him to allow their union to be blessed by a priest, he had persistently refused to do so. The Pope at once intimated to Napoleon that he would not crown

him unless he first complied with the laws of the Church in the matter. Napoleon was extremely indignant; but his indignation made very little impression upon Pius VII., who was inflexible in his determination that a religious marriage there should be, or, so far as he was concerned, no coronation. Napoleon yielded; and his uncle, Cardinal Fesch, having full powers to dispense from the presence of the parish priest and of witnesses, gave the sanction of the Church to a union which had already existed legally for eight years.

In the beginning of the year 1810, the cardinals took up their residence in Paris. They had little reason to suppose that the divorce from Josephine, which was now an established fact, and the marriage with Marie Louise, which was announced to take place in the near future, would soon place them in a difficult, and even a dangerous, position. The Emperor had not asked their opinion upon the subject any more than he had that of the Pope. They had been allowed a yearly income of thirty thousand francs as an indemnity for the loss of their ecclesiastical possessions; they were ordered every Sunday to grace the Imperial Mass with their presence; on all great occasions, at every solemn function of Church or State they were expected, as princes of the Church, to put on their robes to lend an additional animation to the scene; but, so far as their opinion was concerned, their would-be master allowed them clearly to see that they had no right to any excepting that which he himself held. He had managed to prevail upon the French ecclesiastical courts to pronounce his marriage with Josephine to be null and void, and he was determined to take to himself another wife. He could not bring himself even to imagine that men who, if at one time they had been something, were now living only upon his bounty, would think, much less act, in such a manner as to make it seem that he had committed a grave moral fault.

The second marriage was arranged to take place on April 2nd, 1810, and the cardinals, twenty-seven in number, were invited. The invitation comprised four distinct events. There was the official presentation at Saint Cloud, in which,

the day before the civil marriage, Marie Louise would receive an expression of their respect. To be present at this they could make no objection. There was the solemn reception to be held in the Tuileries after the religious service in Notre Dame; and against taking part in this they had nothing to say. But what should they do with regard to the celebration of the civil marriage which would happen on the 31st of March, and the religious function arranged for the 2nd April? Could they be present at these ceremonies, and yet consider that they had preserved inviolable their oath to the Pope in which they had sworn to respect and defend the rights of the Holy See? It was here that the difficulty of their position became apparent. The only authority which they, as cardinals and Catholics, acknowledged to be competent to pass judgment upon the validity or invalidity of Napoleon's first marriage, was the very one which he had not approached. He had not consulted the Pope. Vicars-general and rectors of seminaries he had consulted, and had removed them from their position when they gave it as their opinion that Josephine was his wife in the eyes of God. The Abbé Emery who had expressed himself as by no means certain that the Emperor was not free to marry again; Doctors of the Sorbonne, some of whom asserted that they were sure he was; the Diocesan Court of Paris, which declared that no witnesses had been present at that midnight service in December, 1804, which fact made the marriage nugatory; and the Court of the Metropolitan, which added, that Napoleon was at that service against his will, and without matrimonial intentions, which fact made the marriage more nugatory still—all these were asked their opinion, while Pius VII., now a prisoner at Savona, was coolly passed over! Could they be present at the celebration of a union which, in their eyes, would be a sacrilege, until the Pope had announced that Napoleon's first marriage was null and void? A meeting was held in the house of Cardinal Consalvi, at the conclusion of which fourteen of their number decided that there could be no sacrifice of principle in their accepting the invitation, while the remaining thirteen took the opposite view. Nothing could convince

these that their presence, at least at the religious ceremony in Notre Dame, would not be interpreted as approving of an action in which the spiritual supremacy of the Holy See had been completely ignored. The judgment of the French ecclesiastical courts might be right or it might be wrong—with that they were not concerned. They denied to those courts the power of judging the matter at all; and they asserted that their allegiance to the Sovereign Pontiff must become suspicious were they to assist at a ceremony which was the outcome of a decision made by a body of men who had usurped what they could only consider to be the exclusive rights of the Pope. They endeavoured to prevail upon Cardinal Fesch to inform the Emperor that these were their conscientious reasons for their contemplated absence from his religious marriage. Cardinal Fesch seems only to have reminded them that they were running into danger, and would provoke Napoleon's anger and revenge. They tried to compromise: might not the presence of the fourteen who did not feel the same difficulty with them, be regarded as a sufficient representation of the whole body? But nothing short of the full number of the Cardinals would satisfy Napoleon, and no excuse, save that of ill-health, would be admitted. 'They will not dare,' were his words when the first news of their determination reached his ears. He had yet to learn that there were wills which even he could not break.

The day came. Cardinal Fesch performed the religious service for his august nephew and Marie Louise, as readily as he had done six years before, when Josephine Beauharnais was wedded. Napoleon realized the importance of the event of which he was the central figure. He was entering into the most ancient royal family in Europe. He could by marriage henceforth claim a relationship with the Roman Emperors. He was that day to perform an action which would give him a right to address other crowned heads, and to be addressed by them as 'cousin.' It was one of the greatest, if not the greatest day of his extraordinary life. One only thing embarrassed him; and he immediately made his embarrassment evident. The chairs placed in the

sanctuary for the cardinals were occupied only by eleven of their number : sixteen were empty. It was a veritable drop of aloes in a jar of honey. He forgot everything else—the crowds of idolizing people through whom he and his future consort had passed, the cathedral, brilliant with every kind of uniform and with every colour of dress, the young princess waiting to bestow upon him the pride of birth. ‘Where are they?’ he exclaimed in anger, taking his eyes from the empty seats; ‘where are they? The fools! The fools! I can see what they are aiming at. They protest against the legitimacy of my offspring; they wish to shake my dynasty. The fools!’ Three of the absent Cardinals were of the number of those who had felt no conscientious objection to taking part in the ceremony; they had been excused because of their health. The thirteen Black Cardinals, felt ‘during these memorable hours, extreme anguish as they reflected upon the serious action they had undertaken, and the consequences which must come from it.’¹ The whole of that day no one came near them; and the next day, at the reception in the Tuileries, they were treated in a manner which, while it left them in ignorance as to what punishment they might expect, served clearly to show them that Napoleon regarded them as enemies. For hours they were kept waiting in an ante-chamber, looking at the uninteresting spectacle of all the world’s being admitted and departing, while they, who, according to their position, should have been among the first to be introduced, were again and again passed over. At length the message came that his majesty would not receive the thirteen cardinals absent from the ceremony of his marriage; and they were ordered to depart. Someone had long ago sent home their carriages; and the streets of Paris presented a scene which even Rome in modern times could not present—thirteen cardinals, some of them belonging to princely and ducal houses, all of them the most celebrated members of the Sacred College, were in full cardinal’s robes walking to their respective dwellings.

¹ Consalvi's *Memoirs*.

It is said that Napoleon's first thought was to shoot them. A little reflection, however, had probably taught him that, if the execution of the unfortunate Duc d'Enghien had brought him no glory, that of thirteen princes of the Church would bring him less than none. These men were Italians; their action was one which attacked neither his throne nor his person. Although he might have sent his own subjects to prison, he seemed to realize that to exaggerate an act of impoliteness into an act of treason when a number of illustrious foreigners, out of no ill-will to him but from conscientious motives were the offenders, would place him in a light with Europe, the effects of which even he could not bring himself to run the risk of incurring. He went as far as he dared. For two days he kept the Black Cardinals in suspense, after which they were informed by the minister for public worship that the Emperor intended 'to dismiss them' from their various dignities, to deprive them of the indemnity they were already allowed for the confiscation of their ecclesiastical goods, and to consider them no longer as cardinals. 'You will let them understand,' so ran his instructions, 'that were they put on their trial . . . nothing prevents them from being condemned; and, because they are regarded as already condemned, we desire them no longer to wear the marks of their ecclesiastical honours, nor the dress of a cardinal.' They were, in addition, to leave Paris, to be placed under surveillance in a fortified town, and to be allowed something under £2 per week to live on.

The Black Cardinals left the French capital, after having drawn up a document in which they humbly informed Napoleon that neither in thought nor deed had they wished to perform an act of treason; that their action was one which duty to the Sovereign Pontiff alone suggested; and that they did not pretend to set themselves up as judges either of the validity of his first, or of the invalidity of his second marriage. Each town received two of their number; and for four years they were to test the truth of Napoleon's own proverb that: 'Happy is the man who is concealed away from me in the recesses of some province.'

But were they happy? It is true that their present state of degradation could not have effected them, as it must have done some worldly individual who, from being a member of one of the most ancient courts of Europe, as the Papal court is, finds himself placed on a level with a mere artisan. The Black Cardinals were all of them deeply religious men. Of Cardinal Gabrielli, the history of the town in which he was confined, tells us that, 'he celebrated Mass in the chapel of the hospital with great sentiments of piety, often shedding abundant tears.' They were men who had learned in the best of Christian schools to be content even under extreme reverse of fortune. 'They led a very retired life, particularly Cardinal de Pietro,' says the same history; 'they rarely had relations with the notable personages of the town, and they were very much respected and looked up to by everyone as being generous confessors of the faith, suffering with much patience, courage, and resignation, unjust persecutions.' Their own piety and intensely spiritual disposition, doubtless, made it easy for them to bear the loss of their property, and to feel it as only a slight hardship to be obliged to exist on a sum which, compared with their former riches, was a mere trifle. But they never knew what the next day would bring forth in the shape of far more serious punishments.

The Minister of the Police in each of the towns in which they were placed had from time to time to give information to the Government of the least action of the exiles. A complaint against one shows how eager the Chief Magistrate of the city was to carry out his instructions, and how unscrupulous he could prove himself to be in his reports. 'He finishes the day,' such was the objection against Cardinal Ruffo, 'by a *Te Deum*, sung by himself, his chaplains, and his attendants, in his room with open windows. This attracts a considerable number of people around his house. This eccentricity of the Cardinal is clearly contrary to the respect due to the religion which he thinks he is honouring.' A strict inquiry elicited the fact, that the Cardinal, being deaf, could be made to hear only when his

servant spoke in a high tone of voice, and that some children congregated under the windows in amusement at the sound of the shouting. So great was the espionage with which each one of them was surrounded, that Cardinal Consalvi tells us he was obliged, so soon as he had finished one page of his famous *Memoirs*, which he was then writing, immediately to conceal it for fear of the surprise visits which the authorities might at any moment make. It was regarded as treason to communicate with, or to receive communications from the Pope imprisoned in Savona. The person who could be proved to have corresponded with the Black Cardinals upon the distressed state of religious affairs, or to have assisted them in their wants, must go into exile, perhaps be cast into the worst kind of prison. For these two reasons it is easily intelligible that the houses of the cardinals would be objects of frequent examination. Cardinal della Sommiglia and his chaplain had the mortification of seeing, the one his last will and testament, the other his business papers scrutinized by the police. Cardinal Litta had to convince the officers, curious as to whence he received assistance, that no French subject had relieved him, but that his brother in Russia had shown him that act of kindness. 'I can affirm,' says Mother Camilla de Soyecourt, who was accused of this new crime of ministering to the wants of the Black Cardinals, 'I can affirm, that I have contributed nothing to the collection made for the cardinals. Had I done so, I should have thought it a good work, and not be afraid to boast of it.' She was sent into exile. Shortly after leaving Paris, Cardinals di Pietro, Gabrielli, and Oppozoni, were confined to dungeons in Vincennes, charged with the enormous offence of being in correspondence with the illustrious prisoner of Savona. They were kept in durance till the end of their exile, Napoleon suspected the confessors of being the rallying-point for all the strong opposition which religious France was making to his treatment of the Pope. People knew that they had been the first to refuse to bend before his will. Could he find only the smallest pretext for ridding himself of them altogether, he would have been but too pleased 'to make the head of

some of these priests fall from their shoulders,' as he said sometime afterwards in alluding to the cardinals. With such an enemy, and under such circumstances, the loss of their property and their degradation were among the very least of the sufferings which, for three years, they joyfully bore for their conscience sake.

At the commencement of the year 1813, the witty Parisians found themselves making merry over a new Concordat which the Pope was said to have concluded with the Emperor. The Concordat was one, they said, *qui fait rougir les cardinaux*, the point in their witticism consisting in the fact that *rougir* means both to redden and to blush. The phrase had, indeed, described the exact state of affairs. Napoleon had appeared at Fontainebleau, whither the Pope had been conveyed, and had demanded four concessions from him. Two of them were prejudicial to the rights of the Holy See; the third was the condemnation of the conduct of the Black Cardinals; and the fourth, that Cardinals di Pietro, and Pacca should be banished for ever from the presence of the Holy Father. The Pope, worn out with infirmity and sickness, brought on by the indignities to which he had, for four years, been subjected by the Emperor, consented to yield to Napoleon's first two demands, only on one condition: all of the Black Cardinals must be immediately liberated. In addition to this, the agreement which he had signed could not be looked upon as finally made until he had consulted with the Sacred College. Napoleon felt obliged to come to an understanding with the Pope, and if he had to relinquish his earnest wish of seeing the cardinals humiliated, he yet had obtained everything he had striven for so obstinately. His arms had been defeated, his military prestige was going; he must have peace in the religious world of France; he could afford to let his enemies go when he might bring quietness in the ecclesiastical world by Papal concessions such as no monarch ever wrung from the Holy See. The Black Cardinals were made to redden: they received their liberty, and recovered their purple and their dignity. The Black Cardinals were made to blush: they heard on their way from exile to Fontainebleau, that they

owed their freedom to an action which lessened the authority of the Papacy, the rights of which they had so strenuously maintained. They were admitted to the presence of Pius, whom they found worried, ill, and overcome with remorse at the arrangement made with Napoleon, although he had stipulated that it could not be regarded as final until he had taken counsel with the cardinals. The Pope was determined to disown this Concordat. In a document, which was drawn up by three of the most notable of the Black Cardinals, the Pope blames the Emperor for publishing a Concordat which was simply the basis of a future arrangement; he protests that his conscience is altogether opposed to the execution of the objectionable articles; and he asserts that he had entered into the preliminary agreement from infirmity, 'being as we are, but dust and ashes.'

Napoleon now had no time to consider religious affairs. His star was setting, and his throne tottering to its fall. A higher power than his had taken him in hand, and was surely bringing him down. At last he seemed to realize this. How could he hope for success while he kept in captivity the Vicar of Christ? Such a question might have arisen in his mind, and prompted him to send that hasty message to Pius on the morning of January 23rd, 1814, informing him that the road to Rome was open to him, and that a carriage awaited to bear him away. But the cardinals were not so fortunate. They had been liberated a year; but they received no permission to leave France with the Pope. In Paris the authorities seemed to think that in the present desperate condition of affairs their presence was a danger, and they were sent a second time into exile. This was on the 27th January, 1814. On the 4th April, Napoleon abdicated; and on the 9th April, the provisional Government of France, ordered that the 'several cardinals in different towns of France be all set at liberty.' Cardinal Pacca, one of the principal Black Cardinals, was made the object of a particular demonstration. 'There was a general illumination—a triumphal arch was erected before the house in which Monsignor Pacca was receiving hospitality, upon which was

inscribed: "To the just, delivered from oppression." ' ' ¹ His horses were taken from his carriage, and he was drawn by the people to the cathedral, where he celebrated Mass in the presence of a vast assembly. Catholic France, the eldest daughter of the Church, had no sympathy with the persecuting measures of its rulers.

JOHN FREELAND.

¹ I am indebted for many of the facts relating to the Black Cardinals to a paper by M. Geoffrey de Grandmaison, entitled 'Les Cardinaux Noirs,' in the *Revue des Questions Historiques*, 1st Apr. 1, 1894.

Notes and Queries

LITURGY

THE CANDLES IN CONSECRATED CHURCHES

REV. DEAR SIR,—In the latest (March) number of the I. E. RECORD you refused to give tacit approval to the lighting of the twelve candles, peculiar to a consecrated church, on the anniversary of the consecration of the churches of Ireland. How can this be reconciled with the seemingly express rubric of the Irish Directory prescribing them to be lighted on that day?

Your negative answer to the general question, whether they might be lighted on any day except the anniversary of the consecration of the church itself, seems to be ill-founded. Your explanation does not sufficiently acknowledge the working of implied prohibitions.

Rubrics expressly prescribing a thing for a day or season are twofold. Some also constitute, or, at least, are accompanied by, an implied prohibition forbidding it on other days; others are without such a prohibition. The two instances you cite seem to belong to the former class. We are told in the rubrics to say two *Alleluias* after the *Ite Missa est* on Easter Sunday, and within its octave. When the octave ceases, we are expressly told where to say the *Alleluias* in the Mass during Paschal time. These instructions are sufficient to forbid us to say them after the *Ite Missa est*. Again, we are as impliedly forbidden to say the Mass of the Presanctified on any other day than Good Friday as we are forbidden to say the Mass of Holy Thursday on any other day than Holy Thursday. Each day has its Mass assigned by general or special rubrics, excluding others.

The rubric prescribing the lighting of the candles peculiar to a consecrated church, on the anniversary of its consecration, seems to be an express rubric, without any implied prohibition forbidding them to be lighted on other days. If the object in lighting them on the specified day be to remind the faithful of the character of the feast, the same end is not attained by lighting them on other days. But some laudable end would be attained

such as to indicate the solemnity of the feast, to further stimulate the devotion of the faithful ; and thus would the lighting of them on other days escape even an implied prohibition.

ANXIUS.

Our esteemed correspondent says that we 'refused to give tacit approval to the lighting of the twelve candles, peculiar to a consecrated church, on the anniversary of the consecration of the churches of Ireland.' Had our correspondent made a more careful study of the question and reply to which he refers, he would not have committed himself to this statement. The question opens with this statement :—

It is prescribed to light the twelve candles affixed before the crosses, in a consecrated church, on the anniversary of the consecration of the church itself, and on the anniversary of the consecration of the churches of Ireland.

In our reply we said :—

The first sentence in this question consists of a statement which we are not prepared to endorse ; but, as the matter is still doubtful, we merely desire to guard ourselves against appearing to tacitly approve of it.

The statement which we refused to endorse is the statement, that 'it is *prescribed* to light the candles . . . in a consecrated church *on the anniversary of the consecration of the church itself*, and on the anniversary of the consecration of the churches of Ireland.'

What is doubtful in the statement, and what we refused to endorse, is, that the candles should be lighted on the anniversary of the consecration of the church itself. The rubric in the *Ordo* to which our correspondent refers should be a sufficient proof that we did not mean to call in question the obligation of lighting them on the anniversary of the dedication of the churches of Ireland. Some years ago we endeavoured to show, in these pages, that in a country in which a special feast day had been appointed for the anniversary of the dedication of all the churches in the country, the anniversary of the dedication of individual churches was not to be observed ; or, in other words, that the general

anniversary was intended to include, as well as to abolish, special anniversaries. If this be the correct view, as we believe it is, then the candles placed in front of the crosses, in a consecrated church, should not be lighted on the anniversary of its consecration, but only on the general anniversary.

We are not prepared to follow our correspondent through his criticism on our remarks regarding the becomingness or lawfulness of lighting these candles on other solemn feasts besides the anniversary of the consecration. We stated our opinion, that they should not be lighted unless on the anniversary, although no special rubric or decree forbade their being lighted on other feasts. We offered two illustrations—not arguments—of practices prescribed by the rubrics for certain seasons or certain days, and not expressly forbidden for other seasons or other days, which, however, would be wrong outside the times prescribed. We adhere to our opinion, as well as to our belief in the aptness of the illustrations we used. We must, however, congratulate our correspondent on his original division of the rubrics into two classes. No writer before him had discovered this division; and, were it not for the authority of our correspondent, we should feel strongly inclined to doubt whether the rubrics themselves afford any foundation for this division.

**CEREMONIES: THE 'BENEDICTIO LOCI' AND 'ASPERGES ME'
AT MASS CELEBRATED IN A PRIVATE HOUSE, &c.**

REV. DEAR SIR,—I believe it is the universal practice in this country, although I have never seen it prescribed in any treatise on ceremonies, that a priest about to celebrate Mass in a private house, when, vested in amice, alb, cincture, and stole reads the *Benedictio loci*, and sprinkles the apartment with holy water. In connection with this practice, will you please answer the following questions in an early number of the I. E. RECORD, and much oblige a P.P. :—

1. Is this rite prescribed to be performed in these circumstances? and,
2. If so, should the word *domum*, &c., be substituted for *locum*, &c.?

3. Whether is it the improvised altar or the floor that should be sprinkled?

4. Should the priest while sprinkling recite the *asperges me*, and conclude with the *VV.* and *RR.*, and *Oratio*? and, if so,

5. Which *VV.* and *RR.* should be said, viz., whether the one prescribed in the Missal for the *asperges* on Sundays, or the one given in the Ritual to be used on the occasion of 'Communicating the Infirm'?

6. When, as on the occasion of a public confession station, the pyxis containing the Blessed Sacrament is on the altar should the *Benedictio loci* or *domus* be said? It would seem that when the Blessed Sacrament is present there is no need of a *Benedictio loci*, and that if there should be an *aspersio* it is the floor which serves as a predella, and not the altar that should be sprinkled;

7. But in this case, should the priest be on his knees when sprinkling the floor?

8. When the priest who is to celebrate the parish (low) Mass on a Sunday returns to the altar after the aspersion in what tone of voice is he to recite the versicles and prayer, whether aloud or in an undertone?

9. In *The Ceremonies of some Ecclesiastical Functions* it is stated, that after the celebrant has sprinkled the altar, &c., he signs himself with the end of the aspersory. Does the end of the aspersory here mean the handle, or the end containing the holy water?

1 and 2. The rubrics do not contemplate the celebration of Mass in private houses; hence they do not contain any rules to guide a priest who has to celebrate Mass in such circumstances. But the rubrics do prescribe that a church or public oratory should be, at least, blessed before Mass is celebrated in it. It is congruous, then, and in accord with the spirit of the rubrics, that a private house or private oratory should receive some form of blessing previous to the celebration of Mass therein. Neither a private house, however, nor a private oratory, can be blessed according to the form given in the ritual for the blessing of churches and public oratories, for this blessing is intended to permanently dedicate the house to religious uses. The blessing, then, to be used, in the circumstances contemplated by our

correspondent, is either the *Benedictio loci* or the *Benedictio domus*, as contained in the Missal; and whichever form is used is to be read as it is found in the Missal, without any change.

3. The room in which the temporary altar is erected should be sprinkled with holy water, in the same manner in which the room of a sick person, about to receive the *Viaticum*, is sprinkled.

4 and 5. The priest need not recite any form of prayer during or after the sprinkling. The rubric, after each of the blessings which he may use, is simply: *Deinde aspergatur aqua benedicta*.

6. This question presents another anomaly, as little contemplated by the rubrics as the celebration of Mass in a private house. We must, therefore, seek guidance from analogy, and, fortunately, we have not far to seek. The ritual, in prescribing the ceremonies to be observed in communicating the sick, directs the priest to place the pyxis containing the Blessed Sacrament on a corporal in some suitable place, to kneel and adore it, and then to sprinkle the room with holy water. These directions are applicable to the case in question. The priest carrying the Blessed Sacrament, on entering the house in which he is afterwards to celebrate Mass, should proceed at once to the previously-prepared altar, place the pyxis upon it, kneel and adore, and, having donned surplice and stole, and placed the pyxis in the temporary tabernacle, should then read one or other of the two blessings already mentioned. The sprinkling with holy water is part of these benedictions, and should be done, as already described.

7. The priest need not, and should not, kneel while aspersing in the circumstances.

8. The prayers should be said aloud.

9. We presume that the author of the work mentioned meant the end of the aspersion containing the holy water. At any rate, we are certain that that is what he should have meant.

D. O'LOAN.

CORRESPONDENCE

ST. PATRICK'S BIRTHPLACE

EDITORIAL NOTE.

WE have been in correspondence with the Rev. Professor Stack, of St. Peter's College, Glasgow, regarding the question of a rejoinder to the article on 'St. Patrick's Birthplace' published in our April number. Having decided not to allow the discussion to continue, we have asked Father Stack not to insist on his right to reply. To this request he has cordially assented. He states that he is content to refer our readers to what he has already written, merely adding the intimation, that, owing to some accident, he had no opportunity of revising the final proofs of his last article.

We can assure Father Stack that our action in closing the discussion is no reflection whatever on his ability to establish his case or to refute what has been alleged against him. The question of St. Patrick's birthplace has been discussed in our pages for nearly a year, and we give full credit to Father Stack for his clear and able statement of the claims of Old Kilpatrick.—
ED. I. E. R.

DOCUMENTS

MATRIMONIAL DISPENSATIONS 'IN PERICULO MORTIS'

E. S. ROM. UNIV. INQUISITIONE

VI. CONCESSIONIS FACTAE ORDINARIIS DISPENSANDI IN PERICULO
MORTIS AB IMPED. DIRIM. IN MATRIMONIIS CONCUBINARIORUM,
DISPENSARI POTEST ETIAM AB IMPED. CLANDESTINITATIS

BEATISSIME PATER,

Episcopus N. N., ad pedes S. V. provolutus, humillime quae sequuntur exponit:

Per Decreta S. R. et U. Inquisitionis dierum 20 februarii 1888 et 1 Martii 1889, S. V. benigne facultatem fecit locorum Ordinariis, Parochis communicabilem, etiam per habitualementem subdelegationem, qua, urgente mortis periculo, dispensare valeant cum iis, qui iuxta leges civiles sunt coniuncti, aut alias in concubinato vivunt, super impedimentis quantumvis publicis matrimonium iure ecclesiastico dirimentibus, excepto S. Presbyteratus Ordine et affinitate lineae rectae ex copula licita proveniente, ut morituri in tanta temporis angustia in faciem Ecclesiae rite copulari et propriae conscientiae consulere valeant.

Iamvero quaestio hac in re exorta est inter viros theologos, utrum vi praedictarum facultatum, liceat Episcopo, data necessitate, dispensare etiam ab impedimento clandestinitatis; aliis quidem affirmantibus, quia nulla de eo fit exceptio in generali concessione; aliis vero negantibus, quia finis concessionis est ut morituri rite in faciem Ecclesiae copulentur, quod importare videtur servandam esse, saltem quoad substantiam, formarum solemnitatem a Tridentino sub nullitate praescriptam.

Hisce praehabitis, Episcopus orator S. V. enixe efflagitat, ut definire pro sua benignitate non dedignetur:

Utrum in citatis Decretis vere comprehendatur etiam facultas dispensandi ab impedimento clandestinitatis; adeo ut ex. gr. Parochus, ab Episcopo habitualiter delegatus, possit in sua Paroecia vel coniungere non suos sed extraneos inibi casu existentes, dispensando a praesentia Parochi proprii, ad quem nullimode valeat haberi recursus; vel etiam coniungere suos, sed

sine testibus, pariter dispensando ab eorum praesentia, cum omnino non sint qui testium munere fungi possint.

Et Deus, &c.

Feria IV, die 13 Decembris 1899.

In Congregatione Generali S. R. et U. Inquisitionis ab Emis. ac Rmis. DD. Cardinalibus in rebus fidei et morum Generalibus Inquisitoribus habita, proposito suprascripto dubio, praehabitoque RR. DD. Consultorum voto, iidem Emi. ac Rmi. Patres respondendum mandarunt :

Affirmative.

Sequenti vero feria VI, die 15 eiusdem mensis et anni, per facultates Emo. ac Rmo. Dno. Cardinali S. Officii Secretario concessas, SSmus. D. N. Leo Div. Prov. Pp. XIII resolutionem Emorum. ac Rmorum. Patrum adprobavit.

I. Can. MANCINI, *S. R. et U. Inquisit Notarius.*

THE LAWFULNESS AND NECESSITY OF THE CAESAREAN OPERATION IN CERTAIN CASES

DE LICEITATE ET NECESSITATE OPERATIONIS CAESAREAE, QUANDO CERTO CONSTAT DE MORTE MATRIS PRAEGRANTIS

BEATISSIME PATER,

Episcopus N. N. ad V. S. pedes provolutus, quae sequuntur humiliter exponit.

Parochus N. N. in hac Dioecesi, iuxta Ritualis Romani praescripta, iuxta etiam preces mulieris praegnantis et graviter decumbentis, super hac muliere, iam certo mortua, curavit ut operatio caesarea fieret. Medicus absens erat, et operatio facta fuit ab alia persona capaci. Puer vivus erat et fuit baptizatus. Propter hoc factum praefatus parochus fuit accusatus, sed a iudicibus civilibus sine ulla condemnatione remissus. Postea autem, et propter idem factum, dictus parochus a Gubernio stipendio annuo fuit privatus.

Quaeritur ergo :

1. Parochus N. N. egitne recte curando ut fieret operatio, medico deficiente, ab alia persona capaci, morte quidem certa, sed non legaliter recognita ?

2. Parochus, vel alius sacerdos, debetne curare ut, in iisdem supradictis circumstantiis, operatio, de qua agitur, fiat, etiam quando sequi debet privatio annui stipendii ?

Et Deus &c.

Feria, IV die 13 Decembris 1899.

In Congregatione Generali S. R. et U. Inquisitionis ab Emis ac Rmis. DD. Cardinalibus in rebus fidei et morum Generalibus Inquisitoribus habita, propositis suprascriptis precibus, praehabitoque RR. DD. Consultorum voto, iidem Emi. ac Rmi. Patres respondendum mandarunt :

Detur Decretum S. Officii diei 15 Februarii 1780 ad Vicarium Apost. Sutchuen.

Porro citatum Decretum sic se habet :

‘Ubi de rebaptizandis parvulis Rituale Romanum hoc praescribit scilicet : *Si mater praegnans mortua fuerit, foetus quamprimum caute extrahatur.* huc usque inter christianos casus occurrit, sed regula praescripta nunquam observata est, neque unquam promulgata. Rationes sunt : summa repugnantia quam Sinenses habent ad eiusmodi sectionem, absoluta apud ipsos artis anatomicae imperitia, gravissimum periculum atroces calumnias contra religionem excitandi gravesque persecutiones sustinendi cum discrimine salutis et vitae saltem pro iis qui sectionem tentare auderent, si factum ad notitiam gentilium perveniret, quod admodum facile est. Causae praedictae possuntne silentium excusare ?

‘Resp. Etsi caute prudenterque agendum sit, ne, cum paucos quaerimus, multos amittamus, agendum esse tamen, et sectionis a Rituali praescriptae notitia ingerenda, ne oblivisci videamur eos, quos abundantiori charitate manifestum est indigere. Erit proinde e missionariorum debito, paulatim et opportune commovere Sutchuenses de miserrima parvulorum perditione in uteris matrum decedentium, quibus opitulari nihilominus, quoad humanae possunt vires, postulat christiana charitas, postulat ecclesiastica sollicitudo. Neque improbum videri debere Sutchuensibus ut ullis fidelibus secare matrem mortuam, cum et Dominicum latus dissectum sit pro nostra redemptione. Illud potius rationi absonum atque ab omni pietate remotum, pro ignani integritate pudoreque servando defunctae genitrici, viventem natum aeternae morti addicere. Certe, non modestia, non virtus, unde tantum profluit malum. Haec autem foetus extractio de praegnantis defunctaeque alvo matris, quamvis patefacienda, ut dicimus, ac persuadenda sit, expresse tamen cavet, prohibetque Sanctitas Sua, ne missionarii in casibus particularibus se ingerant in demandanda sectione, multoque minus in ea peragenda. Sat proinde missionariis fuerit illius notitiam edidisse, curasque ut

eius perficiendae rationem perdiscant qui chirurgicis intendunt, laici homines, tum vero, cum casus tulerit, eiusdem praxum ipsorum oneri ac muneri reliquisse.'

Sequenti vero feria VI. die 15 eiusdem mensis et anni, per facultates Emo. ac Rmo. Dno. Cardinali S. Officii Secretario concessas, SSmus. D. N. Leo div. prov. Pp. XIII resolutionem Emorum. ac Rmorum. Patrum adprobavit.

I. Can. MANCINI, *S. R. et U. Inquisit. Notarius.*

**THE TEACHING OF LATIN AND GREEK BY BROTHERS OF
THE CHRISTIAN SCHOOLS IN THE UNITED STATES.
DECISION OF THE SACRED CONGREGATION OF PRO-
PAGANDA**

E SACRA CONGREGATIONE PROPAGANDAE FIDEI

PROHIBETUR NE FRATRES SCHOLARUM CHRISTIANARUM IN STATIBUS
FOEDERATIS AMERICAЕ SEPT. DOCEANT LINGUAM LATINAM ET
GRAECAM

Protocollo N. 36549.

Roma li 11 Gennaio 1900.

Eme ac Rme Dne Mi Obme :

Eminentiam Tuam pro meo munere certiore facio Emos Patres huius S. Congregationis in generalibus Comitibus die 11^a Decembris 1899 habitis examini subiecisse quaestionem de facultate pro Fratibus Scholarum Christianarum docendi linguam latinam et graecam in eorum scholis, et ad Dubia :

1. Se attese le nuove istanze convenga accordare ai Fratelli delle Scuole Cristiane dimoranti negli Stati Uniti di America la dispensa dalla Regola, che loro proibisce l'insegnamento della lingua latina e greca :

Risposero :—Negative et amplius.

2. Se sia espediente differir l'esecuzione di questa decisione.

Risposero :—Negative, et amplius, et ad mentem. Mens est, che si dia un formale precetto al Superiore Generale per fargli conoscere che l'insegnamento della lingua latina e greca nei suoi Istituti di America si tollera fino al termine del corrente anno scolastico solamente. Inoltre che si comunichino le dette risoluzioni per mezzo dell'Emza Vra anche alla Gerarchia Cattolica degli Stati Uniti, rilevando all'Episcopato Americano, che quantunque la Santa Sede favorisca l'insegnamento degli studi classici,

e specialmente del latino, servendosi all'uopo eziandio di Ordini Religiosi dediti per le loro regole a siffatto insegnamento, nondimeno volendo che si mantenga negli Istituti religiosi l'osservanza perfetta delle loro regole, lo proibisce ai Fratelli delle Scuole Cristiane, ed è suo desiderio che essi negli Stati Uniti accrescano invece le loro scuole tecniche e commerciali.

Huiusmodi verò decisiones Sanctitas Sua in audientia diei 6 vertentis mensis in omnibus confirmare dignata est. Cum vero per earum participationem meo muneri satisfecerim, nihil omnino dubitans, quin Rmi Episcopi istius Regionis pro sua erga S. Sedem devotione iisdem morem gerant, manus tuas maximo cum obsequio humillime deosculor.

Eminentiae Tuae

Hmus Devmus Servus

M. Card. LEDOCHOWSKI, *Praef.*

ALOISIUS VECCIA, *Secretarius.*

Emo Sig. Card. GIACOMO GIBBONS,

Arcivescovo di Baltimora.

DECISION OF THE SACRED CONGREGATION OF RITES
REGARDING THE USE OF THE PIANO AT 'TENEBRAE,'
AND OTHER PRACTICES

BONAEREN

PLURA SOLVUNTUR DUBIA

Hodiernus Rmus. Dominus Archiepiscopus Bonaëren., exoptans ut in Ecclesiis et Oratoriis suae Dioeceseos sacrae functiones iuxta Rubricas et Decreta accurate perficiantur, remotis consuetudinibus non probatis, a Sacra Rituum Congregatione, sequentium dubiorum solutionem humiliter expetivit: nimirum:

Dubium I. An tolerari possit usus adhibendi cymbalum seu *Piano-forte* in Matutinis Tenebrarum et in Missis ferialibus quae organum excludunt; et dum canitur Passio?

Dubium II. An permitti possit ut in cantu Passionis Diaconus, qui repraesentat Synagogam, eas tantum sententias cantet quae ab uno proferuntur, ut a Petro, Caipha, Pilato etc., sententiae vero turbae cantentur a schola ordinarie ex laicis conflata?

Dubium III. An tolerari possit antiqua et valde generalis consuetudo, ut in festis solemnioribus Sanctorum, in Vesperis, eorum Imagines, hinc et inde iuxta Altare collocatae, incensentur

triplici ductu, post thurificationem Altaris, celebrante se sistente successive ante singulas ipsas Imagines?

Dubium IV. An permitti queat ut in aliqua solemnitate Missa incipiat in meridie, ita ut ob solemnitatem cantus et concionem, Missa se protrahat usque ad horam secundam vel amplius?

Et Sacra Rituum Congregatio ad relationem Secretarii exquisito voto Commissionis Liturgicae reque mature perpensa respondendum censuit :

Ad I. *Negative in omnibus.*

Ad II. *Permitti posse.*

Ad III. *Affirmative, sed duplici ductu.*

Ad IV. *Prudenti arbitrio Ordinarii.*

Atque ita rescripsit.

Die 7 Julii 1899

C. Ep. Praenest. Card. MAZZELLA, *S. R. C. Praef.*

L. ✠ S.

DIOMEDES PANICI, *S. R. C. Secret.*

LITURGICAL REGULATIONS FOR HOLY THURSDAY

COMEN.

DUBIA CIRCA PRAESCRIPTIONES LITURGICAS PRO FERIA V. IN COENA DOMINI

Revmus Dominus Theodorus Valfrè di Bonzo, Episcopus Comen. exoptans ut in sua Dioecesi praescriptiones liturgicae observentur, circa aliquas consuetudines ibidem vigentes sequentia dubia, pro declaratione, Sacrorum Rituum Congregationi humillime exposuit ; nimirum :

Dubium I. An Feria V in Coena Domini in Ecclesiis Parochialibus aliisque non Parochialibus celebrari possit Missa lecta vel cum cantu, quin peragantur functiones Feriae VI in Parasceve et Sabbati Sancti?

Dubium II. An praedicta Missa legi vel decantari possit in Ecclesiis vel Oratoriis spectantibus ad Regulares, ad Seminaria et ad Pias Communitates?

Dubium III. An publicae Fidelium adorationi proponi queat Sanctissimum Eucharistiae Sacramentum etiam post Missam Praesanctificatorum?

Dubium IV. An cum Hostia consecrata quae reservatur pro dicta Missa Praesanctificatorum, reponi possit in urnula seu

sepulcro pixis cum particulis consecratis si opus fuerit pro infirmis?

Et Sacra Rituum Congregatio ad relationem Secretarii, audito etiam voto Commissionis Liturgicae omnibusque perpensis, rescribendum censuit:

Ad I. 'In Ecclesiis Parochialibus ubi adest Fons baptismalis, servantur Rubricae Missalis et Decreta, adhibito Memoriali Rituum Benedicti Papae XIII profunctionibus praescriptis, si extet defectus sacrorum ministrorum et clericorum. In aliis vero Ecclesiis non Parochialibus, omitti potest functio Sabbati Sancti, non tamen illa Feriae VI in Parasceve; et fiat Sepulcrum: expetita facultate pro usu dicti Memorialis, si idem sacrorum ministrorum et clericorum defectus existat.'

Ad II. 'Affirmative, quoad Regulares proprie dictos, iuxta Decretum sub N. 2799 diei 31 Augusti 1889; Negative, quoad Seminaria et Pias Communitates, nisi habeatur Apostolicum Indultum.'

Ad III. et IV. 'Negative; et servantur Rubricae et Decreta.' Atque ita rescripsit.

Die 9 Decembris 1899.

C. Ep. Praenest. Card. MAZZELLA, S. R. C. Praef.

L. ✠ S.

DIOMEDES PANICI, S. R. C. Secret.

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

FRA GIROLAMO SAVONAROLA. By Herbert Lucas, S.J.
London: Sands & Co. 7s. 6d.

SAVONAROLA's life, so bright in the noonday of its success, and so dark in its mournful, mysterious ending, has ever since possessed an extraordinary fascination for students of Church history. At the present day a new interest has been awakened in the events of that chequered career. The unconquerable spirit that would not yield to Lorenzo de Medici, the eloquence that awed even the Florence of the Renaissance into modesty and virtue, and the austerity and holiness of life that attracted so many to the cloisters of San Marco, will never be forgotten. The name and fame of the great preacher is destined to last till the end of time.

Father Lucas has evidently taken pains with his book, and in preparation for it he has read a great many authorities. He does not, however, refer to the *Quarto Centenario*, which is a mine of useful information. But, surely, he might have learned from Nardi, Savonarola's contemporary, whose name he gives in his Biographical List, that the Vicar-General of Florence who interdicted Savonarola's preaching was a member of the Medici family. Father Lucas thinks that Pagagnotti issued the prohibition. Pagagnotti was Bishop Auxiliary; but the Vicar-General was Lionardo de Medici. Those conversant with the life and times of Savonarola know only too well what a difference this probably made.

Then, as regards the 'Process,' or examination before the Papal Commissaries, Father Lucas, in his description of it, places far too much reliance on Ceccone's report, though incidentally, at the end of his description (p. 427), he speaks of Ceccone as the infamous notary who was mulcted of more than nine-tenths of his promised pay, and more than once mentions his falsification of the acts of the trial. It is hard to see why Father Lucas, though he occasionally makes a protest, allows, throughout a whole chapter of his book (Chapter xxiii., pp. 407-428), such a wretch as Ceccone to malign Savonarola. On the other hand, the learned author dismisses very summarily (in a note, p. 375) what Cinnoza, the earliest biographer of

Savonarola, relates about Ceccone, though it is quite in accordance with what is stated about that worthy by Vivoli and Fra Benedetto. Everything we can learn from contemporary and trustworthy sources about Ceccone shows that he was bribed (see Villari, ii., p. 204). Father Lucas admits that he was a forger, and, indeed, the documents published by Villari, and the statements made by others, leave no room for doubt on that point. So true is this, that even Pastor, speaking about the report drawn up by Ceccone, expresses himself thus in his *History of the Popes*:—‘It is plain that Savonarola’s statements, forced from him by torture, and further distorted by interpolations and omissions, cannot be accepted as proofs of anything.’

Savonarola’s autograph deposition is apparently no longer extant. According to Fra Benedetto, it was destroyed at the suggestion of Piero degli Alberti, one of Savonarola’s deadliest enemies. This looks suspicious. In the report of the examination which Ceccone made up there are statements so utterly at variance both with Savonarola’s previous actions, and with the Christian fortitude he soon after displayed at his last hour, that no reliance can be placed on what the unprincipled notary says. Had Savonarola been sent to Rome for examination, as Alexander VI. at first commanded, the subsequent course of events would probably have been very different. Two Papal Commissioners were, however, despatched to Florence, Romolino and Torriano, men unlike each other in every respect. Of Romolino, Father Lucas says (p. 383):—‘He appears to have been a man of scandalous life, and no one has put on record a single good word in his favour.’ Father Lucas gives almost the whole of the third process, which was conducted by Romolino, and taken down by Ceccone, on whose veracity we have just the same reliance that we should have on that of Titus Oates.

The other commissary, Torriano, was a man of eminent virtue. He was General of the Dominican Order, and had always been just and kind towards Savonarola. If we had Torriano’s own account of the proceedings, and knew what he thought of them, we should be in a much better position to form a judgment. But the letter which claims to have been written by the two Papal Commissaries has all the appearance of being a forgery. As Father Lucas remarks (p. 434): ‘This letter must be pronounced a lamentable document; and we can only venture

to suggest that it may have been the work of Romolino, and not of his colleague.'

By this time our readers will probably have concluded that it is unfair to believe, at first sight, any one of the many serious charges that were made by people such as these against Savonarola. When the accusation is proved, then, and only then, ought it to be accepted. Mere statements are not sufficient. Broadly speaking, history shows that all Savonarola's adherents were pious and virtuous, and that all his adversaries were men of evil life. It was by intercepting letters and by misrepresenting facts that they succeeded in procuring Savonarola's death. Luotto, who has made a special study of the question, says: 'Of all the infamous deeds which are told of the closing years of the fifteenth century, there is not one more characteristic nor worse than this, in which infamous calumny, fraud, impiety, contempt for everything sacred, and, above all, for the Vicar of Christ, seem triumphant.'

It is quite clear from several passages that Father Lucas thinks that Savonarola was really excommunicated, though he is acquainted with Lottini's pamphlet, in which the opposite is ably maintained. A learned and impartial investigation of the question is now accessible to English readers in a work entitled *Was Savonarola Really Excommunicated?* by Rev. J. L. O'Neil, O.P., Boston, 1900. The author takes the same view as Lottini (who is the superior of the convent of San Marco, at present), and his arguments are well worthy of consideration. He shows negatively that Savonarola was not regarded as excommunicated by Alexander VI. A month after the Brief had been issued, the Pope thus spoke of Savonarola: 'I wish to hear him; if he is innocent, I shall give him my blessing; if he is guilty, I shall exercise justice and mercy.' The Pope gave him leave to say Mass on the very day of his execution, and granted him, at the last moment, a plenary indulgence, but did not absolve him from excommunication! Neither did the Cardinal Protector, nor the General of the Dominican Order, consider him as deposed from the Priorship of San Marco, as he would certainly have been if excommunicated. On the contrary, during the period that elapsed between the reception of the Pope's Brief and his own tragic end, he continued to discharge all the duties of his office; and his acts in that capacity, such as receiving novices and admitting them to profession, were regarded as valid. This

certain from the chronicle of the convent of San Marco. Lastly, Savonarola, who was both a learned canonist and a man of scrupulous delicacy of conscience, did not look upon himself as separated from the communion of the faithful. He said he would never ask for absolution, and he kept his word. When the proposal was made to him, that if five thousand scudi were paid to a creditor of the Cardinal of Siena, he would procure the revocation of the Brief, Savonarola indignantly rejected the infamous suggestion. (Burlamacchi, Villari.) And in his letter to the Chancellor of the Duke of Ferrara, he says: 'I should consider myself far more heavily censured if I accepted the withdrawal of the excommunication under such terms.'

It is true that his letter of October 13th, 1497, bears in Father Lucas' book and elsewhere the title *To the Pope for Absolution* (Lucas, p. 267); but, as the learned author states (p. 277): 'It must, however, be borne in mind that the words of the title are not Savonarola's own.' But, on the same page, are given the words that he really used in his sermon delivered in the Cathedral of Florence, Septuagesima Sunday, 1498, and they are strong words. 'O my Lord, I turn to Thee, and say: If I ever seek absolution from this excommunication, send me to hell! I should fear I had committed a mortal sin, were I to seek absolution!' These are the words of one who, in the opinion of his friend and confessor, Blessed Sebastian Maggi, had never committed a deliberate sin.

But how could Savonarola speak as he did? Because he knew that the so-called excommunication was notoriously unjust and invalid; that it had been procured by the enemies of Christian morality, and that the Pope had been imposed upon. The Brief contained four indictments.

First, that he had sown certain pernicious doctrines, and that he was suspected of heresy. But how could Alexander VI. make this false statement regarding Savonarola's teaching? He had declared on March 4th, 1497, that he found no fault with it, and no change had taken place in the interval. After Savonarola's death, his works (printed sermons, &c.) were declared to be orthodox by the commission which Paul IV. appointed to examine them A.D. 1554). At the very moment the decision was given, it was revealed to St. Philip Neri, who was praying for the vindication of one whom he revered as a saint, before the Blessed Sacrament which was solemnly exposed in the Dominican

church of the Minerva, in order that the truth might be made known.

Father Lucas does not speak of this very important and interesting fact in St. Philip's life; but he does mention with emphasis that St. Ignatius would not allow any of Savonarola's works to be kept or read in the houses of the society (p. 441). That may be: but, as is well known, theology was not the saint's forte. Father Lucas does not, however, imply here that St. Ignatius thought Savonarola's works to be heterodox. He does, however, say (p. 429, note) that some of Savonarola's works were placed on the Index. As Father Ryder has already remarked in his critique of Father Lucas' work:—

‘There is here a *suppressio veri* which amounts to a *suggestio falsi*. He omits to tell the reader that, after a six months' searching scrutiny by the Roman Congregation, when the attack on his writings was led by the able Jesuit, Laynez, and when, to all human appearances, an adverse verdict seemed at first inevitable, not a line was specifically condemned, but to appease the clamour for a condemnation, a number of his writings, not sufficiently examined, were provisionally placed on the Index pending a definite pronouncement. This was what was revealed to St. Philip Neri.’

Father Lucas should have known this before he published his work; and, if he knew it, he should have stated it.

Secondly, that he had disobeyed the Pope's command summoning him to Rome (July 21, 1495). To this Brief Savonarola respectfully replied (July 31, 1495), that the weak state of his health, the danger of assassination, and the condition of Florence, did not permit him to go then; but that he hoped to be able to go soon. Alexander VI. accepted these reasons for not undertaking the journey (Brief of May 13, 1497.) It is true that the opposite is stated in his Brief to the Vicar of the Lombard Province, Blessed Sebastian Maggi (September 9, 1495); but as Father O'Neil very well says: ‘Though this statement is in contradiction to the facts, the reader need not ascribe the want of truth to Alexander. It is probable that he was not familiar with the details of Briefs drawn up by secretaries, and sometimes inspired by enemies of the friar.’ Father O'Neil mentions also what Father Lucas omits, namely, that Lutto proves that Cardinal Sforza was the author of the Brief of July 21, 1495, and that it was a snare skilfully laid for Savonarola, in shameful

deception of the Pope. But Father Lucas speaks thus of a letter of the Cardinal's in reference to 'the good work of crushing the wickedness of Fra Hieronymo.' 'For the rest, Ascanio's letter is a specimen which it would not be easy to better, of the base hypocrisy with which men themselves steeped in vice, and a disgrace to their ecclesiastical calling, could hold up their hands in pious horror at the "wickedness" of the preacher, misguided though one may believe him to have been.'

There were many men like Cardinal Ascanio Sforza among the adversaries of Savonarola, and they were capable of any act of injustice. It is precisely the knowledge of this fact which makes us unwilling to believe their loud denunciations of Savonarola. It is by no means improbable that his answer of July 31, 1495, was intercepted. As he writes again to the Pope, September 29, 1495: 'I am surprised that your Holiness did not receive my answer, and therefore took care to enclose a copy of it in the letter sent to your Holiness yesterday by the community, so that your Holiness might see that they have spoken falsely who said that I refused to obey.' Again and again does Savonarola attribute his own misfortunes to the malice of those who are deceiving the Pope. See his letters to Alexander VI., of September 29, 1495, of May 22, and June 25, 1497. In the letters of July 31, 1495, and of May 22, June 25, and October 13, 1497, he professes his profound reverence for, and obedience to, the Pope; only in the pathetic letter of March 13, 1498, which expresses the same veneration, does he say that at last he considers himself as abandoned by the Pope to the fierce wolves that rage against him.

Thirdly, that he had disregarded the Pope's prohibition to preach (Brief of October 16, 1495). The fact is, that Savonarola, notwithstanding the unanimous decree of the Signoria, absolutely refused (*as it was his obvious duty to refuse*) to utter a single word in the pulpit, until the Pope gave him permission. On February 16, 1496, he publicly stated that the leave had been granted, and that he would preach. (Why does Father Lucas say, that the leave was extorted?) Dr. Pastor, on whom he relies so much, goes farther. In his *History of the Popes*, he says that Savonarola disobeyed, and in proof of his statement he refers to Cipolla, Cosci, and Perrens. But Cipolla has since changed his opinion, Luotto's arguments have convinced him of Savonarola's obedience, and he intends to say so in his next

edition. Perrens in one of his works does not discuss the question, in another he depends mainly on the authority of another Protestant, viz., Cosci. This writer gives no satisfactory proof for his statement; indeed, he is disposed to admit that leave to preach was granted. But, at all events, we could hardly expect a competent decision on the question of obedience, from one who writes as Cosci does about Luther and Savanarola: 'The German friar had the truly Christian and altogether modern idea, which the Italian friar had not, the idea of independent reason which stands up and judges the conscience, and rests on God without the need of any exterior worship. This it is that constitutes the immense superiority of Martin Luther, notwithstanding the contradictions of his theological system, over Girolamo Savonarola'! So much for Pastor's authorities.

Fourthly, that he had disobeyed the Pope's command to unite the convent of San Marco to the new Tusco-Roman province. To judge of the truth of this statement, we must take a rapid glance at the facts. We begin from the action of the Pope himself. Alexander VI. had for the sake of stricter observance made San Marco independent of the Lombard province. Then by a Brief, dated Sept. 8, 1495, he reunited them. In reference to this Brief, Savonarola wrote thus on Sept. 15, 1495, to a friend in Rome:—'I believe that if his Holiness were aware of these facts he would annul the Brief, and punish the perpetrators of fraud.' 'Nevertheless, if I cannot otherwise save my conscience than by obeying the Brief, certainly I will obey, though the ruin of the whole world should be the result; for I do not wish to sin in this affair in any manner, even venially. But in this affair I have considered that it is well, as the doctors teach, to wait.' Early in 1496, the convent of Prato was placed by the Pope under the jurisdiction of Savanarola, as Vicar of the Congregation of San Marco. On November 7 of that year, the Pope established the Tusco-Roman Congregation, of which San Marco was to form a part, and on December 13 a Padre Giacomo, a Sicilian, was appointed Vicar. Savonarola instantly acknowledged him as Superior.

Now in the Brief of excommunication (May 13, 1497), Savonarola is declared to be guilty of disobedience. It recites that 'by another Brief (dated November 7, 1496, the fifth year of our Pontificate) we ordered him—to obey in uniting the convent of San Marco to a certain new Congregation, called the

Tusco-Roman Province, by us lately formed and instituted.' But if we turn to the Brief in question, we find no such command. The Pope says :—' And by our Apostolic authority we also decree for now and all future time that the said houses are united,' and ' we forbid each and everyone to contradict or impede this our letter.' Thus *ipso facto* the union was made by this Decree. It did not rest with Savonarola; it did not depend on his consent, or dissent. In point of fact, he obeyed to the letter. He had been told not to impede, and he did not impede. The discrepancy between the two Briefs on an all-important point is too evident to admit of further remark. But it is worthy of notice that the second Brief was signed by the Archbishop of Cosenza, who four months later was condemned to the Castle of St. Angelo, on the charge of having forged Papal Briefs. Whether he acted unjustly in Savonarola's case, we do not know; but, surely, we ought to be cautious in accepting his words as Secretary, and pause before condemning a great and holy man like Savonarola.

Nevertheless, Father Lucas seems not to have seen the discrepancy between the Briefs. He seems also unwilling to grant that in the latter Brief the Pope does not inflict any censure, that he simply declares that Savonarola had incurred excommunication on account of certain alleged transgressions. But this is obvious to anyone that reads the Brief. How guiltless Savonarola was of the alleged transgressions, we have already seen. It is no wonder, then, that Pico-dello Mirandola exclaimed :—' For myself, when I was told about the excommunication, I could scarcely believe that from so celebrated a place, such a sentence would be fulminated against a man whom I know to be endowed with learning and adorned with all virtues, especially obedience, and without even the semblance of truth to justify it.'

Two years ago, though Father Lucas does not mention it, six cardinals and forty bishops concurred in doing honour to the memory of Savonarola. Recent investigations have thrown a flood of light on many episodes in his history, and have completely justified his action. If over other parts of his career a veil of obscurity still hangs, let us reflect that a little more work may remove that veil also. If there are actions of Savonarola which some people at the present day cannot understand, let us remind ourselves that they presented no difficulty whatever to contemporaries of the great preacher, living in Florence, having

an opportunity of knowing the whole case, and leading holy lives. For instance, the nuns of the 'Fuligno' were remarkable for their fervour; two by two, they attended the Lenten sermons in 1498, which, presumably, they would not have done, had Savonarola really been what Father Lucas represents him.

There is, however, still higher testimony to Savonarola's virtue, the testimony of beatified and canonized servants of God. If we mistake not, no less than thirteen of them had a devotion to him, among these being St. Philip Neri, St. Catherine de Ricci, Blessed Colomba di Rieti, and Blessed Juvenal Ancini. Blessed John Fischer also venerated him. Father Lucas may dilate on 'Savonarola's disobedience' (p. 440), and imply that it had its roots in pride; but if he were proud and disobedient, and died excommunicated, can Father Lucas explain the religious honour which these saints have paid to his memory? In such matters saints are good judges. On page 441 Father Lucas thus expresses himself:—'The only thing to be said on the subject seems to be that St. Philip and St. Catherine venerated Savonarola for his eminent virtues.' Very well, but eminent virtues are incompatible with pride and disobedience. Is not Father Lucas blowing hot and cold in the same breadth? Throughout his book he appears unwilling to do Savonarola justice; he is inclined to put an unfavourable construction on several actions, and insinuates that they were prompted by unworthy motives. Saints did not do so.

A word in conclusion. It has often occurred to the present writer that there is a remarkable resemblance between the fiery death so bravely endured in the Piazza del Palazzo Vecchio in Florence, on May 23, 1498, and that which was so nobly borne in the market-place of Rouen, sixty-seven years before. Joan of Arc and Savonarola had a great deal in common during life and at the hour of death. One was burned as a sorceress, the other as a heretic and schismatic. Time has vindicated the virtues of the Maid of Orleans, and time may yet do justice to the holiness of the Preacher of Florence.

R. W.

ORESTES A. BROWNSON'S MIDDLE LIFE. From 1845 to 1855. By Henry F. Brownson. Detroit, Michigan: H. F. Brownson, Publisher, 1899.

HAVING told us in *Brownson's Early Life* all that is of interest regarding his father's early years, education, and conversion, Mr. H. F. Brownson deals in the present volume with what he calls the 'middle life' of the famous American writer. The book is very interesting, and naturally lets the reader into the secrets of many transactions that required elucidation in order to be fully understood. It is written, as might be expected, with unqualified admiration for the subject of the biography, and where bishops, priests, or Catholic laymen of the period come into collision with the famous convert they get but little approval from his son.

Perhaps one of the most interesting features of the book to Irish readers, though certainly not the most pleasant, will be the tone of lofty patronage with which the author of the work is pleased to speak of Irish Catholics in America. This tone is also noticeable in many of the letters of Brownson's friends, who speak of themselves as *native Americans*, and of the Irish as foreigners, or immigrants. The letters of Father Hecker, quoted in this volume, are by no means exempt from the same blemish. Brownson, the elder, was far superior to any of these men. He had, like Cardinal Manning, a genuine love for the Irish people, and whilst he sometimes reminded them of their defects, he never minimized their good qualities, or spared the self-sufficiency of their critics.

The correspondence between Newman and Brownson is also worthy of attention. When Dr. Newman became Rector of the Catholic University of Ireland he invited Brownson to lecture on geography, a rather curious selection of subject for a man who was chiefly known for his philosophical and theological work. Dollinger had been invited to deliver some lectures on historico-theological subjects. The project was not fulfilled in either case. Few will regret at the present day that Dollinger was never associated with the old establishment in Stephen's-green; nor could Brownson who had just then incurred the hostility of the Irish people have been, under the circumstances, a very welcome addition to the staff of the new University. Indeed one of the most delicate duties Dr. Newman had to perform was to intimate to Brownson that he had practically to withdraw his invitation.

Brownson's criticism of Dr. Newman's theory of *Development* was very remarkable, and everything in his published works, and in the letters which now see the light for the first time, would seem to indicate that he anticipated the movement in the direction of 'Americanism,' and condemned it in unqualified terms. His correspondence with Montalembert, Weninger, and other distinguished Europeans is also worth perusal.

There are some evidences of careless proof reading, and the appearance of the volume is anything but artistic. The contents are, however, valuable, and, indeed, indispensable to anyone who wishes to become acquainted with the history of the period in the American Church.

RELIGION AND MORALITY. Their Nature, and Mutual Relations Historically and Doctrinally Considered. By the Rev. James J. Fox, S.T.D. New York: William H. Young & Co., 1899. Sold at R. Washbourne's, 18, Paternoster-row, London, E.C. Price \$2.

WE find recorded in the title page of this volume, that it formed the author's 'Dissertation for the Doctorate in Theology at the Catholic University of America.' Its limits, however, are pushed far beyond the requirements of the University programme, as is sufficiently apparent from the fact, that it contains some three hundred and twenty-two rather closely printed octavo pages.

Apart, however, from any extrinsic interest attaching to it, we have little hesitation in pronouncing it a work of very decided merit, and one that deserves to be regarded as an important and scholarly contribution to ethical literature. A fundamental question is dealt with in a very fundamental way; but the treatment, while deep and thorough, is yet eminently clear and readable, and one need not be very specially enamoured of ethical science to find in the work nothing short of a great intellectual treat.

The scope of the work—to put it briefly—is to vindicate the Christian theory of ethics, involving as it does, the recognition of an essential relation between morality and religion. Of course, morality prescribes the practice of religion, it regulates the conduct of the creature towards the Creator. This aspect of their relation, however, is not that, as is obvious, which is primarily under consideration. To construct a system of ethics, to set it on a proper foundation, the consideration of religion is absolutely essential. It is admitted, indeed, that a certain

measure of morality may be had independent of religion. The moral law is implanted in our nature, and there may be found these who are willing to obey its behests without inquiring further into its authority. As Martineau, quoted by the author, so beautifully puts it, 'conscience may act as human before it is discovered to be divine.' If, however, morality is to be productive among men, such as they are, of anything approaching its legitimate fruit; if the authority of the moral judgment is challenged; if conscience in claiming obedience is pressed for its credentials; if an adequate motive for the self-sacrifice involved in obedience is to be supplied; then, indeed, with absolute necessity, must recourse be had to religion and to God,

In the first portion of the work, Dr. Fox seeks the testimony of human nature on the question at issue; he inquires how mankind has brought its religious beliefs to bear on the regulation of conduct. This, the historical side of the problem, Dr. Fox claims to have dealt with more fully than has been done by any preceding writer. In about one hundred pages—pages which, we may remark, in no way unpleasantly remind one of dry and dusty records, but are singularly interesting and refreshing—he sets forth an historical survey of the great religions of the world as they bear on the subject. Christianity and the religion of the Hebrews do not need examination. The religions of Assyria and Babylonia, of Egypt, India, Persia, China, Greece, and Rome, Mahometanism, even the religion of semi-civilized and savage races are examined, and by direct quotation as well as by the testimony of scholars, he shows that, however enormously those various systems differ in other respects, they all recognise, with greater or less distinctness, the essential relation between morality and religion. 'Whilst hardly another feature is found constant, the belief in a religious sanction for conduct is common to all,' Accordingly, the religious sentiment is found to be universal, so is the moral, so is the relation between them. The conclusion follows on a principle familiar to the scholastics, and admitted by Mr. Spencer in a connection which suited his purpose. The element of universality indicates the particular growth which has its root in human nature itself. It marks the genuine article of truth, which, in so many instances—in particular religions—is surrounded with such huge, and such diverse accretions of error.

The second portion of the work is doctrinal and critical; truth is sought by an examination of representative ethical theories.

His exposition of the Christian theory, which is at the same time solidly argumentative, is singularly able and satisfying to the mind; and we may say, at once, that his chapters on The Proximate Basis, and Rule of Morality; on The Ultimate End and Rule; on Natural Religion and Morality, and on Supernatural Religion, were well worthy of publication apart altogether from the place which they occupy within the scope of the present volume. Of rival systems, he examines three, which are sufficiently representative: those of Kant, Mill, and Spencer. He gives a detailed exposition of each, and shows the utter inadequacy of these, as of other attempts, to set up an independent system of morality.

We can say little but words of praise regarding this book. Possibly it would be an improvement if the historical portion followed the doctrinal. At present, besides a certain break in natural sequence of treatment, the historical argument has to be regarded to a great extent as independent and conclusive of itself. While disposed to allow its full value as such, still we think to many minds such arguments are specially valuable and cogent as confirmatory rather than as independent. In one other small matter, we think it would conduce to clearness, if that imperfect morality, which is allowed to be present in a manner independent of religion, received some qualifying adjunct to designate it.

We must not omit to add, in conclusion, that the work throughout displays very extensive scholarship. Writers of various languages, and of various schools of thought are consulted and quoted, and the reader cannot fail to be impressed with the idea that the author was singularly well equipped to deal with the subject.

W. B.

NOTES ON A HISTORY OF AURICULAR CONFESSION: H. C. LEA'S ACCOUNT OF THE POWER OF THE KEYS IN THE EARLY CHURCH. By the Rev. P. H. Casey, S.J., Professor of Dogmatic Theology in Woodstock College. Philadelphia: John Jos. McVey, 1899.

MANY of our readers will remember the publication of the pretentious work, in three volumes, by Mr. Henry Charles Lea, LL.D., entitled *A History of Auricular Confession and Indulgences in the Latin Church*. With a great parade of learning

and wide research, he sought to discredit the divine origin and character of the sacrament of penance, and to trace its growth from a worldly-wise policy and expediency.

Father Casey's method of dealing with the 'historian' is as simple and brief as it is decisive. He does not wade through Mr. Lea's three volumes, but selects the vital question of the work—the History of the Keys during the first five centuries of Christianity—and subjects Mr. Lea's treatment of it to a very minute analysis. In a way which reminds one of Father Lambert on Ingersoll, he reproduces from the historian passage by passage, and we may fairly say, that in the luminous comments subjoined, he deals utter havoc to Mr. Lea's representation of patriotic teaching. The little work becomes trebly valuable in view of what we are told in an after-word. H. C. Lea's extensive works: *A History of the Inquisition of the Middle Ages*, and *A Historical Sketch of Sacerdotal Celibacy in the Christian Church*, are written according to the very same methods as his *History of Auricular Confession*.

We hope Father Casey's little volume will find its way wherever a copy of the 'History' is to be found. If so, we can promise that, though small in size, yet, torpedo-like, it will deal utter destruction to Mr. Lea's huge three-decker.

W. B.



‘DE CUSTODIA EUCHARISTIAE’

‘CHRISTUS in Eucharistia praesens est modo permanente independenter ab usu.’ The dogmatic teaching of the Church is expressed in these words; the priests’ duty towards our Blessed Lord in the words of the Ritual: ‘Parochus summum studium in eo ponat ut tum ipse venerabile hoc sacramentum qua decet reverentia debito cultu tractet custodiet et administret, tum etiam populus sibi commissus religiose colat.’ The dogmatic teaching remains always the same. The methods used to show respect to our Blessed Lord, and safeguard His adorable presence in the Blessed Eucharist have been very different at different times. It is a very interesting chapter in the Church’s history, this which deals with the reservation of the Blessed Sacrament. I propose to cull a few passages from it, sufficient to show by what steps we have been led up to our present position, with regard to this, which is the most sacred charge of our priesthood.

That consecrated particles were reserved and used outside the Mass from the earliest period in Church history, is beyond doubt. Even Calvin is forced to admit this much. ‘Qui sic faciunt,’ he writes, ‘habent veteris Ecclesiae exemplum.’ We need not be surprised if we have but scant evidence of what was the practice in the early ages

handed down in history. One of the worst mistakes made by modern Protestantism and the criticism of to-day in dealing with matters of this kind, is to overlook the fact that the chronicler deals with the extraordinary and the exceptional. He will tell us much of years of great plenty or great scarcity, of wars, of plagues, of the rises and falls of empires; but of the every-day life of the people, of what made up the joys and sorrows of the millions, little or nothing. Now the Perpetual Presence, when once the faith had taken root in a land, entered into the daily lives of the people. The holy Mass, the communion, the visit to the Blessed Sacrament, were amongst the commonest of duties. There was nothing exceptional or extraordinary to attract the attention of the writer or the story-teller. We must not be surprised, then, that the historian who seeks for something new to tell, cannot find much. Yet there is enough to refute the heretical caviller, if not enough to satisfy those who would wish to make for themselves a picture of early Christian life, as vivid as one can of our own time. 'It is well known,' says St. Alphonsus, 'that the first Christians kept the Blessed Eucharist in their homes under the species of bread only, and that they communicated without the ministry of a priest.'

Tertullian speaks of a wife who receives communion secretly in her own house. 'Will not your husband know what it is which you secretly taste before (taking) any food, and if he knows it to be bread, does he not believe it to be *that* (bread) which it is said to be?'

St. Cyprian in relating, in his book, *De Lapsis*, a miraculous occurrence, gives us an idea of how the Blessed Sacrament was reserved. 'Cum quaedam,' he writes, 'arcam suam in qua Domini Sanctum fuit, manibus indignis tentasset aperire igne inde surgente deterrita est ne auderet attingere.'

The custom of reserving the Blessed Sacrament in private houses was ancient in the time of St. Basil. 'Diu-turna consuetudo ipsis rebus confirmat. Omnes enim in solitudine monachi ubi non est sacerdos communionem domi servantes suis ipsorum manibus sumunt. Alexandriae

autem et in Aegypto unusquisque etiam de plebe ut plurimum habet domi communionem et quando vult per seipsum fit illius particeps.' St. Gregory Nazienzen assures us that his sister kept the Blessed Sacrament secretly, and praying to our Lord, thus concealed, she was cured of a painful malady. St. Augustine gives the case of a child who was healed by the mother touching it with the Eucharistic Species. There are many references to the bringing of the Blessed Sacraments to the martyrs when in immediate danger of death. The Roman martyrology commemorates the death of the boy-martyr Tarcisius. 'Quem pagani cum invenissent corporis Christi sacramentum portantem coeperunt disquirere quid gereret at ille indignum iudicans porcis prodere margaritas tamdiu ab illis mactatus est fustibus et lapidibus donec exhalaret spiritum,' whose glorious death Pope Damasus records in the beautiful lines :—

Tarsicium Sanctum Christi Sacramenta gerentem
Cum male sana manus peteret vulgare profanis,
Ipse animam potius voluit dimittere caesus
Prodere quam canibus rabidis coelestia membra.

Many references are made to those who not merely kept the Blessed Sacrament in their homes, but carried it with them when they went on journeys.

In the Vatican catacombs have been found within different sarcophagi little boxes of gold or other precious metal used by the faithful. Attached to them may still be seen the ring through which the cord was passed to place round the neck, so as to hang them on the breast; and, indeed, it would seem too they had been placed on the breasts of the owners when put in the tomb, as if taking with them to the grave what held their dearest treasure on earth. St. Ambrose tells of his brother committing himself to the sea, and coming safe to land, trusting to the Blessed Sacrament which he carried hanging from his neck.

This custom lasted in the case of clerics all through the middle ages. When Pope Honorius, as we are told by William of Malmesbury, sent St. Birinus to England, in 634,

he gave him a pall or corporal on which he was accustomed to consecrate the body of Christ, and in which also he used to wrap the Lord's body, and carry it with him hanging from his neck, but when he was consecrating the Sacred Mysteries he placed on the altar. A later chronicler tells a story of the same saint walking over the water to fetch his treasure which he had left behind.

Curiously enough, in our own time we have an instance of a return to the practice of the early Church in a time of great trial. On the 22nd of November, 1848, Pius IX. received a letter and a small box from the Bishop of Valence. His Lordship sent it with the following letter:—

Très Saint Père. Pendant les pérégrinations de son exil en France et surtout à Valence où il est mort et où repose son cœur le Grand Pape Pie VI. portait la très Sainte Eucharistie sur sa poitrine ou celle des prélats domestiques qui étaient dans sa voiture. Il puisait dans cette auguste Sacrament une lumière pour sa conduite une force pour ses souffrances un consolateur pour ses douleurs en attendant qu'il y trouvât le viatique pour son éternité.

He then tells how the box he sends contains the pyx used by Pius VI., and continues:—

Vous attacherez peut-être quelque prix à cette modeste mais intéressante relique qui, Je l'espère bien ne recevra plus la même destination. Cependant, qui connaît les desseins de Dieu dans les Épreuves que sa Providence ménage à votre Sainteté.

The following night found Pius IX. disguised as an ordinary priest *en route* for Gaeta. Some were of opinion that our Blessed Lord was with him carried as He was by his sainted predecessor. It is hardly necessary to say that during the dark days of persecution in our own land the bosom of the priest was the resting-place of our Lord at home and abroad, in hay loft or cave. 'All day long,' writes the Bishop of Kilmacduagh, to the Cardinal Protector, 'they [the priests] lie hid in caves, and at night they come out for a few hours to minister to the spiritual wants of the faithful.'

I do not remember reading any case of a layman in this

country carrying the Blessed Sacrament even during the worst days of persecution. The reverence of our fathers for our Blessed Lord was such that any hand to touch the Sacred Species, save the consecrated hand, would have been a shock to them. The beautiful legend of Ninian of the Clean Hand, though devoid of historic foundation, shows what their feelings were with regard to the hand fitted to touch the Holy Host. That reverence is well seen in an incident told by Cardinal Moran in his history of the Church in Australia. Father Flynn, the solitary priest in the colony, was seized, thrown into prison, and subsequently banished without being allowed an opportunity of returning to the house of Mr. Davis, where the Blessed Sacrament was reserved in a cedar tabernacle. For more than two years the few Catholics kept the lamp burning before the humble abode of our Lord, and used to come in turn to pray there 'that God would hasten the day of mercy, and not allow them for ever to be shut out from the blessings of the Church.' We know how in a short time that prayer was heard.

However, even in the Apostolic ages the practice of the laity keeping the Blessed Sacrament in their houses, or carrying it about with them, was manifestly open to abuse. It was, therefore, abolished in many places soon after peace was given to the Church. Commencing in Spain, the abolition was gradually extended to other places. Though, as I have already said, in the case of the clerics, we find it still in existence late in the Middle Ages. St. Thomas of Canterbury carried the Blessed Sacrament with him when he went to meet Henry II. It is true St. Louis carried the Blessed Sacrament, but he did so by permission of the Papal Legate, showing that this was no longer allowable to the laity. Of course the case was different with those of the clergy who had the care of the souls. Not only were they allowed, but it was enjoined. In the genuine Poenitential of the Venerable Bede priests are admonished 'when they go among the people far from the church to take the Holy Eucharist with them.'

Let us turn to another branch of the same subject, viz.,

the arrangements made for the reservation of the Blessed Sacrament when the age of persecution was over and churches began to be built. The most ancient use was to reserve in *pastoforia*, i.e., chambers at the side of the church. Chardon quotes Jerome in cap. 40, Ezek. I have gone carefully through that homily, and I could not find anything that could be fairly construed into an allusion to the spot where the Blessed Sacrament was reserved. That there was such a place is certain. In the Apostolic constitutions we read: 'When all the faithful, men and women, have communicated, the deacons will take the sacred species that remains and carry them to the *pastoforium*.' Cardinal Bona says that by *pastoforium* is meant sacristy or place for keeping the various things used in the service and decoration of the altar. But it would appear from the very beginning there were two of these little rooms. One was used exclusively for the Blessed Sacrament. In the second were deposited the Holy Scriptures, the liturgical books, together with the sacred vessels, and the vestments of the priests and ministers. St. Paulinus of Nola describing his church informs us that it had two *secretaria*; one on the right, the other on the left-hand side of the apse. The inscription over the door of the first was:—

Hic locus est veneranda penus qua conditur et qua
Promitur alma sacri pompa ministerii.

And though this would not necessarily mean that it was exclusively used for the Blessed Sacrament it can be interpreted in that sense. Later on another custom, that of reserving the Blessed Sacrament on the altar itself, became common. Over the altar was erected a canopy of wood, stone, brass, or silver, supported by four columns in general of porphyry or some precious marble planted at the four corners of the altar. This dome-like canopy was called ciborium (κιβώριον), from its supposed resemblance to the bowl of a reversed cup so designated by the Greeks. Now from the centre of this ciborium was suspended a vessel of gold or silver, in the shape of a dove, in which was contained the Blessed Sacrament. But though this was the common

practice it was by no means universal. The canons of various synods are very implicit regarding the honourable and safe custody of the great treasure, but without defining the exact place.

Bishop Grosteste, of Lincoln, in a letter to a parish priest, says: 'The Eucharist, which is the Sacrament of the Lord's Body, must be carefully and devoutly preserved, and be always honourably laid up in a place apart, clean, and sealed or locked.' A canon of the Synod of Chichester, afterwards adopted by the Province of York, ordains that 'the Holy Eucharist be diligently guarded under lock and key, under pain of three months' suspension *ab officio*.' The Council of Lambeth orders that in every parish church there must be a decent tabernacle, with lock (*clausura*). In this the Body of the Lord must be placed, in a very beautiful pyx and linen covering, but not in a purse, lest it be broken.

The word 'tabernacle' does not necessarily suppose a change from the receptacle in the shape of a dove hanging from the dome already described. Down to the fifteenth century, and in some places even to the Reformation, the old custom was kept up. Roger of Hoveden refers to it, as he notices the snapping, on a certain occasion, of the chain which upheld the dove: 'Cecidit etiam super altare pyxis cui corpus Christi inerat abrupto vinculo;' and Gervase, the monk of Canterbury (A.D. 1201), in his description of a fire which consumed part of the cathedral in that city, relates that the pyx containing the Blessed Eucharist was rescued from the conflagration.

In the fifteenth century we see the gradual introduction of the tabernacles as we have them to-day. Lyndewode (A.D. 1422) observes that although the custom followed of keeping the Body of our Lord within a canopy suspended over the altar was commendable, inasmuch as it exhibited the Eucharist in a way more conspicuous to public view for adoration, yet he preferred the method he had lately witnessed to prevail in the Netherlands and Portugal of depositing the Blessed Sacrament under lock and key, either within a niche in the wall or in a tower of masonry called

a sacrament house. For in this manner all irreverence towards the sacrament was prevented by placing the sacred vessel which contained it beyond the reach and unhallowed touch of the profane, and in a place of security, where the cupidity of the sacrilegious could not reach it.

A little later Lyndewode's views had gained more general acceptance, and we find Cardinal Pole, in 1555, wishing to introduce in England the manner of reservation which had become almost universal on the Continent. He orders that the tabernacle be raised, and fixed in the middle of the high altar, if it can be conveniently done, so that it cannot be easily moved; and, if not on the high altar, otherwise in the most convenient and honourable place, and nearest to the high altar, that can be found. The ordinaries were to begin in their own churches. Before this decree could be fully carried out altars and tabernacles were overturned, and the sanctuary laid desolate.

In the church of the Basilian fathers at Grottoferatta, a small town some ten miles from Rome, one can see both methods of reserving the Blessed Sacrament in the same church. It is at the same time a parochial and monastic church. There are services in Greek and Latin, and reservation of the Blessed Sacrament, both according to the ancient rite and the Roman Ritual. It is the wish of our Holy Father Leo XIII. that the ancient Basilian rite be perfectly observed by the monks, whilst a few of the brethren are appointed to administer to the wants of parishioners according to the Roman rite. We have, therefore, in the church a special choir for the monks. This occupies what in a Gothic church is the apse, and is entirely separated from the nave by what is more like a reredos than a screen. In the centre of the choir there is a square altar, from the corners of which ascend four columns, which support a canopy. From the centre of this canopy hangs a dove in silver, containing the Most Blessed Sacrament. There is a second reservation, by special privilege, in favour of the parishioners. In the aisle, at the Epistle side, there is an ordinary tabernacle placed on a side altar.

Since the sixteenth century the practice of placing

the tabernacle on the altar has gradually spread over the whole Church, though in the process many of the terms used with regard to the Blessed Sacrament have changed their meaning. The canopy over the altar is no longer known as a ciborium, but as a 'baldacchino;' whilst the former term is used in Italy for what we call tabernacle, and we use it for the vessel in which the Blessed Sacrament is reserved for distribution to the faithful.

As might be expected, the Council of Trent did much to bring about uniformity of practice in this matter. When Paul V., in 1614, published the Roman Ritual, he did not command that it should be followed; he simply said 'hortamur.' Yet very soon it came to be looked upon as binding, and in 1652 there is a decree of the Congregation of Rites declaring that regulars were bound to follow it exactly.

Let us see what is its teaching on the various points already dealt with. First, as to the place. The Blessed Sacrament may, and ought to be reserved in cathedrals and parish churches *de jure*; in the churches of regulars *ex privilegio*. Questions relating to collegiate churches hardly concern us. With regard to nuns, the right of reservation only exists in the case of *moniales* in the strict sense, and whose monasteries have been canonically erected. In their case the Blessed Sacrament must be kept in a church which is outside the enclosure, and never in a private oratory to which the chaplain, who is the custodian of the sacred treasure, has not free access. For all other churches an Apostolic Indult is needed. Such an indult may be obtained for a rural church at a distance from the parochial church, provided there be a chaplain to say Mass regularly, and that the church be open to the faithful some hours each day. With regard to the churches of religious, who are neither *moniales* nor *regulares* in the strict sense, and have no communication of privileges, an Apostolic Indult is needed. This indult is sometimes incorporated with the rule approved by the Holy See.

An *Immemorabilis Consuetudo* gives the right of reserving the Blessed Sacrament, provided it is presumed to rest on an Apostolic Indult; but not otherwise. For if it be shown

that the custom rests solely on a permission of the ordinary, the right cannot be sustained. The Sacred Congregation of the Council decided that, since the possession comes from 'radice et titulo infecto possessio ipsa remanet *non canonizabilis*.' From what has been said it follows that an Apostolic Indult is always necessary in the case of private oratories, whether of religious or seculars.

The Mode of Reservation.—The consecrated particles should be kept in a pyx or ciborium of solid and becoming material. When possible the material should be gold or silver, or, at least, the cup silver, and gilt inside. In poor churches an inferior metal may be used, provided it be silver-plated, and gilt inside. The lid should close well, and the whole should be covered with a white veil. Ordinarily, besides the ciborium, there ought to be a small pyx, to take Holy Communion to the sick.

The tabernacle containing the Blessed Sacrament should be perfectly dry; hence thoroughly-seasoned wood is the best material. In many places, for safety' sake, the tabernacles are made of metal. This is allowed, and in some places prescribed. Whatever material is used, the door must be strong, and well locked. The key should be of silver, or, if of other metal, gilt or plated. The figures, which may be painted or worked in relief on the door, are the emblems of the Blessed Sacrament, a chalice and Host, or the figure of our Lord at the Last Supper, or on the cross, or in His risen state, or other scenes of His life which excite devotion. The key should not be left in the door nor on the altar outside the time of Mass, but should be in the safe custody of a priest. It cannot be confided to any secular, nor to nuns.

If the tabernacle be not worked into the design of the altar under a canopy of stone, it should be gilt outside. On the top there may be a crown or other ornament, such as the pelican or a small cross, but not the cross used for Mass. Nothing should be placed on the tabernacle, not even a monstrance with a relic of the true cross. The tabernacle should be covered with a veil, either white or the colour of the day. The material is not determined; it may be either

woollen, or cotton, or silk. Nothing must be put before the tabernacle that would hide it from the view of the people. The interior of the tabernacle should be either gilt or lined with white silk. There should be a corporal on which to place the vessels containing the Blessed Sacrament, and nothing else.

When there are several altars in a church on which ought the tabernacle to be placed? The ritual is explicit: '*In altari majori vel in alio quod venerationi et cultui tante Sacramente commodius et decentius videatur sit collocatum.*' As early as 1579 we have a decision of S. C. Epis. et Reg., showing that the tabernacle should not be on the high altar in cathedrals, but should be so placed in parish churches and the churches of regulars.

Renewal of consecrated particles.—It is the wish of the Church that the number of particles consecrated should not be in excess of the needs of the parish; that is, there should be a number sufficient for the sick and for communicants in the church. As far as possible, at the end of the week, the particles that remain should be consumed, the pyxes purified, and newly consecrated particles put in their stead. Thus the danger of mixing newly consecrated particles with those consecrated the previous week is avoided, as it is forbidden. The renewing of the consecrated particles should never willingly be put off beyond fifteen days, and this applies not only to the ciboriums but also to the lunette. When the Blessed Sacrament is reserved in a private oratory in virtue of a Pontifical Indult the conditions of the grant must be observed. If no special conditions are mentioned, then the above regulations should be observed.

In the absence of a canopy of stone or wood as part of the altar, then a baldacchino should be placed over the altar on which the Blessed Sacrament is reserved, this should be rigorously enforced where there is an inhabited room over the altar. The S. C. R. in admitting such a case added '*Hac tamen lege ut super altare (Saselli) baldachinum apponatur et removeatur si fieri potest custodia SS. Sacramenti quatenus ibi asservetur.*'

The blessing of the tabernacle is reserved to the bishop

and to those having the faculty to bless corporals and vestments. The same is to be said of the pyx and the lunula. These lose their blessing in the same way that chalices lose their consecration. It is praiseworthy to bless the monstrance for benediction, but not necessary.

Everything that is near the Blessed Sacrament ought to be kept very clean. It is also of obligation (*sub grave*) to keep at least one lamp always burning before the tabernacle. A Pontifical Indult is ordinarily required to reserve the Blessed Sacrament without a lamp. The oil as prescribed is olive oil; but where this cannot be had, or because of the poverty of the parish, the choice of the oil is left to the ordinaries who will, as far as can be, see that vegetable oil be used.

So far for the general legislation of the Church. How far this has been modified to suit the exceptional circumstances of these countries can be seen from the decrees of the Provincial Councils in Ireland and England, which we append:—

In omnibus indiscriminatim sacris aedibus nequaquam permittitur asservare SS. Eucharistiam Ecclesiae Cathedrales Parochiales et si quae sint in quibus ex consuetudine immemorabili assidue hactenus asservata fuerit hoc jure fruuntur. In reliquis Ecclesiis nisi adsit privilegium apostolicum servari non potest.¹

Statuimus ut magna cura et sub fideli custodia adhibitis clavibus SS. Eucharistia conservetur.²

Ne autem diutius asservatae corrumpantur particulae a Parochis et sacerdotibus ad quos spectat renovandae sunt octavo quolibet die sacra ciboria eadem occasione purificentur.³

In Ecclesiis in quibus SS. Eucharistia asservatur die et nocte una saltem lampas semper accensa colliceat.⁴

The clause in the synod of Thurles, *ubi tuto fieri potest noctu*, is not inserted. In the quarter of a century that intervened between Thurles and Maynooth all danger had disappeared.

We see another advance with regard to the reservation of the communion of the sick between 1850 and 1875.

¹ Mayn. Decr., xiii. 48.

² *Id.* 46.

³ *Id.* 47.

⁴ *Id.*, No. 49.

In Thurles we have the words :—

Parochi magna cum Reverentia Sacram Eucharistiam ad aegrotos deferendam in domibus suis servant ubi id necessarium est et permissum est. Singulis autem enixe commendamus ut sacellum aut saltem tabernaculum constituent ab omni usu profano segregatum in quo Eucharistiam reverenter custodiant.¹

In Maynooth there is no mention of this, thus making it evident that the fathers of the Council thought the time had come when the practice of the universal Church, of bringing the Blessed Sacrament from the tabernacle, or regularly erected oratory, ought to be followed in this country.

The Provincial Council of Westminster legislating for England has made almost the same regulations as Maynooth, adding a few to meet the exceptional circumstances of the country. It deals with the position of many parishes dependent on the chapels of private families, and lays down the rule :—

Sanctissimum Sacramentum custodiri non debet nisi in iis oratoriis quae missioni inserviunt et veluti publica proinde reputantur.²

We have further, the instruction S. C. de Prop. Fid.: to the English bishops with regard to keeping the Blessed Sacrament in the oratories of some noblemen. The instruction distinguishes three classes of oratories; the first class is of oratories domestic in the strict sense. 'In iis regulare Ecclesiasticae ea de re latae atque Indultorum formulae sunt servandae, quoad alia in singulis casibus S. Sedis sententia erit expostulanda.' In the second there is question of chapels to which, not only the members of the family but the Catholics of the neighbourhood come. When these are some distance from the parochial church, and when it is convenient to take the Blessed Sacrament from them to the sick 'permittendum est ut ex Episcopi sententia SSm. Sacramentum in iis servari possit.' In the third class are included chapels still further removed from the parish

¹ Thurl. de Euch. 23.

² De Euch., No. 7.

church, and on that account may be considered as '*succursales* et filiales quoad Ecclesias pro animarum cura designatas.' In these also the Blessed Sacrament may be kept, as in chapels of the second class. To both the following injunction is to be applied :—

Ita tamen ut Judicio ipsius Episcopi oratoria hujusmodi publica vel quasi publica insuper vero quotidie vel saltem in hebdomada sacrosanctum missae sacrificium in iisdem offeratur : demum servandis atque antistitum necnon virorum ad quos capellae pertinent onerata conscientia.¹

'Non est alia natio tam grandis quae habet deos appropinquantes sibi sicut Deus Noster adest nobise.'

JOHN MAGNIER, C.S.S.R.

¹ App. ii., Conc. I. Prov. Westm.

ALLELUIA'S THOUGHT SEQUENCE

I.

THE AFFIX

ALLELUIA!¹

Laudate pueri Dominum,
Laudate nomen Domini.

PRAISE ye the name of the Lord! This interpretation of the spirit of the Paschal Acclaim being the motive of the study I am about to propose, I should naturally first like to say something in explanation of what I take to be that Acclaim's truly liturgical and even mystical import as a form of universal acclamation. I have, however, already written so much upon the subject, that in regard to it I could now do very little more than repeat myself. I must, accordingly, be content with referring my reader to the articles I have written on various phases of it in *St. Luke's Magazine* (1895); *The Catholic World* (1896); *The Dublin Review*, *American Ecclesiastical Review*, and the *I. E. RECORD* (1897). For my immediate purpose let it suffice to note that, preserving at once the word's radical sense and sound, and, to some extent, even the mystical suggestiveness of its literal form, Allelu'ia may be fairly rendered: 'All hail to Him WHO-IS;' taking 'All hail' as virtually meaning 'Glory in the highest'—*Gloria in excelsis*—and taking 'Who-Is' in the absolute sense in which God said to Moses: 'I Am Who Am,' and—'Thus shalt thou say to the children of Israel: He Who Is has sent Me to you.'²

In the original of Exodus the very same word is found where our versions³ give the different grammatical forms 'I Am' (*Sum*), and 'He Who Is' (*Qui Est*). The word

¹ 'Alleluia'—not generally given at the head of this psalm. But it is there in the original, and is thence transferred untranslated to the Latin of the Vulgate.

² Exodus iii. 14.

³ That is, the Latin Vulgate and the English Douay.

is אֲחִיָּה. According to one's views of the force or importance of the comparatively modern Masoretic vowel-points given in our printed Hebrew Bibles, somewhat also according to a writer's nationality, and his assumed phonetic equivalence for Hebrew characters, אֲחִיָּה gets various forms of transcription, such as 'Aia, Ahiah (which for those pronouncing *j* like *i* or *y* might, of course, well be Ahjah), or as it is given in the margin of the last 'Revised' authorised Anglican version, Ehyeh. All these, however, it may be observed give practically the same pronunciation, effectively the same phonetic representation: that of self-determined aspiration or continued open forth-breathing (*spiritus sese determinantis*). The one I have put in the first place ('Aia) seems the best English transcription, the word's best English phonetic representation, as I have elsewhere explained: particularly in view of our present purpose, as the two last letters in the original are precisely those of *Allelu-iâ's* affix; *yod* (י) and *he* (ה). That affix, then, is to be taken for the verb substantive objectively presented, as being an accusative; hence taken formally both as substantive and verb, but in the infinite mood, and absolutely present (not indefinite) time or 'tense.' In our language such infinitive-substantive form is not really translatable, not idiomatically presentable. The scholastic Latin *Esse* taken substantively and subsistentially (*Ipsum Esse*) comes rather close; yet, in one way, unnecessary to specify here, fails to attain it. But for our purely logical purpose, the translating form 'Who Is' understood as meaning 'Being' in the first instance, Being's self, Being-absolutely, or simply 'The Absolute,' does fairly well for thought-term to the acclaiming verbal prefix (*Allelu*) taken as meaning 'All-praise to,' or 'All-hail.'

Assuming such to be, in a general way, its true literal, traditional, and liturgical sense, in an article entitled 'Traditional form of the Paschal Acclaim,' published this time twelve months in the *American Ecclesiastical Review*, I gave my reasons for retaining the form of transcribing it here adopted. Upon which I took occasion to note a remark in the *Imperial Dictionary* to the effect that it is 'improperly written with *j* in conformity with the German and other

continental languages in which *j* has the sound of *y*. But to pronounce the word with the English sound of *j* destroys its beauty.' The writer, I noted, then observes that a like mistake touching the sound of the first letter in Jehovah has perverted the true pronunciation which was *Yehovah*. That, he very properly allows, must now be submitted to. But, he adds, in regard to the present word, the perversion 'ought not to be tolerated.' To which I would here add: the 'perversion' ought not to be tolerated merely because of destroying the word's beauty, but also, and for a reason of much greater consequence, because of destroying the spiritual significance of the word's determining affix. It destroys the effective representation of what that affix in the original Hebrew so vividly expresses, its representation of the idea of 'The Ab-solute'—as In'dependent Being wholly free from the determining act of another.

That sovereign thought of 'The Absolute' no painted or sculptured form could in the least represent. No effort of mere sensuous art could do so. Only a 'word' from out of the mouth of man may do it; only the divinely provided power of the human voice uttering intelligible sound. In this way the pure diphthongal, self-determined, forth-breathing (*aspirans*) spirit-sound of *Ia* or *Ya* admirably expresses it, in so far as a letter-formed or linguistic product artistically could. *Jah* (as we should naturally pronounce it *dgiah*) does not express the thought at all. With its consonantal, half-hissing, half-grating sound, it represents quite the reverse. It sensibly represents the thought of an agent being wholly acted by another; quite the opposite to the thought of 'The Absolute,' or utterly Self-acting One. Moreover the letter there meant to be represented by *j* is the Hebrew letter *yod*, of which the English equivalent is not *j*, but *i*, or *y*—as we would naturally pronounce *i* in an affix such as *ia*. Apart, therefore, altogether from its ill effect, *jah* is a wholly unwarranted English transcript of the Hebrew affix. I also showed in the article referred to, that the *h* as redundant ought to be omitted. 'Alleluia,' then, I held not 'Hallelujah,' is our proper transcription of the word 'for writing, and speaking, and singing,' and I now add, for

thinking too, for thinking out its truth as universal acclaim to Him 'WHO IS.'

Who accepts this transcription of the Paschal acclaim, with its affix 'Ia,' to be literally consistent, ought write *Iāvâ* instead of the admittedly wrong transcription 'Jehovah' for the Divine Name revealed to Moses; and, for the same reason, ought write *Aia* in transcribing the word in Exodus (chap. iii.) meaning 'I Am.' Independently of this reason of logical consistency, it should be noticed that *Iāvâ* retains the word's essentially tetragrammatic form: form which it not only had in the Hebrew text before the Massoretes added their vowel-points in the ninth century, but which it had in the ancient Phoenician characters of that text before it came to be written in the square letters in which it now appears.¹ The otherwise correct form and with the very same pronunciation, namely, *Iahvah*, gives six, therefore, so far, gives two redundant letters, and these two not at all needed for the correct pronunciation. *Iāvâ*, moreover, keeps in evidence the word's connection with the 'Ia' of the Paschal acclaim and the *Aia* of Exodus. I, accordingly, mean to employ it throughout this article; though, as already suggested, I think it right ultimately to conform to the now unchangeable custom which has made 'Jehovah' a universally accepted term of English literature.

With regard to my reasons for in general transcribing the Hebrew yod (י) as 'i,' and 'he' (ה) as 'a,' when using Roman letters, it ought, surely, suffice to say I do so for the Roman Church does so, and always did so, as, for instance, even outside the present case, in all such names as Mor'ia, Ab'ia, Ach'ia, &c. For special reasons touching the propriety of this Roman or Graeco-Roman transcription, when writing English, I must refer to my article in the *American Ecclesiastical Review*. Here, however, it may be well to add, that where we should or could put 'i,' some Continentals would very properly put 'y.' Then some, who have only one or two sounds for 'a,' could not often put that letter by

¹ See Vigouroux's *Manuel Biblique*, p. 161, dixieme edition, 'Jéhovah (IHVH) en caractères phéniciens.'

itself so well as we, who have four sounds for it. Again, several would naturally put 'w' where we should put 'v,' since for them 'w' sounds like, and is called 'double v,' while for us it is pronounced 'double u.' In fine, our transcription may well be somewhat different from that of a foreigner, with whom we really agree as to a word's proper form. For literary purposes we ought naturally have our own; but, generally speaking—above all, where there is doubt or freedom of action—we ought keep to that of our Latin version, both as to the Hebrew words there transcribed, and as to the general style of literal transcription there adopted; and this, in addition to traditional reasons, on purely linguistic grounds as giving the proper Roman letter transcription and the primitive pronunciation.

Of course on points of real science we ought endeavour to know the data of our time, and as far as convenient conform our manner of speech thereto. Those of us who have to teach ought naturally even try to be as 'advanced' at least in thought as the known truth of our day at home and abroad. But we ought remember that in publications emanating directly or indirectly from English Protestant sources, from even centres of teaching such as Oxford or Cambridge, what is formally presented as the latest outcome of 'advanced' thought may well be, and frequently is, but the latest effort of an English Protestant 'Divine' to defend some cherished personal or sectarian tenet of Anglican or Geneva tradition; actually against the trend of recent data of an advancing science, or the matured conclusion of really 'advanced' scientists.

Here—still keeping to our own time and environment with its English Protestant influences more and more permeating what comes before us to read in the matter of Biblical learning—here I am reminded how generally it is now assumed that the mystic affix of which we are treating is merely a decayed, abbreviated, or otherwise derived word from *Jehovah*.¹ Those who, without further remark, make that assumption, surely take no account of

¹ See Smith's *Bible Dictionary*, second edition, and similar recent English publications,

the fact, that the two words, as denoting Deity, appear separately in the same psalm, actually in adjoining verses, as they do in the first and last Psalms of the Paschal Allel; that is, at the end of the psalm 'In Exitu Israel,' and in vv. 4 and 5 of 'Confitemini.' Furthermore, that, outside the Psalter, they are formally presented in conjunction, as in Isaias xii. 2, where we read: 'Iâ Iâvâ is my strength;' and, again (xxvi. 4): 'Trust in Iâvâ for evermore, in Iâ Iâvâ, mighty for ever.' Here the Revised Anglican version, in its text, renders the conjoined terms distinctly as 'the Lord Jehovah,' and then, in the margin, puts, for explanatory note, 'Heb. *Jah Jehovah*.' Our English version, after the Vulgate, here also treats the two as distinct terms, translating them as forming a composite designation, 'the Lord God.'¹ It may, indeed, be assumed that the Hebrew root 'Aia as meaning *to be*, gives both words: this is no reason for assuming that it gives 'Ia' (Jah) through Iava (Jehovah), by phonetic decay; or that in such a way IA became Allelu-ia's affix, as some suggest. To say no more, distinctly against such an assumption comes this text from the Psalter (Ps. lxxxviii., Heb. lxxxix.) long before the first of the Alleluiatic Psalms (which is civ.): 'O Iava (Jehovah), God of hosts, who is like Thee? Thou art mighty, O IA (Jah), and Thy truth is round about Thee.'

Taking up that last text I note there is a comment on it in Migne's *Cursus Completus*,¹ concluding with the remark: 'Il (le Psalmiste) se sert du nom de Dieu " (Ia), qui est le dérivé ou *peut être* le primitif de Jehovah.' That was published in 1839. With it compare this remark by Père Lagrange, in the course of an article in the *American Ecclesiastical Review* for last June on the revealed form of the Divine Name:³ 'The fact remains that *Yah (Ia)*

¹ Though generally still following the Vulgate, it gives 'the Lord' as its translation for both expressions as they really denote the same 'One.' And here it should be remembered that our English version, like the Vulgate, never gives the original, or even a literal translation, of the Divine Name, Iâvâ (Jehovah). The reason may be touched on in a future article, as there has been some discussion in regard to it.

² S. S., p. 1127.

³ The article is signed by M. J. Lagrange, O.P., 'Ecole Pratique d'Etudes Bibliques, St. Etienne, Jerusalem.

is historically prior to Yahweh' (Jehovah). Now, note the simple assumption in Smith's *Bible Dictionary* (second edition):¹ 'Jah, an abbreviated form of Jehovah, or rather Jahveh or Jahvah, used only in poetry.'² Against Dr. Smith's and similar assumptions as to its being only an 'abbreviated' or otherwise derived form of 'Jehovah,' see the article, referred to above, in the *American Ecclesiastical Review*, and which the writer explained, in his prefatory remark, was intended to be a brief discussion dealing with the Divine Tetragrammaton 'in the light of recent biblical studies.'³ That article, I have noted, appeared in 1899; but as long ago as 1881 the eminent scholar, Fried. Delitzsch, from a variety of data, avowed himself obliged to conclude that Yah (Ia) was the original, and continued to be always the popular designation of the God of Israel.⁴ From a still greater variety of data, Dr. Fritz Hommel, Professor of Semitic Languages in the University of Munich, comes to the same conclusion, and repeatedly dwells on it in his scholarly and thoroughly up-to-date work, *Ancient Hebrew Tradition* (1897).⁵ 'Yah,' he says, 'was the earlier form, and not a later abbreviation, from Yah veh,' this, at page 115, and again, at page 116, referring to and agreeing with Pinches' account of its several variants, he speaks of 'Ya' as 'the primitive Western Semitic name for God,' and always 'represented by the symbol of Deity.'⁶ Then he takes up and confirms Pinches' contention that this seemingly earliest form of Divine designation is to be identified

¹ As far as I know, the last edition, and presented as carefully revised by Dr. Driver and Rev. C. J. Ball in regard to 'Hebrew and other Semitic words in a large number of articles.' This particular article is signed 'C. J. B.'

² Only in poetry! . . . And the two passages quoted as giving it in Isaias, are they only poetry? And all the names that give it—such as Mor'ia, Ab'ia, Ach'ia, and so on—are these only found in poetry? Note, that Mor'ia (chosen by the Lord) was the original name of the place where Abraham was sent to sacrifice Isaac (Genesis xx. 2).

³ See also, as there quoted, Grimme's *Grundzüge der hebraischen Accent und Vocalehre*, Freiburg, 1896: Answer to Koenig, in ZATW, 1897, p. 172.

⁴ *Paradies*, pp. 158-166.

⁵ See pp. 115, 144, 226, 304.

⁶ Ancient Hebrew tradition, as illustrated by the monuments, a protest against the modern school of Old Testament critics. See the English translation, but with prefatory note signed by Hommel himself, 1897. London published by S. P. C. K.

with 'the Hebraic *Yah*'. The great Swedish scholar, Dr. Fries (Upsala) comes to practically the same conclusion, and from entirely independent data, in the Egyptiological Journal, *The Sphinx*.¹ Mr. Pinches, one of our greatest living Assyriologists, warmly advocates the same view from still different data, mainly philological; amongst them, from recent discoveries in regard to earliest known Eastern names.²

The authorities I have quoted, it will be seen, are sufficiently representative and recent, and I might quote much more to the same effect. But it would all come to this: with regard to the latest philological or archæological researches bearing on the point, those of which I have directly or indirectly read accounts—Assyrian, Babylonian, Ancient Arabian, Phœnician, Egyptian and Chaldean—with remarkable consistency, and from independent sources, make for two distinct conclusions. The first is, that altogether outside Israel or its influence, the primitive religion of these ancient peoples, hence it may be said, the primitive religion of the East, was a pure, personal, spiritual Monotheism.³ The second conclusion is, that the primitive term there for *being*, for *spirit*, and for the personal 'One' to be thus worshipped by all as 'The Absolute' was *Ia*, 'Aia, or some such forth-breathing form of self-expression:⁴ was, in short, Allelu-ia's affix. More, it seems to have remained with most of these ancient peoples remembered in a vague mystic way as the proper term for the All-

¹ Vol. i., p. 4, pp. 207-221.

² See *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archæology*, A. xv., 1892; *Trans. Vict. Inst.*, xxviii., p. 11, 1895, &c.

³ To what extent there are archæological evidences in proof of primitive belief in that 'One' to be worshipped as a 'Creator' is, of course, another question, but one also, it may here be noted, for whose solution very remarkable data for the last few years have been furnished by the labours of Eastern archæologists. As the very latest on the subject, I note that at the last meeting of the Victoria Institute (May, 1900), reviewing the present aspect of science towards religion, and in particular referring to earliest records in the world's history, Dr. Sinclair said that a mummy scroll of about 2900 B.C., had been discovered of a record of belief of that date in a Creator of all things.

⁴ Dr. Fries thinks 'Io' was its most ancient pronunciation, which in some places it most certainly was, as was 'Jè' in others, while 'Ia' was that of Israel, and as far as we can see the original one. But 'Ia,' 'Iè' and 'Io' are evidently variants of the same simple utterance.

righteous One to be served in spirit and truth, and this long after its real meaning was lost, even when external worship and personal devotion had been wholly transferred to local 'deities,' to deified racial or sectarian saints and heroes. Speaking quite in this sense, after having endorsed Mr. Pinches' evidences in proof of the identification of the ancient Arabian 'Ya' (*Ia*) as primitive term for Deity with 'the Hebraic *Yah*,' and thus bringing into the domain of science the 'earlier Arabian Monotheism of the Assyrians,' Hommel makes a remark specially apposite just now. He says:—

From this it is at once apparent that Jonah's mission to preach Jehovah to the Ninevites is by no means so absurd as modern 'critics' would have us think: he would have found ready to hand a text for his sermon not a whit less apposite than the Athenian altar to 'the unknown God,' which later on supplied a theme to St. Paul.

I need hardly say that my personal opinion on the subject, particularly in regard to its bearing on the sense of Alleluia's affix and the relation of that affix to the Divine Name revealed to Moses, primarily rests on far other grounds than the data of modern philological or archæological research. These may illustrate, may explain and strengthen, they do not make the principle from which I start—not even the suggestiveness of the last thought on which I rested, that of the Psalmist's saying: 'Thou art mighty (or Thine is the power), O *Ia*, and Thy truth is round about Thee.' Now, that truth of '*Ia*' is precisely what Allelu'ia's thought-sequence should logically enounce, and it is in view of such enunciation, I take its affix as connoting what reason's sovereign Term is in the first instance really known as *being*; leaving to reflection to declare what in consequence, and in regard to all others, One so being must be said to be.

'*Ia*,' then, as Allelu'ia's admitted affix, I take as primitive term for Deity. I thus take it for the absolute or Divine forename (*prae-nomen divinum*), denoting the 'One' *par excellence* reason naturally knows to be there, as so known, be there whoever else or whatever else there

may.¹ From the very nature of the case it should thus partake of the character of an absolute—the absolute—the Divine personal pronoun, saying ‘He’ *par excellence*, signifying ‘Himself’ (we may note by way of illustration), somewhat in the sense that, according to an old custom in Irish homes, ‘himself’ denotes ‘the Master’ for the servants, and even for inquiring friends come to his place. So may ‘Ia’ (Jah) be taken as denoting ‘The Master—‘The Lord’ (Adonai) ‘Himself’ for all His creatures throughout creation, by whom He is known as the personal ‘One’ *par excellence*. But I observe it does so denote His personality, as simply connoting what of itself the sound expresses: ‘Being-absolutely;’ that is, being One in act no way term-wise in the act of or *acted* by another. Hence, for forms of positive concept, it should mean to us—(a) One all-other than ourselves, or aught we may in any way naturally perceive, as (b) being wholly self-acted without (c) being, while self-acting, under the influence of the act of another; but (d) under the influence of whose act all others are being naturally acted, or *caused to be*, and (e) to *do*, and (f) to *suffer*, as (g), in view of *all that is to be*, it is natural, ‘meet and just,” for all, freely or not freely acting, to suffer, and do, and be. That is reason’s first, simplest, most natural idea of ‘Deity’ as here now known to be there. It is the thought of the Actual Absolute as the actually Universal Good. It is, therefore, thought’s first inspiring motive for universal acclaim. Its truth was clearly the inspiring thought of Euripides for that remarkable ejaculation of Hecuba (in the *Troades*), which has so puzzled commentators:—

O! thou stay of the earth, withal staying thereon,
Be that thou mayest, hardly to be thought-formed forth,
Zeus, or as nature’s necessity or the mind
Of mortals, I pray to Thee, for in silence
Art directing all mortal concerns aright.²

¹ Somewhat, though, of course, from the nature of the case, which is *sui generis*, not quite, like the French *prénom* or our Christian name, in so far as that is an individual or self-denoting term.

² That is only my rendering of the passage, which the reader ought see for himself.

Truly thought out, it is the truth of the One in whom we 'live, and move, and have our being' . . . 'for from Him, and through Him, and unto Him are all things (*eis auton ta panta*). Glory be to Him for ever!' There, as from the thought of its affix, St. Paul distinctly utters the spirit of Alleluia's acclaiming call.

To its acclaiming call, thus understood, reflecting reason's natural response would be a series of titles or thought-terms giving, in the order of reflection's own self-data, all that Absolute Existence, the Absolute Reality, or simply the 'The Absolute' as such is logically known as *being*, and thereby with regard to all others in the way of naming (*per modum nominis*), must be said to be.

These data of self-reflection, or, as I partly explained in an article already published in the I. E. RECORD,¹ and shall more fully explain in my next, these modes of *existence* as notes of being *in act* taken through perfection's ascending scale in the order of the real, are (1) substance, (2) subsistence, (3) natural action, (4) life, (5) intelligence or universal apprehending, (6) will as love's universal tending, and (7) self-determining as to actuality and action. Further, thought cannot go and even self-shows cannot be gone in the way of being *in act*. Now, since The Absolute 'One,' or Being-absolutely, for being so, must be conceived as *being* in each of these seven ways, and in each way *absolutely* that way—absolutely substantial, subsisting, acting, and so on—the simple question to be solved is: How, as thus being in Himself, must He the Absolute ('Ia') for being so be said to be in regard to all others; how thus on the whole logically nounced or named? The result ought to give at once the terms of Alleluia's thought-sequence and Reason's sequence of Divine Names, and clearly, from the order of its *noetic processus* as above lined out, *a priori* it ought give the whole—the '*sacrum septenarium*' of thought's terms for the Divine Idea. The sequence should thus represent our life's psalm of Divine praise, our thought's highest glory-giving, all our will's ways of

¹ 'Reason's Synthetic Judgments,' March, 1898.

hailing Him Who is its first principle and mean and absolutely last end. It would be our reason's—created reason's—reflecting reason's—own 'Allel' to 'Ia.'

This self-formed logical sequence of divine thought-terms I propose to unfold in my next article. Meanwhile it may not be amiss to note the *rapprochement* which here naturally suggests itself between the 'Septenarium' I have so far noticed and that of which the Church now sings such multiform mystic truth in sequence, versicle, psalm, and hymn. That *rapprochement* my cultured reader may well make for himself, and, proceeding through the same form of thought sequence, many others as well in the order of nature as of grace; but never, perhaps, as well as at this most truly synthetic—budding, blooming, prolific—most mystic season of the year, whose spirit Longfellow so musically self-uttered in the days of his early manhood, in the prelude to his poems:—

Therefore at Pentecost which brings
The Spring, clothed like a bride,
When nestling buds unfold their wings,
And bishops-caps have golden rings,
Musing upon many things
I sought the woodlands wide.

There each tree its own way proclaims the universal truth, self-sings Creation's song through the ascending scale of its perfection's terms: from (1) seed-formed root, through (2) trunk, to (3) spreading branches, whence (4) living leaf, thence (5) flower, thence (6) fruit, only (7) to ripen, and then fall, to become seed of its species and repeat its order's psalm to him 'WHO IS,' its life's 'Allel' to 'IA.' Assuredly not in the one way only commonly assumed, but in many and many ways, in all the ways, indeed, of all the gifts of the Spirit of Truth, true spiritual insight reveals—nature's way is ever more and more revealing—the truth of '*Sacrum Septenarium*.'

T. J. O'MAHONY.

To be continued.]

A CHAMPION OF GOD'S ARK IN PENAL DAYS'

NOT very many miles from the capital of Spain, beside the running waters of the Henares, in the midst of the most beautiful, while placid scenery, and beneath the serenest skies, there stands an ancient city, of old called Complute, now more familiarly known under the name of Alcala. This ancient city has figured long and prominently in the history of Spain, and has shared its glories and its reverses. The object of his special predilection, and the scene of his greatest enterprise, its name is linked for ever with that of the great Cardinal Ximenes. Thither he repaired in times of leisure, and thither all his affections tended; there did he found a Catholic university that was one day to rival Salamanca; there did he see accomplished the greatest work for the word of God¹ that the Middle Ages can boast of; and there in one of the magnificent churches of the university his mortal³ remains await the trumpet call of the resurrection. Over three centuries ago Alcala was visited by Francis I. of France, and the appearance presented by its seat of learning (whose seven thousand students turned out to meet him) was so imposing, the impression produced by its professors, whose names had gone forth to every land as champions of orthodoxy, and models of literary culture, was so striking, that the French monarch exclaimed: 'Your Ximenes is, indeed, a wonderful man. He has done with his single hand what in France it has cost a whole line of kings to accomplish.'⁴ For many years it had open arms for Irish ecclesiastical students in the college founded to assist the struggling Irish Church by a munificent Portuguese nobleman.⁵ On a famous question in the history of Catholic Emancipation, its university, as a great organ of Catholic

¹ Delivered at a Meeting of Clara Young Men's Society.

² The *Complutensian Polyglot*.

³ See Hefele's *Life of Ximenes*, chaps. x., xi., and Appendix.

⁴ Prescott's *Ferdinand and Isabella*, vol. ii., p. 185, &c.; vol. iii., p. 302, &c.

⁵ Treacy's *Irish Scholars*, p. 75.

teaching, repudiated certain doctrines which bigoted English Protestants of the day thought to fasten on our ancestors in the faith.¹ It is the birthplace of the German Emperor Ferdinand, of a great Spanish poet (Figueroa), of a famous scientist (Bustamenti de la Camera), of a renowned historian (Solis), and of the author of *Don Quixote*. There is one other fact in connection with this centuried and storied city which gives the rest the interest they have for us—it is the final resting-place of one of the grandest characters of the penal days, Dr. William Walsh, Bishop of Meath.

I have chosen to speak to you to-night on the life and times of this illustrious prelate of your own historic diocese. I have thought that there could be no subject more interesting or more profitable to the Young Men's Society of Clara; and if my presentation of his sufferings, his character, his life-work, should fail to come up to your own conception of his greatness and his goodness, I would ask you to ascribe the failure, not to any lack of appreciation, or of endeavour on my part, but rather to my inability to express adequately the full glories of that record.

Not very much is known of Dr. Walsh's early days. There is a difference of opinion even as to the place of his birth. Some maintain that he hailed from Waterford—Sir James Ware amongst the number; and one ancient writer gives that supposed fact as a reason for his future greatness.² Others, however, are of opinion that he was born at Dunboyne, in the county Meath. A member of his own order,³ whose historical writings are of high value, holds the latter view, and we prefer to follow his guidance. From a letter which Dr. Walsh wrote in his declining years we gather that the date of his birth must have been 1510 or thereabouts.⁴

¹ Grattan made telling use of this fact in his speeches on the Catholic question.

² O'Moloney's *Idea togatae constantiae in Renehan MSS.*

³ Malachy Hartry, in his work *De Viris Illustrissimis Cisterciensium Hibernicorum*

⁴ See letter quoted by Cardinal Moran in *Archbishops of Dublin*, vol. i., p. 130; and Brady, vol. ii., p. 235.

All his biographers unite in proclaiming his super-eminent virtue and piety from his earliest years. Page after page have they written in Latin extolling the spirit of profound humility, of persevering prayer, of spiritual recollection, that marked the holy youth. Naturally such remarkable sanctity sought its home in the solitude of the Cistercian cloister, and William Walsh embraced the monastic life, probably at Bective, on the banks of the Boyne.¹ The rigours of so strict an order had no terrors for him. He gave his whole heart and soul to the observances of the monastery. All his mind and all his strength was consumed in the religious exercises of the monks. Knowing that the religious who fails to be inspired by the same high ideals as those of the founder of his order, is so far unfitted for the life he has chosen, and that the cowl and the habit become a mockery if they cease to be a sign of true poverty, chastity, and obedience, he lived up to the highest traditions of the Cistercians, and shed all around him the benign influence of his own spotless life. The wealth of the monastery had no charms for so disenthralled a soul. The only wealth he prized was the riches of heaven's grace, and all his days in Bective were devoted to its acquisition. Thus he grew in grace and wisdom beside the historic river, winning the golden opinions of his companions and superiors, advancing to the sacred order of priesthood, and leaving the hallowed walls at length with the laurels of a doctor of divinity on his brow.²

To others [writes Dr. Lynch] did it seem that in him was to be fulfilled what Christ says in the Gospel: this city is to be seated on the mountain top, that the afflicted may thither take flight in their afflictions, and this light is to be brought forth from the dim corners of the cloister, that by its splendour it may illumine those who are abroad in the world.³

We do not know for certain why he left Bective. Whether it was some raid made by the 'Reformers,' of which we have no explicit mention, or whether it was the

¹ See Lynch, *De Presulibus*, art. on 'Dr. Walsh.'

² Moran, p. 51, and Appendix.

³ Lynch, *loc. cit*

want of priests on the mission, or whatever may have been the cause, Dr. Walsh obtained a dispensation from the Holy See, and joined the Canons Regular of St. Augustine. At some period of his life—probably after he had left the Cistercians—he spent a time in the Eternal City, acting as chaplain in the palace of that intrepid Churchman, Cardinal Pole. During his stay with the latter, the impression produced by his character and accomplishments was so favourable that the Cardinal afterwards used his position to promote his former chaplain to the ranks of the episcopate.¹

Previous to his elevation to the dignity of bishop—and after it as well—he was prior of Colpe and Duleek, both of which priories, and even the bishopric itself, were supposed to belong to the Canons Regular of St. Augustine. The revenues, however, had passed into lay hands, and Dr. Walsh had to content himself with the slender sum of £40 a year, accruing to him from the rectory of Luxendy. He was a Professor of Theology, too; but no separate or independent salary, I take it, went with such a position in his case.

Even before the accession of Queen Mary to the throne of England he had to suffer many wrongs and many annoyances. And he suffered them with patience and with fortitude. So much so, indeed, that his figure had become most conspicuous in the defence of Catholic rights. An old friend of his, Father Holing, S.J., who died a martyr to charity in the streets of Lisbon, states that he had to endure the same privations and the same indignities as his contemporary Dr. Leverons of Kildare; and the latter, we know, was deprived of all the rank and emoluments of his office; provoked, in fact, to the extremest limit of Christian patience.²

The persecution which Dr. Walsh bore, and the courageous constancy with which he endured it, marked him out for reward and distinction when Queen Mary ascended the throne. Not long after her royal brother's death, she issued what was known as a *congé d'elire* to the Archdeacon

¹ Moran, *loc. cit.*

² Fr. Holing's *Account of Irish Martyrs in the time of Elizabeth*.

and clergy of Meath¹ to nominate Dr. William Walsh bishop of the see, rendered vacant by the apostacy of Staples. The Archdeacon and clergy did nominate their beloved champion, and the Queen ratified their selection by letters patent for his consecration. This ratification, of course, did not imply any spiritual supremacy in the Queen. It was simply an act by which she gave her consent and approval to the course pursued by the spiritual authority, and vindicated for the bishop-elect the recognition and protection of the civil law in the assumption of his office and dignity. Another proof of the royal favour quickly followed. Dr. Walsh, whilst still bishop-elect, was appointed a fellow-commissioner of Dr. Dowdall, the Primate of all Ireland, for the removal of bishops and priests from their livings on account of violation of the law of clerical celibacy.² The commission was sadly needed after the corruption of the two preceding reigns. The protrusion of Protestants and Englishmen into Irish sees and benefices, which occurred under Henry and Edward, was not calculated to purify the Church in this country.³ We need not be surprised, then, to find that the labours of the Primate and his associates were difficult and prolonged. Without awaiting the judgment of the newly-constituted tribunal the heretical occupants of the sees of Limerick and Ossory fled beyond the ocean. Lancaster of Kildare and Travers of Leighlin were convicted, and compelled to yield up their livings. A similar fate befell the impenitent arch-sinner, Browne of Dublin. The apostate who ruled in Meath was deprived by the commissioners of the revenues of the diocese on the feast of Saints Peter and Paul, 1554.⁴

But Dr. Walsh's consecration did not follow immediately, now that Staples was removed. The bishop-elect had other cares to occupy him at the time. Besides, he knew that the letters patent of the Queen were not sufficient authorization of such a step. He awaited, as he afterwards avowed

¹ Morinni, i., p. 315

² Ware's *Bishops*, p. 92.

³ See *Cambrensis Eversis*, vol. ii., p. 780.

⁴ Ware's *Bishops*, *loc. cit.*

to Mary herself, the *fiat* of the Universal Church, necessary for him as for all legitimate bishops. His outspoken letter¹ on the subject is a welcome, though perhaps superfluous, proof of the fact that the Irish Church of his day acknowledged the spiritual supremacy of the Pope as a matter of course. His desire, however, was fulfilled in the course of the same summer. Cardinal Pole, owing to the difficulties of the times, had authority from the Holy See to appoint bishops in England, and, strange to say, in matters ecclesiastical, Meath was then looked upon as a part of that kingdom.² The papal legate gladly exercised his prerogative in favour of his respected friend and quondam chaplain, and Dr. Walsh was duly consecrated Bishop of Meath.

On his promotion he found himself penniless. As we have already seen, he derived no pecuniary benefit from the priories of Duleek and Colpe. The revenues of both had been usurped by irreligious laymen. His duties on the Royal Commission, moreover, entailed a heavy expenditure of money. Ecclesiastical investigations and trials all over the country were not conducted without a severe strain on his monetary resources. And the diocesan revenues had become extremely depleted from various causes, notably from the disturbances and depredations of the 'Reformers.' The result was that the bishop felt himself compelled to petition the Queen for the temporalities of the see from the time of the deprivation of the late incumbent. Her Majesty most graciously acceded to his wishes, and Dr. Walsh was free to discharge the duties that now thronged upon him.³

He had to undo the work of his predecessors. He had to repair the scandal wrought by the hireling shepherd of the flock. He had to instil courage and confidence into his people, who, owing to their being within the Pale, had to bear the burden of the day and the heats. And during the brief period of the Catholic sovereign's reign, he succeeded to an extent that won for him the love and veneration of

¹ Morrini, i., p. 337.

² Cardinal Moran, *loc. cit.*

³ Morrini, i., p. 337.

his co-religionists, while bringing upon him the hatred and envy of Protestants. 'The land that was desolate and impassable was glad, and the wilderness rejoiced and flourished like the lily; then did it bud forth and blossom, and rejoice with joy and praise.' The ravages of the past were repaired. The discipline of the Church was enforced and obeyed. The people waxed strong in the faith. He became, in truth, the city seated on the mountain-top. Virtue went out from him to Meath and to Ireland. The learning and the piety that were always his now shone forth as a beacon-light to his followers, challenging the admiration of friends and foes.

Alas! this happy state of things was not to continue. Another winter, longer, deadlier than the first was approaching. Another winter of tempests, of ruins, and of tears! The great Tudor Queen who had done so much to bring back her country to its old allegiance, discovering that the husband for whose sake she lost her people's love held her in scorn, and that fatal destinies were closing around her, broke down in health and spirits, and died of a broken heart.

In all things excellent while she pursued
Her own free inclination without fear.¹

Nowhere throughout her dominions was her death felt more keenly than in Ireland. With the diocese of Meath, in particular, she had had an almost personal connection. Its chequered history had been brought home to her, and its bishop was high in her favour. His name and his virtue and his learning must have often been mentioned in her hearing by her trusted kinsman and adviser, Cardinal Pole. It was a mournful day for Dr. Walsh, his diocese, and his country, when these two pillars of the truth, Queen Mary and Cardinal Pole, passed away from earth.

The bishop did not come into collision with Elizabeth, or with her lieutenants for some time after her coronation. In fact, we find his name on more than one Royal Commission appointed by her.² But it was only the calm before

¹ Sir Aubrey de Vere.

² Morrini, pp. 411-427,

the storm. There could be no peace between a character so staunch as his and the authoress of the nefarious Penal Code associated with her name. In her very first Parliament in England she abolished, by law, the supremacy of the Pope, and annexed all spiritual and ecclesiastical jurisdiction to the crown. She reserved the tenths and first fruits to her heirs and successors. She penalized the oblation of the Holy Sacrifice. She decreed that, for a general uniformity of worship in her dominions, the *Book of Common Prayer* should be used everywhere to the exclusion of all 'popish ceremonies.'¹ She sent to Ireland a nobleman who readily acquiesced in her views and purposes. In the second year of her reign, Sussex convoked a packed parliament,² representing only ten counties, 'to make such statutes (concerning religion) as were made in England.' To this assembly Dr. Walsh and other bishops were summoned. He and his colleagues obeyed the summons, and witnessed the passage of the following infamous measures:—the repeal of the Acts of Mary's Parliament re-establishing ecclesiastical relations with Rome; the revival of those of Henry regarding the succession; the investment of all ecclesiastical jurisdiction in the crown; the enforcement of the oath of supremacy on all judges, justices, mayors, and temporal officers; the declaration that episcopal elections made by the priests were 'shadows,' derogatory to the royal prerogative; the enactment, that any priest who refused to use the *Book of Common Prayer*, or who dared to use other worship, right, or ceremony, should for the first offence forfeit his income for a year, and suffer imprisonment for six months; for the second offence, forfeit his income for ever, and suffer imprisonment at pleasure; for the third, undergo perpetual confinement.³

We have reason to believe that the struggle between the deputy and the Parliament was severe; but we have no account of anything said or done by Dr. Walsh. That he

¹ Ware's *Annals, Reign of Elizabeth*.

² See Dr. M. Kelly's *Dissertations on Irish Church History*.

³ Shirley, *Original Letters*, Lib. Stat., p. 201.

was a co-operator in the evil work is a suggestion so absurd that it never has been hinted. We may rest assured he left nothing undone that could avert the fatal blow. The silence of the records in his regard is undoubtedly a strange fact; but it proves beyond all cavil that the integrity of the other bishops present cannot reasonably be impeached. If he—the protagonist of the scene, the leading opponent of the Penal Code—has been left without a mention in the proceedings of that Parliament, we cannot expect that they who followed his example would find a chronicler of their opposition.

Three weeks after Sussex's arrival in Ireland, letters came from the Queen signifying her desire that a general meeting of the clergy of Ireland should be held for the purpose of establishing the Protestant religion throughout the several dioceses of the kingdom.¹ The meeting was called by the notorious Curwen; but Dr. Walsh was not to be terrorized. He at once displayed his zeal for the true Church. He withstood the Reformer to his face, and the convocation became abortive.² He was enraged at the insult offered to himself and his colleagues, by an order requiring apostacy from the teaching they cherished more than their lives. When the assembly had broken up he publicly denounced the efforts of the Queen, and her lieutenants, to introduce heresy into Ireland. In his own diocese, at Trim, he gave indignant expression to his thoughts and feelings. He condemned the Protestant prayer book which had been ordered by the Queen. He defiantly proclaimed the Catholic faith in the face of his foes, setting an example of Christian heroism to all Catholic Ireland.

We can have but a slight idea of the godless persecution which reigned in those dreadful days, especially within the Pale; but 'many who, from the beginning, were eye-witnesses, or who diligently attained to all things from the beginning, have taken in hand to set forth in order a narration of the things that have been accomplished among

¹ Ware's *Annals*, 1560.

² Dr. Brady in Frazer's *Magazine*, October, 1867.

us.' Dr. Lombard, in his *Commentary on the Kingdom of Ireland*, has the following :—

The mere practices of Catholic piety are declared to be civil and capital crimes, and some of them, too, are equivalent to high treason. For instance, to celebrate or assist at the Adorable Sacrifice of the altar ; to refuse to assist at the schismatical and heretical rites ; to have in your possession or to be bearers of missals, breviaries, Offices of the Blessed Virgin, *Agnus Dei*s, crosses, beads, medals, blessed by the Roman Pontiff ; to make a confession of sins, or to absolve from them ; and especially to reconcile anyone to the Catholic Church.

Henriquez writes ¹ :—

Everywhere the heretics profaned the sacred churches, demolished the altars, consigned to the flames the holy images, and devoted to profane purposes the chalices and other ornaments of divine worship. Not a day passed without being marked by some cruel martyrdom ; the nobles were despoiled of their wealth and possessions ; the poor overwhelmed with affliction ; the natives banished into foreign lands ; the priests were compelled to wander about from place to place, or were thrown into prison. The religious dared not to appear in public, and no one could attempt to preach the Catholic faith or to defend the supremacy of the Holy See. It was not sufficient for the enemies of our faith to persecute the Catholics in the cities and towns ; they followed them, moreover, to the woods and mountains, like hungry lions pursuing the flock of Christ. Their diabolical cruelty was still more displayed in the destruction of the numerous and richly-adorned monasteries which the munificence of the nobility had erected and endowed in former times, that their inmates might devote themselves to the praises and service of God ; but the heretics pulled down the churches, destroyed the edifices by fire, murdered the servants of God, profaned the sacred places, and made the houses of prayer become dens of thieves. They were earthly paradises ; they now became the abode of demons ; for the voice of prayer was substituted blasphemy, and instead of the daily sacrifice of thanksgiving nought was witnessed but abominations and crimes.

And then of his own order the same writer says :—

Some, full of affliction and misery, fled from the sword which impended over them ; others were murdered or burned to death in their convents ; all the monasteries were levelled to the

ground; the virgins, who from their youth had consecrated themselves to God, were driven from their convents, and compelled to wander in hunger through the woods and mountains, The heretics were the more eager in pursuit of our religious, as our monasteries were numerous and rich; and in a short time all were completely destroyed.

The historian of the Geraldines,¹ Dominic O'Daly, is equally emphatic:—

Your religion has made your enemies crucify you. . . . The priests of the Lord are stoned in the public thoroughfares, and their tonsured heads are made targets for those wretches to aim at. Some of the secular priests had their brains beaten out, their bodies dashed to earth, trodden under foot, and bruised by kicks and blows. Some had the nails of their fingers torn out by the roots, whilst others actually saw their entrails protrude, and their flesh ripped and torn by combs of iron. . . . They were stoned, they were cut asunder, they were tempted, they were put to death by the sword; but, praise be to God, they are true to the faith.

And as if a directly religious persecution was not enough, the whole land was reduced to a vast heap of carcasses and ashes. Fynes Morrison, whose *History of Ireland* is such an unblushing vilification and falsification of our country's past, was compelled to admit² that—

No spectacle was more frequent in the ditches of towns, and especially in the wasted countries, than to see multitudes of these poor people dead, with their mouths all coloured green by eating nettles, docks, and all things they could rend above the ground.

O'Sullivan Beare, in his *History*,³ thus describes the havoc wrought:—

All Ireland was devastated and reduced to ruin; an unparalleled scarcity and famine pervaded everywhere. Nor was it man alone that suffered; the very beasts of the field were in many places swept away, having nothing to subsist upon; the wolves, abandoning the hills and mountains, assailed and devoured the emaciated inhabitants: the dogs rooted up from the graves the decaying corpses, and devoured even the very bones of the deceased.

But the most striking testimony of all is that of

¹ Page 138.

² Page 272.

Page 261.

Mr. Lecky, the impartial historian who now represents Trinity College in the British House of Commons. In the introductory chapter to his *Ireland in the Eighteenth Century*, he cites an array of witnesses whose testimony would make the blood boil, and then sums up the case in these words :—

The slaughter of Irishmen was looked upon as literally the slaughter of wild beasts. Not only the men, but even the women and children, were deliberately and systematically butchered. Bands of soldiers traversed great tracts of country, slaying everything they met. The sword was not found sufficiently expeditious; but another method proved much more efficacious. Year after year, over a great part of Ireland, all means of human subsistence were destroyed; no quarter was given to prisoners who surrendered; and the whole population was skilfully and steadily starved to death.

The stricken people looked for light and leading in their woes to a few prominent confessors. The Reformers resolved to strike the latter down; and Dr. Walsh, of course, was an early victim. He was thrown into prison, in 1559 or 1560,¹ and instructions in his regard were sought from the Queen. Elizabeth replied that he should be placed under close arrest. Thus commenced an imprisonment which lasted for thirteen long years. He would seem to have been liberated for a short time some two years afterwards, for when the see of Armagh became vacant, in 1562, the names sent forward to the Cardinal Protector of Ireland for that important archbishopric were, Thomas Leverous, Bishop of Kildare, Hugh Lacy, Bishop of Limerick, Dr. Richard Creagh, the future Primate, and Dr. William Walsh, 'now happily released from prison, but still constant in the faith'—all destined to be in God's good time martyrs in the cause of the Catholic religion.² In 1563, Dr. Walsh appealed to Rome for a confirmation of his appointment to the diocese of Meath. The original provision by Cardinal Pole was made on the condition that the new prelate should seek a confirmation thereof within one year; but poverty and

¹ Though commonly stated that the event took place in 1560, the see of Meath is regarded as vacant in 1559: *vide* Morrini, pp. 430 and 431.

² Moran's *Archbishops*, Appendix, p. 419.

imprisonment prevented him from complying with that regulation. Cardinal Pole extended the time within which he was bound to apply to the Holy See; and the poor, persecuted bishop made every effort, from within the walls of his prison, to carry out the law laid down for him. The Roman authorities most willingly confirmed his appointment, testified to their sense of his worth, and stated that the turbulence and disorder of the schism made the usual formalities unnecessary in his case.¹ In 1565 he was led forth from his prison to be tried anew by Adam Loftus, Protestant Archbishop of Armagh. The result is best described in the words of that functionary:—

The 13th of this month, by virtue of our commission for causes ecclesiastical, we committed to the castle of Dublin Dr. Welche, late Bishop of Meath, there to remain until the Queen's Majesty's pleasure were known. He refused the oath, and to answer such articles as we required him; and besides that ever since the last parliament, he hath manifestly contemned, and openly showed himself to be a misliker of all the Queen's Majesty's proceedings. He openly protested before all the people, the same day he was before us, that he would never communicate, or be present by his will, where the service should be ministered, for it was against his conscience, and as he thought, against God's Word. If it shall seem good to your honour and the rest of her Majesty's most honourable council, in my opinion it were fit he should be sent to England, and peradventure by conferring with the learned bishops there, he might be brought to some conformity. He is one of great credit amongst his countrymen, and upon whom as touching causes of religion they wholly depend.²

He was not brought to England, nor was there any hope of his conformity; yet 'as no pretext could be got to hang him, he was again put in chains in his former prison.' Some two years after this event he wrote an interesting letter to the Holy See. The Bishop of Leighlin had died, and Dr. Walsh, ever watchful of the interests of the Irish Church, was anxious that a worthy successor should be appointed. He strongly recommends the selection of one Daniel O'Ferral, and gives reasons for his so doing. He

¹ See Consistorial Acts, cited in Brady's *Episcopal Succession*, vol. i, p. 328.

² Shirley's original *Letters*, p. 220.

states that the Bishop of Kildare shares his views; he recalls the success of O'Ferral as a teacher in Dublin of the arts and sciences he had learned in Louvain; he extols the humility which has prompted him (O'Ferral) to abandon the calling he had pursued so profitably that he may be the better able to devote himself to God; and he declares that he is forced to interfere not through any pressure on the part of O'Ferral, but from his own anxiety to see a faithful guardian of the people set over the diocese of Leighlin. In concluding the letter, the Bishop alludes to the extreme poverty to which his seven years in chains, deprived of all income from his bishopric, have reduced him, and begs the Cardinal Protector to procure for him the restitution of some money which was being wrongfully withheld from him. It was not the only time in which a mean advantage of the defenceless prisoner was taken by a cowardly opponent.¹

From the occasional glimmer which shone through his long incarceration, we might be inclined to overlook the misery and the tortures he underwent. But the records of many lands would prevent us from so doing even if we would. The 'State Papers of England, Home and Foreign,'² the secret archives of the Vatican,³ the martyrologies,⁴ and the works of the Cistercians, the testimony of pious and, presumably, well-informed biographers—all proclaim the long-enduring martyrdom of William Walsh. His prison in Dublin was an underground dungeon, damp, disgusting, and unhealthy, through which a ray of heaven's light never penetrated. The small morsels of food which his jailers deigned to mete out to him were of the coarsest kind; and, lest the presence even of his jailers might bring him some human comfort, nobody was allowed to enter his cell with his food—it was transmitted to him through an aperture in the wall by means of a rope. Except at the rarest intervals, through the intercession of friends, no respite was given to

¹ The letter, which is written in the most beautiful Latin, is mentioned in Brady, ii., p. 235, and quoted in I. E. RECORD, 1866.

² See those edited by Mr. Crosby, year 1573.

³ See Brady, *locis citatis*.

⁴ Henriquez, *Menologium Cisterciense*, p. 5; Holing's *Irish Martyrs of Reign of Elizabeth*, and the *Idea Togate Constantiae* in the Renehan MSS.

the patient sufferer during all those weary years. Save a few letters, he was allowed neither to read nor to write. No occupation of any kind was permitted to his active mind. What it must have been to a gentleman of education, of culture, and of refinement to bear with indignities and with cruelties that would be galling even to the most hardened criminal!

But the man of God was not without his resource. His days and nights, as long as human nature could stand the strain, were spent in prayer. 'He was at times overwhelmed with heavenly consolations that made his prison a paradise of delights.' His lively faith and his ardent hope sustained him in his woes. Henriquez asserts that the contemplations of his cell made him almost forget the present in his prospect of the eternal future. When utterly fatigued from prayer he had recourse to an ingenious means of diverting the attention of his mind. The bed whereon he reposed was made of twisted cords; these he would untie and bind again until he was overcome by sleep.

The hope of the Reformers was that the Bishop might be broken down by lengthened imprisonment and punishment. But they hoped in vain. His firmness became the more adamant as years went by. In fact, his apparent oblivion of his sufferings provoked them beyond measure. They were so 'disgusted with his obstinacy' that they grew willing to connive at his escape. About the Christmas of 1572 his friends bribed his jailer to set him free, and had in readiness a boat to convey the liberated prisoner to Brittany. We are not to conclude that it was a generous restoration of liberty even then. Dr. Walsh tells us, in a letter still preserved, that it was a choice between continued imprisonment and the dangers of the sea, and the fullest writer of his life asserts that he was 'banished to exile by a public sentence.'¹

Away over the stormy seas, when the dangers of the deep were far more formidable than they are to-day, sped the feeble, mangled, and aged bishop. He was leaving as an outlaw, in stealthy flight his own dear land. He was

¹ See Lynch, *De Presulibus, Menologium*, p. 5, and letter of 1573.

bidding adieu for ever to the island-home within whose bosom his kindred slept. How his heart must have sunk within him as the shores receded from his sight! If he could only console himself with the thought that all would be well in Meath and in Ireland! But no; the grim spectre of persecution, poverty, desolation, depopulation, famine and death, was stalking over the still fertile and beautiful plains. The best and bravest of a valiant race being put to death, the homesteads wrecked, the priesthood hunted down like wolves—was any sorrow like unto their sorrow and his? For sixteen days the boat was the sport of the winds and waves, and at length was shipwrecked off the coast of France. The hapless bishop managed to get as far as Nantes, but he was compelled to remain there, unknown and abandoned, for six months. Then, with a little aid from the Nuncio, he proceeded to Paris.¹

His stay at the French capital, however, was a brief one. It was not his destination. His movements, moreover, were being very carefully noted. The Foreign State Papers, edited by Mr. Crosby, show us what a close watch was kept upon him by the British Ambassador at the French Court. Every communication between himself and the king, every rumour about him, his departure from the country—all are entered on the dispatches. But, while in Paris, he wrote two letters which throw a great deal of light upon the story of his life. One was addressed to Cardinal Hosier, at Rome; the other to the French Monarch. In both he declares that he is now over sixty years of age, and enfeebled from his thirteen years in chains. To the king he states that the debility of his body is so great that he can no longer move himself. He informs the monarch that after Gaspar de Coligny received the reward of his deeds, the lieutenants of the Queen of England, 'by hard usage, tried to bring about quickly the death of himself and other Catholics.' Both letters are sad reading. They show us what a weight of pain and sorrow pressed upon his saintly soul, and they make us feel that, great as was the light and

¹ Letter to King of France, Crosby, year 1573, as also letter to Card. Hosier, Brady, ii., p. 285.

sweetness of his spiritual contemplations, he yearned to pour out his heart, and tell his doleful tale to some human friend. The king was evidently moved by his words, for he soon sent the exiled prelate substantial assistance. In October of the same year (1573), probably through the generosity of his royal benefactor, Dr. Walsh was able to take shipping for Spain, and settle down at last in the land of the Cid.

At Alcalá de Henares, a noble Spanish lady, received him into her home, and treated him with every respect and reverence. The reigning sovereign, too, granted him an allowance to defray any expenses he might find it necessary to incur. Truly this was the irony of fate! Hunted from his own land as a felon, he was received with open arms by the ruler of another country, and afforded a shelter from the storm of persecution that swept over his own diocese and people. He warmly appreciated the friendship of his adopted country, and paid generous tribute thereto in a letter from his new home to one of the Roman cardinals. Still, as this last-mentioned letter proves, he was not free from troubles. The money set apart for him by the royal magnanimity had to pass through the hands of laymen, and these latter were slow to deliver it to the rightful owner. They realized the helplessness and the sensitive dignity of the bishop. He had too keen a sense of his position to descend to a quarrel with them. As a result, the good intentions of the king were frustrated. Moreover, Dr. Walsh found the great heat of Alcalá too much for him. If an oak cannot be transplanted at fifty, what must it have been to him, with his constitution undermined, his body covered with sores, his grey head bending with age and sorrow to the grave, to endure the broiling suns of Spain after the cool, genial summers of Ireland! And, besides, he longed to be nearer to his native land. He yearned for some news from his flock, now left without a shepherd. While in France he could at least send his blessing to his dear spiritual children at home; for, as he wrote, there was much intercourse between that country and Ireland.¹

¹ Theiner's *Annales*, vol. ii., p. 247.

Although thus regretting his separation from the souls committed to his charge, he was appointed by the Holy See (1575) to minister not only to the people of his own diocese, but to those of the provinces of Armagh and Dublin, during the imprisonment of the Primate, Dr. Creagh. This appointment led Dr. Brady to suppose that Dr. Walsh must have returned to Ireland; but we cannot agree with such a conclusion. We have the statement of the Cistercian author, Henriquez, who knew most about his life, that he was banished to exile 'by public sentence.' We have the bishop's own words that he braved the dangers of the sea rather than continue in prison—evidently implying that he was not free to remain at home. No mention of a return to Ireland is made by any writer. Besides, the extreme infirmity to which his incarceration had reduced him, and which is repeatedly referred to by himself and by others, rendered it almost, if not absolutely, impossible for him to return. How, then, explain the action of the Holy See in granting him jurisdiction over Armagh and Dublin? The explanation lies in the unsettled state of the times. Several bishops were empowered to act as bishops not only in their own, but in other dioceses. The Holy See was anxious to provide in every possible way for the faithful whose bishops were driven to exile or consigned to prison. Dr. Creagh himself received jurisdiction in 1575 over the whole province of Dublin, although under close arrest at the time. The same year Dr. Edmond Tanner, of Cork and Cloyne, received a commission to exercise his office in his native province. We may reasonably conclude, therefore, that the Roman authorities in enlarging Dr. Walsh's area of power, did so in the hope that he might, by some possibility, be able to succour the people of the two provinces in their spiritual necessities. What a revelation of the straits to which the Irish Church was reduced!¹

The exiled prelate remained for some years in the house of his noble benefactress. She never ceased to look upon him as a heaven-sent visitor. She kissed the wounds left

¹ See Cardinal Moran's *Archbishops*, p. 83.

by his chains as so many trophies of his martyrdom, and dressed them on her knees. She ministered personally to all his wants, and loved to anticipate his wishes. But his last days were not to be spent under her hospitable roof. He repaired to the Cistercian monastery of Alcalá, to close his life under the direction of the same rules that first attracted his religious heart. His exalted sanctity—his ‘angelic method of life,’ as a historian of his order puts it—his profound humility, his unwonted rigour towards himself, coupled with his serene and joyful countenance, excited the praise and admiration of all who knew him in his retreat. It has been said of him, that, tried as he had been in the crucible of suffering, his exile was his glory, the injuries done him made it a paradise, while his wounds and ulcers were the delight of his mind. He was made a suffragan bishop of the province of Toledo; but the hand of death robbed him very soon of the honour. He peacefully passed away on the 4th January, 1577, the same year that Dr. Lacy, Bishop of Limerick, Dr. Leverous, Bishop of Kildare, and the Vicar-General of Kinsale, had to lay down their lives for the faith.¹ His remains are interred in the collegiate church of St. Secundinus, and the following inscription marks his tomb:—

Here lies William Walsh, a monk of the Cistercian Order, and Bishop of Meath, who after thirteen years of imprisonment and many hardships patiently borne, died an exile, at Alcalá, on the 4th January, 1577.

The name of Dr. Walsh is reckoned in more than one Irish martyrology. He is revered as a martyr by his own order—witness the old Italian MSS. quoted by Cardinal Moran. His Cistercian biographer, Henriquez, contends, and I believe rightly, that the martyr’s crown is his as truly as if he had died in torments. Henriquez cites the authority of Suarez and St. Cyprian to prove that a life-long martyrdom which ends in exile as truly merits the honour and glory of the aureola as the violent death which is caused by the gibbet or the lions. Indeed there are many saints on

¹ Bruodin’s *Propugnaculum*, lib. iii., cap. 20.

the calendar of martyrs, familiar to every priest in the Office and the Mass who did not die in torments. 'Dr. Walsh,' writes the late Dr. Kelly of Maynooth, 'by his blameless life and firm attachment to the faith, by his constancy in trial, won for his persecuted countrymen the sympathy of the Catholic world.' 'Acceptable to God and pleasing to men, his whole life breathed nothing but sanctity, and all his labours were directed to promote the interests of the Heavenly King:' these are the words of another panegyrist. Cardinal Moran asserts that *many* knew the bishop never had committed a grave sin. At any rate, the General of his order, on unimpeachable testimony, was of that opinion. Let our contribution to the subject be a prayer that he may rest in peace.

It is a sad record—the life and times of Dr. Walsh. But who can say it is without its redeeming features? Where is the Irish Catholic who can look back upon this champion of God's ark in the evil days of Elizabeth without feeling his faith enkindled, and his heart-chords stirred? Again and again it has been asserted that the bishops of Ireland were false to their sacred trust in the days of Elizabeth. Protestant writers, in the vain attempt to bolster up the now fallen Establishment, boasted that in the days of 'the Virgin Queen,' the rulers of the Church in Ireland went over to the new allegiance and the new religion; and well-meaning Catholic historians have sometimes taken for granted what was stated with such dogmatism. But 'from this one learn all.' Dr. Walsh was a type, a grand type, to be sure, but still a faithful type, of the Irish bishops of his day. It was not given to all to dare so much for the honour and glory of his Divine Master's teaching, *but every Irishman who ruled an Irish diocese on the accession of Elizabeth kept the faith that was in him to the consummation of his life.* Slowly, but surely, has the truth come out and justice been done these dauntless upholders of the faith first delivered to the saints. An authority so little prejudiced in our favour as Froude, writes:—

I have examined, I believe thoroughly, all the Irish State Papers in the Record Office during and from the time of

Henry VIII. to 1574, and it is from them, in connection with the voluminous MSS. in Spain on the same subject, that I draw my conclusion respecting the supposed conversion of the Irish bishops and clergy to the Reformation. I am thoroughly convinced that, with the exception of the Archbishop of Dublin, not one of Queen Mary's bishops, nor any one of the clergy beyond the Pale, went over to the Reformation.¹

And another impartial Protestant writes :—

There is not a particle of evidence upon record to prove that any of the bishops of the reign of Queen Mary, except Curwen, became Protestants.

You observe that an exception is made by these writers in the case of Curwen, Archbishop of Dublin. But he was not an Irishman. Of all the bishops who were in possession of the Irish sees on the accession of Elizabeth, only one was an Englishman, and he precisely was the only one who renounced his allegiance to the Holy See. And the bishops had a recompense in the fidelity of their flocks. Here, again, let us listen to the words of unimpeachable witnesses. Miler M'Grath emits the following wail :—²

I find myself sorely beset and overwhelmed by the general unbridled multitude in Ireland, notorious papists, and reconciled to the Pope and to the King of Spain : they have all joined hearts and hands to overthrow my poor self.

Lord-Deputy Chichester is even more explicit :—³

I know not how this attachment to the Catholic Church is so deeply rooted in the hearts of the Irish, unless it be that the very soil is infected and the air tainted with popery ; for they obstinately prefer it to all things else, to allegiance to their king, to respect for his ministers, to the care of their own posterity, and to all their hopes and prospects.

The poet Spencer, in his *View of the State of Ireland*,⁴ has the pithy remark : ' The natives of Ireland be all papists by profession.'

¹ See closing number of *I. E. RECORD*, 1866.

² Letter to Lord Burleigh in *State Papers*.

³ Rothe's *Analecta*, p. 203.

⁴ Page 137.

The Catholic bishop of Ossory, Dr. Rothe, in his valuable *Analecta*,¹ gives his experiences as follows:—

They are rather converted to us than we to them. . . . The ministers who were sent by the Crown to attain that end were not only devoid of success, but were rather themselves converted by the Irish to the Catholic faith.

The testimony of Dr. Brady, Protestant bishop of Meath, from 1563, is exceptionally valuable, not only as showing how Dr. Walsh's diocese stood firm after his bright example, but as revealing the state of things which prevailed where the Protestant interests were, as all the Reformers admitted, best advanced and most favourably circumstanced:—

Oh! what a sea of troubles have I entered into, storms arising on every side; the ungodly lawyers are not only sworn enemies of the truth, but also for lack of due execution of the law, the overthrowers of the country; the ragged clergy are stubborn and ignorantly blind, so there is little hope of amendment; the simple multitude is, through continual ignorance, hardly to be won, so that I find affliction on every side. . . . These people will have either the one or the other, I mean they will eat my meat and drink, or else myself . . . all things waxeth rather worse than otherwise; and as I said before, I fear me, without some speedy redress, the whole body shall be so sick as it shall with difficulty recover, so badly are men here disposed.²

It almost seems unnecessary to prove from authority the fidelity of our country to the throne of the fisherman in the dark penal days. Yet there have been Protestant historians who could hear no ringing voices from out our ivied ruins, our broken arches, our rifled altars, telling of the struggles written in large characters on their time-worn brows. Therefore must we give a reason of the faith that is in us.

We owe it to struggles such as Dr. Walsh's that the faith of our fathers has never been wrested from us. He and his brethren of the Irish episcopate stood up to face the Reformers, and saved our land from the misfortunes that befel other countries in the sixteenth century. They fought

¹ Page 202.

² Shirley's *Original Letters*, pp. 135-187, &c.

the good fight; they kept the faith, and their reward has been exceeding great in the generations that have come after them. Our proudest heritage is that same faith which they bequeathed to us: take away the Catholic religion and the keystone of all Ireland's greatness and Ireland's glory is gone. We shall never, please God, forget the lessons taught us by their history. We shall always look back to them for inspiration when clouds loom upon the horizon; we shall always watch and pray lest the lustre of our faith should ever become dimmed. The story of their constancy will not excite in us feelings of revenge towards those who differ from us in creed and nationality;—God forbid it should; but it will teach us everywhere we are to look for our friends; it will teach us what a price they paid for the profession of that faith which we openly and publicly proclaim to the world to-day; it will teach us to be proud of our religion; it will teach us to prize the great gift our country has purchased in blood and tears; it will teach us to re-echo to the end in our inmost souls the spirit of the hymn:—

Faith of our fathers, holy faith,
We will be true to thee till death.

EDWARD NAGLE, B.D.

PRIMARY EDUCATION IN ROME

IT has often been said by their enemies that the clergy of Rome do nothing for the propagation of instruction among the people. The contrary is so true, that even in this respect Rome may serve for a model to many governments. To treat of the diffusion of knowledge in the Eternal City, however, is less our present purpose than to demonstrate how the true principles of education are the animating spirit of the institutions of Papal Rome. We shall single out but one of these which we may use as an object lesson in arriving at the *beau-ideal* of Catholic primary education; not that it is our intention to write exhaustively or profoundly on the subject. As the existing portion of the Basilica of Constantine at the Roman Forum has served for a model to ecclesiastical architects of succeeding ages, so we shall have sufficient in the consideration of the institution St. Michael for our study. There are but three arches remaining of this noble Basilica, which after the Colosseum is the most imposing ruin in Rome. Of the vast vaulted arches spanning the middle space only the supports from which the arches sprang still exist. These, however, suffice to indicate what they must have been. From such scanty data the architect who is master of his art will build up in faultless proportion, and in the perfect style of his model, an edifice which is suited to his requirements by the exercise of his genius in the adaptation of what is common to his own peculiar ends. We venture to affirm that we will find in the study of this single institution, the great principles of Catholic primary education carried out to perfection, and that a careful study of St. Michael's will enable us to go far in solving a most difficult problem. The commencement of this establishment was very humble and touching. In 1580, a poor peasant of Salerno made a vow to visit the sanctuary of Loreto. He took all he had with him, and trusting to Providence, departed. Having come as far as Rome, and his scanty means being exhausted, Leonard found it an

impossibility to proceed. He entered the service of Cardinal de Medici, and thought himself happy in accomplishing his vow at the sacrifice of his liberty. During two years Ceruso worked; at the end of which time he was enabled to proceed on his journey. Returning, he again came to Rome where much suffering was caused by the rigour of the winter. Little children shivering with cold, and dying with hunger, were begging in the streets, and Leonard's heart was touched with compassion. The little that remained after the expenses of his pilgrimage, and which was to have brought him home to Salerno, was now freely spent in supporting a few of the little vagrants. In a very short time the number of these having increased, his resources were exhausted, and then Ceruso went through the streets of Rome begging for his poor children. The people admired his devotedness, and from a quaint custom he had of quoting Latin phrases, called him the 'Scholar.' Leonard accustomed the children to work almost from their infancy, employing them first in sweeping the streets of Rome, and when they grew up a little put them to learn a trade, that they might afterwards be enabled to earn a livelihood. The 'Scholar,' as Leonard was now universally called, became absorbed in his little family, and for their sakes forgot his native Salerno, and remained at Rome, where he died, in 1595, beloved of all, and in the odour of sanctity.

To this establishment was united that of Odescalchi, Canon of St. Peter's, and afterwards that of Sextus V., and thus was definitely constituted the Hospice of St. Michael, with its four families, on the right bank of the Tiber, near the Porta Portese, occupying an immense area. The Hospice is divided into four separate communities, in which more than eight hundred persons of all conditions and both sexes are maintained. They are those of boys, girls, old men and women. One would think that this hospice furnished a model for those admirable institutions of our own day, in which the old are so charitably cared for and supported—institutions founded on heroic self-sacrifice, and which are the glory of a century otherwise self-seeking and material. The spirit is the same, and in

great part the rules of these institutions are identical with those of St. Michael's. The third community gathers to itself young girls, orphans and the destitute, whose age, sex, and poverty expose them in a particular manner to danger. They are carefully instructed in their religious duties, and taught to become industrious mothers of families, or active and useful religious. They do not leave the institute but to marry or enter a convent, and then they receive a dowry of 100 scudi.

The most important community, and that which is of the greatest interest for us in Ireland at present, is that set apart for the education of the boys, who are to the number of two hundred and fifty, and divided into five departments, according to age. They are admitted when not yet eleven, and remain until they are twenty years of age, and even until they are twenty-two, if they have distinguished themselves in the liberal arts. They wear a uniform. The teaching which they receive is divided into literary and professional. We need not speak of the religious instruction in the Catholic institutions of Rome, as it is sure not to be neglected. The literary course is that of a good primary school, with a special instruction in book-keeping. The professional (or technical) course takes in all the trades—printing, book-binding, the tailor and boot trades ; those in iron and wood are amongst those that are taught. The type and everything pertaining to printing is made on the establishment, and works that would do honour to the best printing firms come from the presses of St. Michael's. The factory of drapery stuffs is the most important in the hospice, and has gained, amongst other awards, that of the Universal Exhibition of Paris. The fabrics of tapestry, rivalling that of the ancient Gobellins, have had an almost equal success. Artistic teaching, of course, is not neglected. There are classes of ornamentation, sculpture, design, and painting. Leo XII. instituted the teaching of gold and silver work, and the art of cameos and mosaics.

A system that is at once firm and paternal obtains in the hospice, and recompense is as effectual as chastisement in maintaining discipline amongst those noisy and lively Italian

boys. If work is obligatory and assiduous, there are many recreations and games. Frequent walks, numerous feast days, and now and then dramatic entertainments, to which a select audience is admitted, preserve an atmosphere of fresh and hearty gaiety. These latter are composed and executed by the inmates, and testify to the taste and intelligence and sound traditions which preside over the entire establishment. When quitting the hospice they receive 30 scudi.

Leaving such a home, these youths take with them a souvenir which exercises a charm over their memory, and keeps a hold on their affections. This is the glory of the institution. If the child who has thus set out in life remains but a simple artisan of Transtivere, he comes on the Sunday to see his old masters. If he becomes a distinguished artist he frequently sends the fruits of his talents and his toil as a pious homage to his *alma mater*; and strangers often stand astonished in the parlours before pictures and sculpture signed by these illustrious orphans.

Such is this great creation of the genius and charity of Rome where a school of art is found with a school of trade, and each performs its functions without hindrance from the other, and in admirable order; a school of fine art and of music; a polytechnical school and work-rooms for young girls; two asylums for the old of either sex—a prodigious ensemble which is found nowhere else, which has been in advance by a century of the nations who most proudly boast of their educational institutions. Let us supplement this by a rapid sketch of the world-renowned Roman College as it was a few years ago. On the principal entrance you read the words ‘*Religioni et bonis artibus*,’ which at once indicate the spirit and nature of the instruction given. The College owes its origin to St. Ignatius of Loyola. It has undergone, it is true, many modifications and enlargements; but the original idea of the founder has been respected, and gratuitous instruction has always been given. The teaching comprised grammar, philosophy, and theology; everybody was admitted to follow the courses; the rich and the poor, the old and the young, the stranger and the citizen, came freely, each one as he wished, at the hour of instruction,

and when the lectures were finished, it was a curious spectacle to see such a motley crowd of scholars of every age and condition, going home to their dwellings. There were in 1862 twenty-eight professors in charge of the different courses of instruction. There were as many as seven hundred students for the inferior classes, more than three hundred of philosophy, and about two hundred and fifty of theology. The seminaries in the neighbourhood usually attended the lectures in the Roman College. This College is worthy of our attention as embodying the spirit of that Church in whose eyes all are equal.

This is the way in which the Popes have understood Christian education; let us now see how an irreligious government is exerting its influence on the education of the youth of Rome. Last May we happened to be present at the public sports held at the Villa Pamphili Doria, at which the Queen of Italy presided. This villa is the most extensive and delightful of the Roman villas (which we would designate as 'parks'), abounding in avenues and woods, fountains and cascades, situated on the summit of the Janiculum. From the ilex-fringed terrace there is one of the best views of St. Peter's which must be seen to be appreciated. The different gymnastic exercises came off in a large and beautifully decorated enclosed space in the presence of all the nobility of Rome and about eight thousand spectators.

As the military idea is the key-note of primary education, as understood by the usurping government, we expected to see feats of strength, and activity, and a military display such as we had never witnessed. How completely we were disappointed could not be imagined by any one of our countrymen, even by those who never witnessed sports or tournaments. Their present rulers have quite mistaken the Italian character. The people are not an idle people, as their enemies are always trying to assert, but they are without physical energy, and are not gifted with a 'physique,' firm and muscular, which are necessary qualities to excel in military enterprises. Gifts are diverse. The Roman is by nature an artist. The climate which is entirely

favourable to the artist is enervating to the athlete. The Italian could as justly look with contempt at our clumsy attempts at art as we do on his poor endeavours after athletic excellence. All this seemed evident to us as we gazed on the present display of the youth of Rome, of whom there must have been five thousand. To a northern eye most of these young boys were handsome, but of a frail and sickly appearance. The listless patience and quietude manifested by them gave rather the impression of apathy, and want of animal spirits, than of order or suppressed ardour—anything but an agreeable impression when contemplating the young. This immense crowd performed military drill of the simplest kind in the presence of the Queen, or rather prepared to perform it, for almost the whole time was taken up in getting into line. For this the entire day had been wasted. We enter into these details not for their own sake, but to make manifest the mistake of the stranger government in sacrificing the nation to a military idea. The manly, if rather rough, game of foot-ball was played by adults so poorly, that my companion whispered, ‘I would like to see a few young lads of an Irish village tackling them.’ ‘They would make fools of them in no time,’ was the reply. There came to my mind a long-forgotten line of Horace to the effect; ‘not such as those who lead the Pyrrhic dance have stained the sea with Carthaginian blood.’ The game almost seemed to me a dance compared to the rush and dash which more warlike races exhibit in the same exercise, and sadly the thought came of Abyssinian sands saturated with Italian blood. The people are crushed with taxes to build war-ship which cannot be effectively manned.

Religion and true education, which are so broad, and contain so many things, are sacrificed in the vain endeavour to maintain an army equal to those of the great powers. The official harpies, that suck the life-blood of the nation, do not wish to understand that the true policy of Italy is in Napoleon’s dictum: ‘neutrality, and not armies, is the defence of small nationalities.’ Alas! poor Italy has fallen upon evil days. The Pontiff King, the father who under-

stood his children, is a prisoner, and the selfish and wicked feed the nation on the husks of outward show ; an army and navy without strength, and houses magnificent in appearance, the effect of vile stucco.

As we remarked above, it has not been our intention to write profoundly or exhaustively on primary education, but simply to suggest the *beau-ideal*.

JEROME O'CONNELL, O.D.C.

NOTES ON THE CANONICAL ASPECTS OF A PLENARY OR NATIONAL SYNOD

A FEW notes on the legal or canonical aspects of a Plenary Synod may have, at the present time, a special interest for the readers of the I. E. RECORD. Many of them, no doubt, still remember the procedure followed on the occasion of the Synod of Maynooth, in 1875. To these I cannot hope to give any additional information. But many of a newer generation will take an active part in the next National Synod, and a still larger number will follow its proceedings with interest. For the sake of these, therefore, or such of them as may not have within reach the voluminous records of recent Synods, I mean to treat a few points in connection with the convocation, procedure, and authority of a Plenary Synod.

With older writers and canonists, the words Synod and Council were convertible terms, and even at the present day the two words are often used, especially by canonists, in precisely the same sense. Among many modern writers, however, there is a tendency to distinguish between the words Synod and Council. According to the growing usage of these writers, a Council is an assembly of bishops and other privileged persons, legitimately convoked to deal with and legislate on ecclesiastical affairs. By a Council, therefore, they understand an assembly embracing *several* bishops,

rightly convened to consider jointly, and, if need be, to legislate on, the affairs of the ecclesiastical province or other legislative unit from which they are convoked. The word Synod, according to the usage of the same writers, embraces all Councils ; but it also applies to an assemblage in which *one* bishop, with his clergy, deals with diocesan affairs. Hence, they do not speak of a Diocesan Council, but of a Diocesan Synod.¹ It will be remarked, moreover, that, according to English usage, we do not speak of an Œcumenical Synod, but of an Œcumenical Council. A National Synod, with which we are concerned, may, therefore, be correctly called either a Synod or a Council.

Now, it will be well to note, from the beginning, that a Council or a Synod comprising several bishops has what may be called a corporate jurisdiction, distinct from the jurisdiction which the individual bishops have, each over his own diocese. In Council each bishop, of course, retains jurisdiction over his own diocese ; but as a member of the corporate body of bishops he acquires, moreover, participation in a new jurisdiction over the whole area for which the Council is held. The importance of this distinction will more fully appear in connection with the authority of the Plenary Synod. It will be enough to say here, that if, for any reason, an assembly, of the bishops of a province, for example, failed to secure corporate or synodal jurisdiction, laws passed in that assembly would be mere diocesan laws, not provincial laws ; that such laws could, as a rule, be evaded, even within the province, by merely passing out of one's own diocese ; that they would affect the dioceses of those bishops only who concur in the legislative acts of the assembly. The laws of a Council, however, understanding that word in the restricted sense above indicated, are not mere diocesan laws ; they are universal, national, or provincial laws, according to the area from which and for which the Council is convoked. Nor can any individual bishop, by absence from the Council or by protest, exempt

¹ Aichner, *Jur. Eccles.*, p. 449 ; I. E. RECORD, July, 1881, p. 382.

² I. E. RECORD, *loc. cit.*

himself or his diocese from the operation of such synodal laws. The importance of corporate jurisdiction in a Synod, therefore, is manifest.

Now, in order that a Synod should possess corporate jurisdiction, it is necessary, as I have already conveyed, that the Synod should be legitimately convoked. For the jurisdiction attaching to the Synod as such, is not the sum of the powers of the several bishops, but a distinct jurisdiction granted, of course, by the Pope, and subject to the conditions imposed by him. Hence, the necessity, insisted on by the canonists, that the Synod should be called by one invested with power to convoke it and according to the prescribed forms of Canon Law.

According to the existing discipline of the Church, Canon Law provides, in the ordinary course, for the holding (1) of a General or Œcumenical Synod; (2) of a Provincial Synod; and (3) of a Diocesan Synod. The act of convoking and presiding at a Synod is an act of jurisdiction. The Pope, and he alone, therefore, can, of his own right, convoke a General Council or Synod. A Metropolitan has jurisdiction to summon his suffragans to a Provincial Synod. It should be noticed that where the province of a Metropolitan is co-extensive with a nation, the Synod called by him is, though *de facto* national, only a Provincial Synod in the language of the canonists; such, for example, were the Synods of Westminster. A bishop, of course, has power to call his clergy to a Diocesan Synod. But, in the present organisation of the Church, there is no one inferior to the Holy See authorised to convoke a Council or Synod possessing jurisdiction over two or more ecclesiastical provinces. For, in point of jurisdiction, all Metropolitans are equal and immediately subject to the Holy See. No Metropolitan, therefore, can call another Metropolitan or his suffragans to a Council. Formerly, the organisation of the Church was somewhat different. Metropolitans were sometimes subject, not to the Pope immediately, but to a Primate or a Patriarch. It was, then, part of the ordinary jurisdiction of the Primate or the Patriarch to summon the Metropolitans subject to him with their suffragans to a Synod.

And these Primatial and Patriarchal Synods were naturally sometimes called Plenary Synods, to distinguish them from Provincial and Diocesan Synods; sometimes National Synods, because, usually, the area of their jurisdiction covered whole nation.¹ Greater facilities for direct communication with the Holy See make the decentralization of authority less necessary in modern times. We still have, of course, in the Church, archbishops with the title and dignity of Primate and Patriarchs. But, except in the case of a few eastern Patriarchs in communion with the Holy See patriarchal jurisdiction has completely disappeared. Among Primate, the Primate of Hungary is, perhaps, the only one who retains some of the ancient primatial jurisdiction.² The disappearance of the Plenary Synod (National, Primatial, and Patriarchal), as an ordinary part of the ecclesiastical organisation, was necessarily involved in the extinction of primatial and patriarchal jurisdiction.

It is scarcely necessary to add that temporal rulers have no independent right to assemble a National Council. Even in comparatively recent times, however, there have been attempts to claim for temporal rulers the authority and prerogatives regarding National Synods, that, in the extinction of primatial and patriarchal jurisdiction, had reverted to the Holy See. Especially since the time of the great Western Schism, temporal princes began to assume a larger share in the holding of ecclesiastical assemblies; and, naturally enough, the power that was conceded in the stress of troubled and difficult times, came afterwards to be claimed as an independent right. Indeed, it was one of the errors of the Gallican theologians to vindicate for temporal rulers the right to assemble a National Synod. And we find Napoleon I. striving in vain to secure recognition as a National Council for the assembly of bishops convoked by him at Paris, in 1811. But, though that assembly was

¹ In recent times the term National Synod or Council has been studiously avoided in official Roman documents.

² Nor can he without, reference to the Holy See, summon a National Synod Wernz, *Jus Decretalium*, ii., p. 1093. See, however, Nilles, *Commentarium in Concil. Plenarium Baltimorese*, iii., pp. 16 and 19.

attended by six cardinals and about one hundred bishops it has never been recognised by the Church as a National Council.¹

Gallicanism has disappeared ; no one now disputes the exclusive right of the Holy See to call a National Synod. In 1849 Pius IX. not merely vindicated to the Holy See the exclusive right to call a Plenary Synod, but even refused permission to the German bishops to hold such a Synod.² And in the same year, a similar reply was sent to a request of the bishops of France. The Pope thought the holding of a National Synod just then, either in France or Germany, inopportune.³ The reason for the Pope's refusal must be sought in the peculiar circumstances of France and Germany at that date, not in any unwillingness on the part of the Holy See that the bishops should assemble in National Council. For, in the following year, 1850, the National Synod of Thurles was convoked by the Most Rev. Dr. Cullen, Archbishop of Armagh, acting as the special Delegate of the Holy See. And since that date Plenary Synods have been rather frequent. We had the Synod of Baltimore—the first Plenary Synod of the United States in 1852; the second Plenary Synod of Baltimore in 1866; the Plenary Synod of Maynooth in 1875; the third Plenary Synod of Baltimore in 1884; and two Plenary Synods of Australia—the first in 1885, the second in 1895.

It is evident, therefore, that the Holy See looks with much favour on the celebration of Plenary Synods. The Pope himself at the present time supplies by a special and extraordinary delegation, the faculty to summon a Plenary Synod, which formerly belonged to Primates and Patriarchs. Thus, the Plenary Synod has come again to be a frequent, though not an ordinary and stable organ of legislation. In some respects, and not without distinct advantages, it serves the purpose of the Provincial Synods, which, according to the Council of Trent, should be held every three years. The time for holding Plenary Synods has, so far, been left largely to the discretion of the bishops.

¹ *Collect. Lacen.*, iv., p. 1223.

² *Ibid.*, v., p. 294.

³ *Ibid.*, iv., p. 2.

This will be a convenient place to remark, that the holding of a Plenary Synod does not necessarily imply that grave or exceptional abuses exist in the nation for which it is held. To deal with local abuses is, no doubt, an important function of the Synod, but it is not its sole purpose. It has, of course, teaching and judicial authority with which we are not here concerned. But from the legislative point of view the ends for which a Plenary Synod is held may be reduced to four. 1. To enforce legislation against old-standing abuses, and to check the growth of new ones. At the Synod of Thurles and Maynooth, for example, it was found necessary to legislate against certain abuses in the administration of the sacraments, and in the celebration of the Mass—abuses or departures from the common law of the Church, which had outlived the penal times by which they had been more or less justified. 2. To bring local legislation, as far as possible, into harmony with the general law of the Church. The young Church of the United States made a long stride towards conformity with the common law of the Church, when the third Plenary Synod of Baltimore, in 1884, made provision for setting up regular ecclesiastical courts, and enacted that appointment to a certain number of the most important parishes in each diocese should be by concursus. 3. To adapt Church legislation to new needs, and changing times. 4. To introduce, as far as circumstances will permit, uniformity of local discipline. For, undoubtedly, uniform legislation over large areas in which similar conditions prevail prevents misunderstanding on the part of the faithful, and contributes to the maintenance of discipline.

From what has been said, it will appear that in Ireland no Metropolitan, competent in his own right, can call a National Synod. The Metropolitans, as such, are all equal in jurisdiction. The primacy attaching to the sees of Armagh and Dublin is a primacy of honour and dignity.¹ But it does not carry jurisdiction over other Metropolitans. The bishops of Ireland may, indeed, assemble and enact

¹ See, however, Aichner, p. 383; also Salzano, ii., quoted by Smith, *Elements of Ecclesiastical Law*, i., p. 323.

uniform laws for the whole country, but these laws will not have the force of national laws. If a Plenary or National Synod is to be held, recourse must be had to the authority of the Holy See. Hence we find that the Plenary Synod of Thurles, in 1850, was summoned and presided over by Dr. Cullen, then Archbishop of Armagh, acting in the capacity, not of Metropolitan or of Primate of all Ireland, but as the Special Delegate of the Holy See. And in 1875 Dr. Cullen, who had meantime been translated to the see of Dublin and created a Cardinal, convoked the Synod of Maynooth, not as Archbishop of Dublin, or Primate or Cardinal, but in virtue of special delegation.

Before going on to consider who are to be called by the Delegate to a Plenary Synod, it will be well to make a few remarks regarding the character of the delegation itself.¹

1. As we may gather from the fact that the Synod of Thurles was convoked by the Archbishop of Armagh, and the Synod of Maynooth by the Archbishop of Dublin, the delegation is not, in Ireland or elsewhere, necessarily attached to any particular see or office.

2. The delegation is invariably granted to the Delegate by name, and is purely *personal*.

3. As a consequence, the power to convoke a National Synod would cease if the Delegate were to die before having completed the execution of his commission. His successor in the same Episcopal See would have no right to assume the office of Delegate without a new grant.

4. As the immediate delegate of the Holy See, it might seem that the Papal Delegate appointed to hold a Plenary Synod, could sub-delegate his authority. But he cannot. It is to be assumed that, for so important a commission, the Delegate has been selected in view of his purely personal qualifications and fitness, *ob industriam et fidem personae*.

5. The delegation is to be proved, not assumed. A copy of the Papal letter granting delegation is sometimes sent with the summons to the Synod. But, at all events, in issuing the edict of convocation, the Delegate is to state

¹ Conf. Nilles, *op. cit.*, p. 58, *et seq.*

expressly that he acts in virtue of Papal delegation. Moreover, in the decree of promulgation, and in all conciliar acts, the Delegate is to make express mention of his delegation.¹

6. The delegation embraces the right to convoke and preside at the Synod, and promulgate its decrees. The delegation lasts, therefore, until the decree of promulgation has been issued. According to Nilles, the Delegate retains special power for one year after the date of promulgation, *in ordine ad decretorum executionem promovendam, urgendam, tutandam*.²

Who are to be summoned to attend a Plenary Synod? In the first place, it is necessary to attend to the terms of the delegation of the Holy See. As it belongs to the Holy See to grant to some bishop the right to convoke and preside at the Synod, so the Holy See, of course, has the right to define the area from which the bishops and others are to be summoned, and over which the jurisdiction of the Council is to extend. But who are to be summoned from that area? In the decree of convocation the Delegate always summons or invites, besides the bishops and others expressly mentioned, all those who *de jure aut de consuetudine* have the right to be present. It is necessary to determine, who are those who come within the meaning of this consecrated phrase. Canon Law can scarcely be said to make any special provision for the convocation of the Plenary Synod. But, it is enough to know, that *servatis servandis*, those who are to be summoned to a Provincial Council are also to be summoned to a Plenary Council.³ Following, therefore, the laws laid down for the convocation of a Provincial Synod, we can ascertain who are those who have a right to be summoned to a Plenary Synod. It will be convenient also to note in passing whether the person summoned is bound to attend; and (2) whether he enjoys a decisive vote, or only a consultive vote. Those who have merely a consultive vote, act as advisers to the Fathers of the Council, but have no voice in making the final decisions. The sole responsibility for these decisions rests with those who have a decisive vote.

¹ Nilles, p. 23.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 62.

³ Wernz, p. 1093.

The following are, *de jure*, to be summoned and admitted to a Plenary Synod with a decisive vote :—¹

1. All Archbishops and Bishops having actual jurisdiction in the provinces for which the Synod is held (*a*) have the right to be summoned to the Synod ; (*b*) they are bound to attend in person, unless legitimately hindered ; and if prevented from attending in person, they are bound to send a procurator duly authorised to represent them. Bishops-elect who have received the Bulls confirming their appointment, have the same rights as if already consecrated.² At the third Synod of Baltimore, two Bishops, whose appointment had been actually confirmed by the Holy See, though they had not yet received the Apostolic Letters, were summoned to the Council, and, in accordance with an answer from Rome, in reply to an inquiry regarding their status, were admitted to the Council with a decisive vote.³

2. Apostolic Administrators and Coadjutors appointed by the Holy See for the government of dioceses whose Bishops are wholly incapacitated ;⁴ Vicars Capitular, and who, *sede vacante*, rule a diocese or vicariate within the provinces or nation for which the Synod is held. At the second Provincial Synod of St. Louis, in 1858, the Administrator of the diocese of St. Paul, which was then vacant, did not receive a decisive vote. The same is true of several earlier Synods. But in more recent times, the invariable practice seems to have been to give the Vicar Capitular or Administrator a decisive vote.⁵

3. Abbots having quasi-episcopal jurisdiction over seculars. We have no such prelates in Ireland.

The following are, *de jure*, to be summoned and admitted to the synod with a consultive vote :—

1. The duly appointed Procurators of Ordinaries absent for some reasonable cause. These Procurators may,⁶ but only with the unanimous consent of the Synod, receive the privilege of casting a decisive vote.⁶

¹ See Wernz, 1086 ; Nilles, p. 68.

² Bouix, *De Con. Prov.*, p. 110.

³ Nilles, p. 85 ; Acta et Decreta, third Plen. Council, Baltimore, p. xxv.

⁴ Bouix, chap. xi.

⁵ Coll. Lac. iii., p. 417 ; Wernz, p. 1086.

⁶ Wernz, p. 1086.

In this matter of the vote of Procurators for absent Bishops there has been a considerable diversity of practice. A decisive vote was granted at the second Provincial Synod of Tuam, in 1854; at the Provincial Synod of Baltimore, in 1858; at the Plenary Synod of Baltimore, in 1866; at the fourth Provincial Synod of Quebec, 1868; at the Plenary Synod of Maynooth, 1875, and at the third Plenary Synod of Baltimore in 1884. On the other hand, the Provincial Synods of Baltimore,¹ of Westminster,² and of New Orleans,² conceded only a consultive vote to Procurators of Ordinaries.

2. The Procurators duly appointed by Cathedral Chapters. The Chapters must be invited to send one or more members of the Chapter as delegates, but they are free to send them or not.³ Where a See is vacant the Chapter is entitled to a representative distinct from the Vicar Capitular.⁴ Even honorary canons are eligible as Procurators.⁵ Twelve Cathedral Chapters were represented, each by one Procurator, at the Synod of Maynooth. According to Bouix, it is questionable whether they have not a decisive vote in matters affecting their Chapter. Collegiate Chapters may be invited to send representatives; but, apart from local custom, there is no obligation to do so; even though invited, they are not bound to send representatives.

The following are, according to generally recognised custom, summoned to a Plenary Synod, with a consultive note:—

1. Coadjutor Bishops. As has been said above, however, a Coadjutor who, by reason of the insanity or other total incapacity of the bishop, exercises full jurisdiction in the diocese, has a decisive vote. At the second Provincial Synod of Quebec in 1852, and of Westminster in 1859, Coadjutors received only a consultive vote. Usually, however, they seem to have got a decisive vote,⁶ as at the

¹ iii. 1837. See also Plenary Synod of Thurles, Coll. Lac., iii., p. 804 a.

² 1852. 1860,

³ Bouix, chap. xx.; Wernz, p. 1087.

⁴ Coll. Lac., iii. 974.

⁵ Coll. Lac., iv. 286 a.

⁶ Vid. Coll. Lac.

second, fifth, and sixth Provincial Synods of Baltimore, first Provincial Synod of Quebec, third Provincial Synod of Tuam, the Plenary Synods of Maynooth and Baltimore (III.). At the second Provincial Synod of Quebec they were allowed, like Bishops of the province, to nominate consulting theologians. But this seems unusual. At the Synod of Maynooth the two Coadjutor Bishops present, viz., of Kildare and Killaloe, though they were also procurators to their respective Bishops, did not nominate consulting theologians.

2. Other Titular Bishops residing, in any capacity, in the province or nation without jurisdiction therein. Bishops who have resigned their sees fall under this heading,¹ and at the third Plenary Synod of Baltimore it was agreed to give them a decisive vote. Strange Bishops also who may happen to be where a Synod is being held may be admitted to the Synod.² At the tenth Provincial Synod of Baltimore a Bishop from another province was admitted into a decisive vote by the unanimous consent of the Fathers. But the usual practice seems to be to give only a consultive vote.³

3. Abbots having no jurisdiction over seculars. They may receive a decisive vote by the unanimous consent of the Council. The Abbot of Mount Mellary received as a special privilege at the Synods of Thurles and Maynooth the right to give a decisive vote. Examples of a similar privilege are found in the tenth Provincial Synod of Baltimore, 1869, and at the second and third Plenary Synods of Baltimore.⁴

4. The Provincials of Religious Orders or Congregations.

5. Consulting Theologians and Canonists. Each Archbishop and Bishop is invited or expected to nominate one or more theologians or canonists to assist him during the deliberations of the Council.

6. Those who are to assist at the Council as officials, secretaries, stenographers, ceremonialists, &c.; also all those clerics or laymen whom the Council or the bishops may

¹ Nilles, p. 68.

² Bouix, p. 119.

³ See, e.g., I. Westminster Coll. Lac., iii. 902.

⁴ Collect. Lac., iii.; Acta et Decreta, III. Plen. Conc., Baltimoren.

require for consultation, *v.g.*, civil lawyers,¹ or for secretarial work.²

Neither Coadjutor Bishops, nor Abbots, nor any of those just mentioned, have the right, in case of absence, to send a Procurator to the Council.³

A Vicar General, as such, a Vicar Forane, a Domestic Prelate, a Rector of a Seminary, has not in virtue of any general custom the right to be summoned; at the last Plenary Synod of Baltimore, however, we find that the Rectors of the greater Seminaries, as well as many Domestic Prelates, were admitted with a consultive vote.

The list above given embraces all those who are in this country covered by the phrase *is qui vel de jure vel de consuetudine adesse debent*.

It is not necessary, of course, that each individual should receive a personal summons. It is sufficient that the Papal Delegate issue a public edict convoking the Synod at a certain specified time and place.⁴ Nor is it by any means necessary, for the legitimacy of the Synod, that all summoned should attend. It is sufficient if those who have *de jure* a decisive vote, or a sufficient number of them, attend.⁵

It is usual also to announce the approach of a Plenary Synod to the faithful generally, and to invite them, by their prayers, alms, and penitential works, to beg God's blessing on the deliberations of the Fathers.

The procedure of the Plenary Synod, when duly assembled, will furnish material for a paper in a future number.

D. MANNIX.

¹ See I. Prov. Baltimore, Coll. Lac. iii., p. 15 a.

² Nilles, p. 69.

³ As for abbots, see I. Prov. Westminster Coll. Lac., ii. i, p. 897.

⁴ De Luca, *De Personis*, n. 344; Wernz, p. 1088.

⁵ See Wernz, p. 1088.

CORRESPONDENCE

PRIESTS AND LICENSED HOUSES.

REV. DEAR SIR,—I have no doubt many amongst the readers of the I. E. RECORD would welcome some words of guidance relative to the course to be followed by a priest when some member of his flock seeks to get a licence for the sale of intoxicating drinks. Is it a priest's duty to oppose the licence? There seems to be a difference of opinion and practice on this matter. Some oppose the licence, while others remain passive, and others again give their aid to the candidate. Does it matter much if a licensed house is allowed to be started in a place where one has not hitherto existed, and when one does exist may we without fear of serious evils allow others to be established *ad indefinitum*? Will the intelligence and self-restraint of our people guard them sufficiently against intemperance though its occasions are allowed to multiply in our midst?

SACERDOS.

We have no hesitation in giving our opinion for what it is worth on the points submitted to us by our correspondent:

1. The sale of intoxicating drinks involves an occupation so dangerous in itself, and so injurious, as a rule, to the temporal and spiritual interests of those who are engaged in it, that we do not think any priest should feel himself at liberty to use his influence in favour of a candidate for a licence.

2. We regard the existence of a public-house in a rural district or in a country village as an unmitigated evil, the fruitful source of misery and sin to the inhabitants of the locality; and whenever an effort is made to set up for the first time a licensed house in places of the kind, we think it is the duty of the priest to use all the influence at his command, within the limits of prudence and discretion, in opposition to the project.

3. In towns or cities where application is made either for a new license or for the renewal of an old one, it may be

the duty of the priest to remain merely passive or, without entering into the merits of individual cases, to represent to the authorities that the number of licences is already excessive. It would be also his duty to represent to the people themselves the dangers and temptations connected with this particular trade, and to dissuade them from entering into a business which brings so many calamities in its train. A word of private exhortation to those who, for good or ill, are already engaged in the sale of intoxicating liquors, is often fruitful in good results, and helps to ward off some of the worst effects of the traffic.

4. We fear that the last question of our correspondent needs no answer. As well might he ask us the general question, whether the occasions of sin may be multiplied without danger to the souls of the people at large.

We have said so much, not by way of 'guidance' as our correspondent requests, for guidance in such matters must come from the responsible authorities, but as the expression of our individual opinion. There may be, from time to time, cases of special difficulty, and the pastor who sees such difficulties in the way, should seek 'guidance' from those who are commissioned by the Church to guide him. For our own part, we regard the English public-house system which has, unfortunately for us, been imported into this country, as the worst and the most degrading in Europe. On the Continent one finds almost everywhere restaurants, and coffee-houses, neat and attractive in appearance, decked out with flowers and pictures, where the labourer and the artisan, as well as middle class people and the rich, can obtain food and drink. In such places one never witnesses the drunken brawl that is so closely associated with the public-house in England and Ireland. People enjoy themselves freely and legitimately, and are often accompanied by their wives and children, whose presence acts as a restraining influence, and inspires the men with a sense of duty and self-respect. Here there are practically no such establishments to mitigate the evils of the public-house. In Dublin, and some of our larger cities, there has been, no doubt, in recent years a great extension

of restaurants, where tea, coffee, milk, and other temperance drinks are served with the best of food at a very cheap rate; it is a pleasure to see the young men of the city going in crowds to these places where no intoxicating drinks are to be seen. We think that if the cause of temperance is to be advanced in any practical way in our towns and cities it must be by means of such rivals to the bar. The more attractive they are made, and the more they are brought within reach of the poor the better. Now that cycling has become such a universal pastime, and that tourists come in crowds to this country in the summer months, it would be a great blessing to them to have some such places to repair to for refreshments, instead of the close and unwholesome tap-rooms where strong spirits are the chief attractions.

In rural districts, of course, establishments of this kind are impossible; but in towns of importance where they have any chance of success, we think that priests would do a very good work in encouraging their parishioners to try them. Total abstinence is, as everyone admits, the best remedy for intemperance and the most meritorious form of self-denial in a country where good example in this respect is so sadly needed; but it is, we fear, quite hopeless to expect that the mass of our countrymen will become total abstainers, and anything that helps to ward off from them the occasion of intemperance and to promote habits of sobriety and moderation, must prove an unmixed blessing. When we think of the desolate homes, the wretched surroundings, the careless and thriftless lives of so many of our countrymen, not to speak of the curses and profanations of the habitual drunkard, surely it behoves every Irishman, and particularly every priest, to do what he can to stem the tide. A people demoralized by alcohol will, in the course of a few generations, not be worth much more than a people demoralized by opium. They will have no energy for anything, no mental power to cope with oppression, or to promote industries, or to build up fortunes, and hold their natural place in the commercial life of their country.

The man addicted to drink without being a regular drunkard becomes an easy victim to the money-lender,

whether Jew or Christian. But spiritually he suffers even more than he does in his temporal interests; for, as St. Bernard says:—‘Excess in drink stirs up every evil passion in man’s fallen nature, and robs him of the power of resisting temptation, darkening his heart, clouding his mind, quickening every tendency to vice, and killing every tendency to virtue.’ This is what gives the priest an indefeasible right to combat the traffic in intoxicating drinks, and the more systematically and intelligently he carries on the campaign the greater the blessing that is sure to attend his labours.

Ed. I.E.R.

THE LIFE OF SAVONAROLA

REV. AND DEAR SIR,—I trust to your courtesy to allow me to make three observations with reference to the courteous review of my biographical study of *Fra Girolamo Savonarola*, which appeared in your issue of May.

1. The reviewer, ‘R. W.’ blames me for not having made use of *Il Quarto Centenario*. I repeatedly tried, but in vain, to procure this publication. Moreover, in August, 1898, the authorities of the British Museum endeavoured, at my request, to obtain a copy, but without success. I may add that the purpose of my book was to give as full a conspectus as possible of all *contemporary* documents bearing on the case. With one possible exception I do not know that any contemporary documents, hitherto unknown, were first brought to light in *Il Quarto Centenario*. The possible exception is the letter of Savonarola, given by me on pp. 267, 268.

2. The reviewer is, of course, right in saying that Lionardo de’ Medici, and not Pagnotti, was Vicar General of Florence. I regret the error, and thank him for the correction. At the same time I may remind the reviewer that, so far from all the members of this family being hostile to Savonarola, at least one of them, Fra Francesco de’ Medici, was a member of his own community at San Marco. He took an active part in the defence of the convent during the riot (*F. G. Savonarola*, p. 352).

3. The reviewer says that in my description of Savonarola’s ‘Process’: ‘Father Lucas places far too much reliance on Ceccone’s

report, though incidentally, at the end of his description (p. 427), he speaks of Ceccone as the infamous notary who was mulcted of some nine-tenths of his promised pay, and more than once mentions his falsification of the trial.' Whether I have placed too much reliance on Ceccone's report or not, is a matter of opinion. But it is a simple fact that, at the beginning, not at the end, of my description of the 'Process,' I have devoted four and a half pages (pp. 407-411) to a careful statement of what is known concerning Ceccone's proceedings, quoting Vivoli at length (p. 408); and, also, that throughout the account of the examinations I have repeatedly called attention, at some length, to definite particulars in which Ceccone may, in my opinion, be deemed to have falsified the record (pp. 412, 413, 416, 418, 419, 421, 424, 425, 427). Putting the passages together, the reader will find not less than eight or ten pages given to the discussion of Ceccone's nefarious perversions of the evidence.

H. LUCAS, S.J.

ST. BEUNO'S COLLEGE,
ST. ASAPH.

DOCUMENTS

AGRICULTURAL AND TECHNICAL INSTRUCTION
DECLARATION OF THE IRISH BISHOPS

At a special general meeting of the archbishops and bishops of Ireland, held in Maynooth College on the 16th ult., for the consideration of the new scheme of agricultural and technical instruction in Ireland, in so far as its administration might in any way affect religious interests, the following statement was unanimously adopted :—

We have deemed it our duty to devote careful attention to the administration of the new Agricultural and Technical Instruction Act, by which not only the material well-being, but also the spiritual interests of our people may be affected. Our views on the Act and its working, together with such suggestions as, at the present stage, we find ourselves in a position to make, are conveyed in the following considerations, which have been agreed to unanimously :—

First of all, we desire to express our conviction, that this Act, if administered in a wise and sympathetic spirit, is likely to prove of decided advantage to the Irish people, whose agricultural and industrial interests have been so long and so grievously neglected.

We have reason to hope that the new department will act in this spirit of sympathy and impartiality, and use their best exertions to administer the Act in the way most calculated to promote the general interests of the whole country.

But the intelligent concurrence of the various bodies to be constituted under the Act, and especially of the Agricultural Board, will be essential for the successful working of the Act; and hence we desire to impress on all who have a share in the selection or appointment of the members of these bodies the extreme importance of choosing men of the highest integrity and intelligence. These representative men should be altogether superior to selfish and partisan influences, and should be inspired with an earnest purpose of discharging their important duties solely with a view to the public good.

We also feel it our duty to take this opportunity of re-affirming the resolution, recently adopted by our Standing Committee, in strong condemnation of an unauthorized proposal to use the revenues of the new department for the purpose of bolstering up the moribund Queen's Colleges, so often and so strongly condemned by the Irish episcopacy.

Whilst any wise scheme, under the Agricultural and Technical Act, for reviving and fostering Irish industries, in accordance with the wants, capacities, and traditions of our people, will always have our earnest sympathy and support, we feel bound to place on record the expression of our deep conviction that the main source of the wealth of our country lies in her soil, and that, consequently, a leading feature in the work of the Department of Agriculture and Industry should be the acquiring, on equitable terms, of the grass lands now so indifferently utilized, with a view to their occupation, in moderately-sized farms, by industrious cultivators, many of whom are, every year, compelled to emigrate to foreign countries for a livelihood. We, therefore respectfully invite the attention of the representatives of local bodies on the Agricultural and Technical Boards, and on the Council of Agriculture, to the grave importance of seeing that the reconstruction of the long-neglected industries of Ireland will be a building, not from the top down, but from the foundation upwards; so that our over-taxed people may receive the maximum of advantage from the expenditure of the money grants placed by Parliament at the disposal of the new department.

We desire to impress upon the local bodies concerned the primary importance, in the establishment and direction of technical schools and colleges, of avoiding anything to which Catholics should object on religious grounds, whether in the teaching or in other departments of such schools and colleges. It has been the duty of the bishops to repeatedly warn their people against institutions of mixed residences for Catholics and Protestants. The principle already so successfully maintained, for many years, in the working of training colleges in Great Britain, and applied, within recent times, with the best results, in the case of similar institutions in Ireland, should be followed in this instance also, if residential institutions are to be set up.

As the Catholic youth of Ireland has laboured under deplorable disadvantages through want of provision for university and

technical education, we would suggest to the department and its boards that a suitable method of promoting the objects of the new Act, within reasonable limits of expenditure, and with a view to the benefit of those most in need of its advantages, would be to apply some of the funds placed at their disposal for the purpose of sending a number of bright, capable, well-conducted boys to such centres of industrial life as are to be found in the Catholic districts of Germany, so as to give them the advantage of a few years of the best theoretical and practical training in suitable industries.

We believe that the working of the Agricultural and Technical Instruction Act furnishes a favourable opportunity to the Board of National Education—especially as the system of education which they administer is now being reconstructed—for considering how far the Model Schools, which have hitherto been completely out of harmony with the feeling of the vast majority of the people, may be utilized for the purposes of the Agricultural and Technical Instruction Act.

Signed on behalf of the Meeting,

✠ MICHAEL Cardinal LOGUE, *Chairman.*

✠ JOHN, Bishop of Clonfert.

✠ RICHARD ALPHONSUS, Bishop of } *Secretaries.*
Waterford and Lismore.

THE NEW 'DIPLOMA' FOR THE ERECTION OF CONFRA- TERNITIES OF THE HOLY ROSARY

E SACRA CONGREGATIONE INDULGENTIARUM

1.

PROBATUR NOVUM DIPLOMA PRO NOVITER ERIGENDIS SS. ROSARI
CONFRATERNITATIBUS

IN NOMINE SANCTISSIMAE TRINITATIS PATRIS ET FILII ET SPIRITUS
SANCTI ET AD LAudem ET GLORIAM B. DEI GENITRICIS VIRGINIS
MARIAE D. N. PIAMQUE VENERATIONEM S. P. N. DOMINICI SS.
ROSARII AUCTORIS, AC INSTITUTORIS, FR. ANDREAS FRÜHWIRTH
ORDINIS FRATRUM PRAEDICATORUM HUMILIS MAGISTER GENERA-
LIS, AC SERVUS, OM NIBUS PRAESENTES LITTERAS INSPECTURIS
SALUTEM IN DOMINO SEMPITERNAM

Inter omnes orandi modos in Ecclesia usitatos, ille praecipue et
Summis Pontificibus et populo fidei acceptus semper fuit, quo, sub
nomine Rosarii, instar Davidici Psalterii, SS. Virgo Maria Mater

Dei, centum quinquaginta salutationibus angelicis, praemissa singulis denis oratione dominica, additisque piis mysteriorum vitae Iesu Christi Salvatoris nostri, et eiusdem sanctissimae Matris meditationibus honoratur.

Cuius devotionis orationes quo a multis per Orbem totum dispersis, caritate tamen unitis, uno quasi ore, Deo gratiores sibi que efficaciores funderentur, antiqui Ordinis nostri Patres quoscunque sanctissimam Dei Genitricem per eas colentes in piam quandam confraternitatem congregaverunt. Quam confraternitatem a Rosario dictam Summi Pontifices, iisdem Religiosis petentibus, approbarunt, ac magnis privilegiis, innumerisque Indulgentiis et aliis gratiis Apostolicis certatim decorarunt, simulque curam sanctissimae Rosarii devotionis omnem Ordini nostro iure haereditario concediderunt, eiusque pro tempore existenti Magistro Generali privative facultatem reservarunt erigendi ubique terrarum dictam confraternitatem.

Rogati ergo, ut vi dictae facultatis in ecclesia . . . confraternitatem SS. Rosarii erigeremus, libenter piis huiusmodi petitionibus secundum Constitutionem Clementis VIII. *Quaecumque* d. d. 7 dec. 1604, necnon Decretum S. C. Indulgentiarum d. d. 8 ian. 1861 accedimus.

Tenore igitur praesentium Rev. . . . vel illum sacerdotem Episcopo acceptum, quem iste, fortasse impeditus, sibi substituerit, delegamus qui, praemissa apposita concione, Confraternitatem SS. Rosarii in dicta ecclesia nomine et auctoritate Nostra erigat. Hac tamen facultate a Nobis delegata uti non possit, nisi Revmus Ordinarius loci in scriptis assensum suum in erectionem eiusdem Confraternitas dederit, nec etiam in casu quo iam in alia ecclesia dicti loci Confraternitas SS. Rosarii legitime erecta existat, nisi Episcopus secundum Decretum S. C. Indulg. d. d. 20 maii 1896,¹ et Constitutionem SS. D. N. Louis XIII. *Ubi Primum* d. d. 2 oct. 1898, § 5 super hac lege rite dispensaverit.

Volumus praeterea et omnino observari iubemus, ut in capella vel altari eidem Confraternitati a delegato sacerdote nomine Nostro addicendo, imago S. Patris nostri Dominici flexis genibus de manu Deiparae Virginis Rosarium recipientis apponatur.

Novae Confraternitatis Rectorem, qui nomina Fidelium in eandem societatem recipi petentium in libro apposito scribere, rosariis

¹ *Anal. Eccl.*, vol. iv., p. 359.

² *Item.*, vol. vii., p. 439.

seu coronis benedicere, et omnia et singula facere possit et debeat quae ratio ipsius Confraternitatis requirit, nominamus et facimus dictae ecclesiae Rectorem et omnes eius in hoc munere in posterum successores. Cum autem sancta huius Confraternitatis lege, a Summis Pontificibus saepius approbata, cautum sit, ne quid lucri ab ullo unquam pro admissione vel inscriptione exigatur, districte iniungimus Rectori, ut operam suam in hac re gratis praestet ad laudem SS. Virginis Mariae, aeternum praemium eius intercessione obtenturus. Tribuimus autem eidem Rectori (secundum Constitutionem mox citatam SS. D. N. Leonis XIII., § 9), facultatem subdelegandi non quidem generatim, sed in singulis casibus, alium idoneum sacerdotem, qui eius vices gerat, quoties iusta de causa id opportunum iudicaverit. Eidem Rectori pro tempore existenti secundum Breve Pii IX. *Quod iure* d. d. 17 aug. 1877 etiam regimen et curam sodalitatis *Rosarii viventis* in eodem loco committimus. Admonemus eundem pro tempore Rectorem, inter pios huius Confraternitatis usus primum locum obtinere processiones quae prima cuiusque mensis dominica, praecipue vero prima mensis octobris dominica, ducuntur. Quapropter illas saltem per interiorum ecclesiae ambitum meliori quo fieri potest modo indicato in laudata Summi Pontificis Constitutione *Ubi primum* § 14, istam autem solemni pompa per vias publicas ducat in gratiarum actionem pro celeberrima victoria armis christianis de immani nominis christiani hoste apud Echinadas insulas reportata.

Indulgentiarum, quarum nova Confraternitas ipso suae erectionis actu particeps evadit, accuratum elenchum, ex Summario ab Apostolica Sede approbato transcriptum, hisce Nostris litteris adiunximus una cum iisdem diligenter asservandum.

Quod si sodales, vel aliqui eorum, peculiaria statuta sibi condere vellent, meminerint, addita huiusmodi statuta ab Episcopo dioecesano approbari debere eiusque moderationi manere obnoxia atque eleemosynas excipiendas et erogandas esse iuxta formam per Ordinarium praescribendam.

Quo autem inter novam Confraternitatem et sacrum Ordinem Praedicatorum a quo egressa est (ad eundem aliquando forsan regressura, si scilicet quandoque contingeret, eiusdem Religiosos in eodem loco ecclesiam obtinere) tanquam inter filiam et matrem maior caritas foveatur, omnes sodales illi adscribendos participes facimus et declaramus omnium bonorum operum quae, cooperante Dei gratia, per universum mundum a Fratribus et Sororibus dicti

Ordinis peraguntur, sicut etiam speciali quodam modo participes sunt bonorum operum, quae ceteri per Orbem dispersi sodales ex instituto communis Confraternitatis peragunt : quorum omnium orationibus et meritis et Ordo noster vicissim iuvare quam plurimum sperat. In nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti. Amen.

In quorum fiden his patentibus Litteris officii Nostri sigillo munitis manu propria subscripsimus.

Datum Romae, die . . . mensis . . . anni . . .

Fr. . . .

Magister Generalis Ord. Praed.

Loc. ✠ Sigil.

Fr. . . .

Mag. Prov. . . .

Reg. pag. . . .

Quum S. Congregatio, Indulgentiis Sacrisque Reliquiis praeposita, praesens diploma pro erigendis SS. Rosarii Confraternitatibus, a Magistro Generali Ordinis Praedicatorum noviter exaratum post Constitutionem *Ubi primum* datam die 2 octobris, 1898, omnino conforme Constitutionibus Romanorum Pontificum neconon Decretis huius S. Congregationis repererit, illud approbavit typisque mandari permisit.

Datum Romae ex Secretaria eiusdem S. Congregationis die 1 Februarii. 1899.

Loc. ✠ Sigil.

ANT. SABATUCCI, Archiep. Antinoensis, *Secretarius.*

II.

PROBATUR DIPLOMA PRO CANONICE ERIGENDIS CONFRATERNITATIBUS
SS. ROSARII, IAM ERECTIS ABSQUE LITT. PATENT. MAGISTRI GEN.
ORD. PRAEDICATORUM

IN NOMINE SANCTISSIMAE TRINITATIS, AD LAudem ET GLORIAM B. DEI
GENTRICIS VIRGINIS MARIAE REGINAE SANCTISSIMI ROSARII,
FR. ANDREAS FRÜHWIRTH ORDINIS FRATRUM PRAEDICATORUM
MAGISTER GENERALIS, OMNIBUS PRAESENTES LITTERAS INSPEC-
TURIS, SALUTEM IN DOMINO SEMPITERNAM

Inter omnes orandi modos in Ecclesia usitatos, ille praecipue et Summis Pontificibus et populo fidei acceptus semper fuit, quo, sub nomine Rosarii, instar Davidici Psalterii, SS. Virgo Maria Mater Dei, centum quinquaginta Salutationibus Angelicis, praemissa singulis denis oratione Dominica, additisque piis mysteriorum

vitae Iesu Christi Salvatoris nostri, et eiusdem sanctissimae Matris meditationibus honoratur.

Cuius devotionis orationes quo a multis per Orbem totum dispersis, caritate tamen unitis, uno quasi ore, Deo gratiores sibi que efficaciores funderentur, antiqui Ordinis nostri Patres quosunque sanctissimam Dei Genitricem per eas colentes in piam quandam Confraternitatem congregaverunt. Quam Confraternitatem a Rosario dictam Summi Pontifices, iisdem Religiosis petentibus, approbarunt, ac magnis privilegiis, innumerisque Indulgentiis et aliis gratiis Apostolicis certatim decorarunt, simulique curam sanctissimae Rosarii devotionis omnem Ordini nostro iure haereditario concediderunt, eiusque pro tempore existenti Magistro Generali privative facultatem reservarunt erigendi ubique terrarum dictam Confraternitatem.

Hanc ob causam SS. D. N. Leo PP. XIII. in sua Constitutione *Ubi primum* d. d. 2 oct., 1898 § iii. statuit: 'Quae anteacto tempore sodalitates sacratissimi Rosarii ad hanc usque diem sine Magistri Generalis Patentibus Litteris institutae sunt, Litteras huiusmodi intra anni spatium expediendas curent.'

Rogati ergo, ut Confraternitati, absque Patentibus Litteris sive Nostris sive praedecessorum Nostrorum in ecclesia . . . erectae easdem Litteras secundum praedictam Constitutionem dare velimus, hisce petitionibus libentissime accedimus.

Tenore igitur praesentium Confraternitatem praedictam iuxta mentem Summi Pontificis ratam habemus, comprobamus et it omnibus suis iuribus ac privilegiis spiritualibus, quantum in Nobis est, confirmamus, imo, quatenus opus sit, denuo instituimus servatis tamen de iure servandis secundum Constitutionem Clementis VIII. *Quaecumque* d. d. 7 dec. 1604, nec non Decreta S. C. Indulg. d. d. 8 ian. 1861, ac d. d. 20 maii, 1866, et Constitutionem SS. D. N. Leonis XIII. *Ubi primum* d. d. 2 oct. 1898.

Rectorem etiam Confraternitatis nunc existentem in munere suo confirmamus, et, quatenus opus sit, constituimus. Post ipsum autem Rectores dictae ecclesiae omnibus futuris temporibus sibi succedentes etiam Confraternitatis Rectores hisce Nostris Patentibus Litteris facimus et nominamus.

Volumus praeterea et omnino observari iubemus, ut in capella vel altari Confraternitati addicto vel nomine nostro addicendo, imago S. Patris nostri Dominici flexis genibus de manu Deiparae Virginis Rosarium recipientis apponatur.

Cum autem sancta huius Confraternitatis lege, a Summis

Pontificibus saepius approbata, cautum sit, ne quid lucri ab ullo unquam pro admissione vel inscriptione exigatur, districte iniungimus Rectori, ut operam suam in hac re gratis praestet ad laudem BB. Virginis Mariae, aeternum praemium eius intercessione obtenturus. Tribuimus autem eidem Rectori (secundum Constitutionem mox citatam SS. D.N. Leonis XIII § 9), facultatem subdelegandi non quidem generatim, sed in singulis casibus, alium idoneum sacerdotem, qui eius vices gerat, quoties iusta de causa id opportunum iudicaverit. Eidem Rectori pro tempore existenti secundum Brev. Pii IX *Quod iure* d. d. 17 aug. 1877 etiam regimen et curam sodalitatis *Rosarii viventis* in eodem loco committimus. Admonemus eundem pro tempore Rectorem, inter pios huius Confraternitatis usus primum locum optinere processiones quae prima cuiusque mensis Dominica, praecipue vero prima mensis octobris Dominica, ducuntur. Quapropter illas saltem per interiorem ecclesiae ambitum meliori quo fieri potest modo, indicata in laudata Summi Pontificis Constitutione *Ubi Primum* § 14, istam autem solemni pompa per vias publicas ducat in gratiarum actionem pro celeberrima victoria armis christianis de immani nominis christiani hoste apud Echinadas insulas reportata.

Indulgentiarum, quarum Confraternitas ipso suae erectionis actu particeps est, accuratum elenchum, ex Summario ab Apostolica Sede approbato transcriptum, hisce Nostris litteris adiunximus una cum iisdem diligenter asservandum.

Quod si sodales, vel aliqui eorum, peculiaria statuta sibi condere vellent, meminerint, addita huiusmodi statuta ab Episcopo dioecesano approbari debere, eiusque moderationi manere obnoxia atque eleemosynas excipiendas et erogandas esse iuxta formam per Ordinarium praescribendam.

Quo autem inter Confraternitatem ita a Nobis confirmatam, imo, quatenus opus sit, denuo institutam et sacrum Ordinem Praedicatorum a quo egressa est (ad eundem aliquando forsan regressura, si scilicet quandoque contingeret, eiusdem Religiosos in eodem loco ecclesiam obtinere) tanquam inter filiam et matrem maior caritas foveatur, omnes sodales illi adscribendos participes facimus et declaramus omnium bonorum operum quae, cooperante Dei gratia, per universum mundum a Fratribus et Sororibus dicti Ordinis peraguntur, sicut etiam speciali quodam modo participes sunt bonorum operum, quae ceteri per Orbem dispersi sodales ex instituto communis Confraternitatis peragunt: quorum omnium

orationibus et meritis et Ordo noster vicissim iuvari quam plurimum sperat. In nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti. Amen.

In quorum fidem, his Patentibus Litteris officii Nostri sigillo munitis manu propria subscripsimus.

Datum Romae, die mensis anni

Fr.

Magister Generalis Ord Praed.

Loc. ✠ Sigil.

Fr.

Mag. Prov. . . .

Reg. Pag.

Quum Sanctissimus Dominus Noster Leo. PP. XIII. in sua Constitutione data die 2 octobris 1898, quae incipit *Ubi primum*, mandaverit ut omnes sodalitates SS. Rosarii per universum Catholicum Orbem erectae absque litteris patentibus Magistri Generalis Ordinis Praedicatorum illas intra praefinitum tempus expediendas curarent, idem Magister Generalis praesens Diploma exaravit et huic S. Congregationi Indulgentiis Sacrisque Reliquiis praepositae approbandum exhibuit. Porro S. Congregatio illud, in singulis suis partibus recognitum conforme Constitutionibus Romanorum Pontificum necon Decretis huius S. Congregationis, approbavit et typis mandari permisit.¹

Data Romae ex Secretaria eiusdem S. Congregationis die 1 februarii 1899.

Loc. ✠ Sigil.

ANT. SABATUCCI, Archiep. Antinoensis, *Secretarius*.

III.

DUBIUM CIRCA DESIGNATIONEM SACERDOTIS PRO AGGREGATIONE CONFRAT. SS. ROSARII ORDINIS PRAEDICATORUM

Magister Generalis Ordinis Praedicatorum a Sacra Congregatione Indulgentiarum humiliter petit solutionem sequentis dubii ex § x Apostolicae Constitutionis *Ubi primum* provenientis :

Dicitur nempe in citato § x : '(Item), ubi Rosarii sodalitas eiusque Rector institui nequit, Magistro Generali facultas esto designandi alios Sacerdotes, qui Fideles, Indulgentias lucrari cupidos, Sodalitati propinquiore aggregent, et Rosariis benedicant.'

¹ Prior formula perpetuo modo approbatur; altera vero duntaxat ad diem 2 Oct. 1900 (Cfr. Rescriptum S. C. Indulg. 8 Sept. 1899 apud *Anal. Ec.* vol. vii. p. 417).

Porro ex antiqua consuetudine Magister Generalis Praedicatorum Sacerdotes, tum proprii Ordinis, tum alios huiusmodi facultate donare solet non tantum iis in locis, ubi Rosarii Sodalitas eiusque Rector institui nequit, sed in omnibus locis ubi non sunt Conventus aut Domus Ordinis Praedicatorum, et interdum, ex peculiari ratione, etiam in huiusmodi locis, eadem ratione qua alii Ordines, ut Fratrum Minorum, et Carmelitarum, facultates sibi proprias aliis sacerdotibus communicare solent; idque videtur omnino fieri sine ullo Confraternitatum detrimento, in favorem Fidelium praesertim eorum qui a Sede Confraternitatis canonice erectae longius distant.

Hinc oritur dubium :

1. 'Utrum illa facultas, hucusque a Magistro Generali Ordinis Praedicatorum ad faciliorem et ampliorem Sanctissimi Rosarii propagationem exercita, per § x Constitutionis *Ubi primum* limitata seu restricta censi debeat ad locos illos, ubi Rosarii Sodalitas eiusque Rector institui nequit.

2. 'Et si affirmative, quid de facultatibus sine huiusmodi limitatione, sive ante sive post promulgationem praedictae Constitutionis concessis, sit tenendum.'

De quibus dubiis facta relatione Sanctissimo Domino Nostro Leoni Papae XIII in audientia habita ab infrascripto Cardinali Praefecto die 11 octobris 1899, idem Sanctissimus respondere mandavit ut infra :

Ad 1^{um} : 'Facultate de qua agitur uti pergat Orator ut antea minime tamen in locis in quibus existunt Conventus Ordinis.

Ad 2^{um} : 'Quoad facultates concessas ante Constitutionem, *Ubi primum* aquiescat : quoad vero concessas post dictam Constitutionem, quatenus opus sit conceditur sanatio.'

Datum Romae ex Secretaria Sacrae Congregationis Indulgentis Sacrisque Reliquiis praepositae die 12 octobris, 1899.

F. HIERONYUS M. Card. GOTTI, *Praefectus*.

Loc. ✕ Sig.

ANT. Archiep. ANTINOENSIS, *Secretarius*.

THE RIGHT OF BISHOPS TO WEAR THE PECTORAL CROSS
'UNCOVERED,' AND OTHER QUESTIONS DECIDED BY
THE SACRED CONGREGATION OF RITES

PLURA SOLVUNTUR DUBIA

Academia Liturgica Romana sequentia dubia pro opportuna declaratione Sacrae Rituum Congregationi humiliter subiecit ; scilicet :

Dubium I. Utrum Episcopi, sive Dioecesani sive Titulares, Crucem pectoralem detectam gestare possint ubicumque degant ?

Dubium II. Utrum super sacras vestes eandem Crucem, vel saltem illius flocculum, gestare valeant in sacris functionibus ?

Dubium III. Utrum iidem Episcopi, dum lavant manus intra Missam privatam, tegere possint caput bireto et Mitram gestare in eadem Missa dum populo trinam benedictionem impertiunt ?

Dubium IV. Utrum sacrum Tabernaculum in interiori parte deauratum esse debeat vel saltem albo serico contectum ; et utrum sit benedicendum, priusquam Sacra Eucharistia in illo recondatur ?

Dubium V. Pro clavibus, quae Ostiariis in eorum Ordinatione sunt tradendae, sufficit ne ut una tantum tradatur ?

Dubium VI. Permitti ne possunt in Ecclesiis lumina ex oleo, quae mensae altaris imminet et ardent etiam tempore Sacrificii ?

Et Sacra Rituum Congregatio, omnibus mature perpensis auditoque voto Commissionis Liturgicae respondere censuit :

Ad I. *Affirmative.*

Ad II. *Negative.*

Ad III. *Negative in omnibus.*

Ad IV. *Affirmative ad utramque partem.*

Ad V. *Servetur, in praxi, Pontificale Romanum.*

Ad VI. *Negative.*

Atque ita rescripsit et servari mandvit.

Die 20 Iunii 1899.

C. Ep. Praenest. Card. MAZZELLA, S. R. C. Praef.

L. ✠ S.

DIOMEDES PANICI, S. R. C. Secret.

PORTABLE ALTARS

DUBIA CIRCA ALTARIA PORTATILIA

Sequentia super Aris portilibus solvenda dubia Sacrae Rituum Congregationi fuere proposita, nempe :

Dubium I. An Altaria portatilia, quae sunt ex lapide non

quidem marmor eo, sed duroet tamen compacto, idonea pro Sacrificio haberi possint?

Dubium II. An tolerari possint eadem Altaria portatilia, quae ex lapide puniceo sive ex gypso constant?

Dubium III. Quid iudicandum de illis lapidibus sacris, quorum sepulcrum non in medio sed in eorum fronte effossum fuit?

Et Sacra Rituum Congregatio, omnibus mature perpensis et voto exquisito Commissionis Liturgicae, respondendum censuit:

Ad I. *Affirmative.*

Ad II. *Negative.*

Ad III. 'Dicti Lapidēs in posterum non sunt admittendi; quoad praeteritum vero, cum commode fieri possit, iterum breviori formula consecrentur.'

Et ita rescripsit ac declaravit.

Die 13 Iunii 1899.

C. Ep. Praenest. Card. MAZZELLA, S. R. C. Praef.

L. ✠ S.

DIOMEDES PANICI, S. R. C. Secret.

THE FEAST OF THE TITULAR OF CHURCH OR ORATORY DECRETUM GENERALE

SUPER FESTO TITULARIUM IN ECCLESIIS ET ORATORIIS PUBLICIS CELEBRANDO

Cum Sacra Rituum Congregatio compererit nonnullos irrep-
sisse abusus circa Titularium Festa celebranda, sicut in Ecclesiis
ita in Oratoriis publicis, Decreta hucusque evulgata in praesenti
renovans et confirmans declarat:

I. In quibusvis Ecclesiis publicisque Oratoriis vel consecratis
vel saltem solemniter benedictis relativum Titularis Festum
quotannis esse recolendum sub ritu duplici primae classis cum
octava.

II. Ecclesias autem omnes esse ab Episcopo, nisi consecratae
eae fuerint, saltem benedicendas, quaemadmodum etiam Oratoria
publica sub formula in Rituali Romano praescripta.

III. Hinc, pro Ecclesiis et Oratoriis publicis, ad effectum
celebrandi, Titularium Festa, illas sacras aedes esse intelligendas,
quae pro Missis celebrandis sacrisque aliis, etiam solemnioribus,
functionibus peragendis ab Ordinariis locorum destinatae, vel
consecrantur vel solemniter benedicuntur, ut publico fidelium
usui libere plus minusve deserviant.

IV. Relativi Titularis Festum a toto Clero, si extiterit, vel a Sacerdote Rectore Ecclesiae aut publico Oratorio addicto, per integrum Officium celebrabitur: secus, in defectu cuiusvis Cleri per solas Missas iuxta Rubricas.

V. In Oratoriis autem quae existunt in aedibus episcopalibus, Seminariis, Hospitalibus, Domibusque Regularium, relativum Titularis Festum non celebrabitur, nisi in casu quo aliqua ex iis consecrata vel benedicta solemniter fuerit.

VI. Denique Sacra Rituum Congregatio mandat, ut nullum ex Oratoriis privatis consecratur, aut Benedictione donetur solemniter, quae in Rituali Romano legitur; sed ea tantum formula benedicatur, quae pro Domo nova aut loco in eodem Rituali habetur.

Et ita declaravit.

Die 5 Junii 1899.

C. Ep. Praenest. Card. MAZZELLA, *S. R. C. Praef.*

L. ✕ S.

DIOMEDES PANICI, *S. R. C. Secret.*

ABSOLUTION FROM CENSURES

E SACRA POENITENTIARIA

DECLARATIONES S. POENITENTIARIAE CIRCA ABSOLUTIONEM A CENSURIS PUBLICIS

I.

In Litteris Apostolicis *Quoniam divinae* num IV legitur: 'Absolvere item possint (Poenitentarii minores) a supra dictis censuris et peccatis, pro quibus facultas concessa est § III, poenitentes quamvis censurae quibus adstricti sunt, publicae sint, in locis unde venerunt, et quamvis deductae aut aut nominatim declaratae ac denunciatae in iisdem locis sint per Ordinarios, aut alios quoscumque Iudices: praemonitis tamen poenitentibus de libello, ut infra in his casibus publicis Poenitentiariae Apostolicae omnino submittendo. Post absolutionem nimirum conficiant libellum supplicem, expresso nomine, cognomine ac Dioecesi poenitentis, et casu huiusmodi censurae publicae subiecto, et subtus scribant testimonium absolutionis ab eadem censura concessae, eundemque poenitentem dirigant ad Officium Poenitentiariae Apostolicae, ut recipere possit Breve in forma *missi*, vel *remissi* absoluti iuxta praxim eiusdem Officii Poenitentiariae.

‘Haereticos vero, qui fuerint publice dogmatizantes, non absolvant nisi abiurati haeresi, scandalum, ut par est, reparaverint.

‘Eos quoque, qui sectis vetitis massonicis aut aliis eiusdem generis nomen dederint, si occulti sint, absolvere possint, iniunctis de iure iniungendis: si vero occulti non sint, absolvere quidem eodem pacto possint, dummodo tamen scandalum reparaverint.’

Quaer. I. Circa verba *in locis unde venerunt*: His verbis exclusionem intelligi possint qui Romae degunt, cum de his non videantur stricto sensu verificari verba *in locis unde venerunt*: an etiam cum his eadem ac cum illis regula servanda sit?

II. Circa verba *de libello, ut infra, in casibus publicis*: Libellus, de quo agitur, confici ne debet indiscriminatim de omnibus censuris, dummodo sint publicae, quamvis non sint deductae, aut nominatim declaratae ac denunciatae: an tantum de publicis quae sint insimul deductae aut nominatim declaratae ac denunciatae?

III. Circa verba *abiurata haeresi*: Haec abiuratio debet ne esse absolute publica, ac in forma solemni ab Ecclesia praescripta, an sufficere possit ut fiat coram Confessario vel quomodo?

IV. Circa verba *scandalum, ut par est, reparaverint*: Scandalia reparatio, debetne absolute praecedere absolutionem; an, si hic et nunc fieri nequeat, sufficiat ut huiusmodi poenitentes serio promittant se scandalum reparaturos, praesertim si de longinquo venerint?

Sacra Poenitentiaria, sedulo examinatis expositis, adprobante SSmo. Dno. Div. Prov. Pp. Leone XIII, respondet ut sequitur:

Ad. I. ‘Negative ad primam partem; affirmative ad secundam.’

Ad II. ‘Affirmative ad primam partem; negative ad secundam.’

Ad. III. ‘Reparatio scandali publici debet esse publica: abiuratio potest esse secreta apud ipsum confessarium.’

Ad IV. ‘Si serio promittant, affirmative.’

Datum Romae in S. Poenitentiaria die 20 Februarii 1900.

NOTICES OF BOOKS

THE LIGHT OF LIFE: Set forth in Sermons. By the Right Rev. J. Cuthbert Headley, O.S.B., Bishop of Newport. London: Burns & Oates. 6s.

SERMONS, as usually collected and published, scarcely ever make a real book. Apart from the unity of a general moral intention, or the vast unity of the Christian revelation, they generally remain as disunited, one from the other, in thought, as are the occasions and places of delivery in time and space. It is quite otherwise with the discourses in the volume before us. One as they are in their author's characteristic beauty and eloquence of diction and the living knowledge of theology so simply displayed, they are still more one by the fact that practically all illustrate and enforce a great central truth, that God loves man, takes an interest in him, and can be loved by and attract him, for He was made flesh, and became Himself man in His Incarnation.

In the first lecture, from which the volume takes its title, the subject is opened up by presenting this mystery, and its consequent revelation, as the Light of Life, 'lumen ad revelationem gentium.' Next comes, in logical sequence, a discourse on the 'Divine Gift of Faith,' by which alone we can hold aright or avail of the light so plenteously afforded us by Christ. In the third sermon, 'The Piety of Christian Faith,' the writer deals with a side of belief which all preachers do not sufficiently attend to. We might call it the emotional aspect of faith. We know how much, at the present day, the Church loves to develop in her children an affectionate, personal love for Christ by fostering the marvellous devotion to the Sacred Heart. And it is just this same love of which the Bishop ever speaks, proving from the Incarnation its possibility and its propriety. Throughout the greater part of the remaining seventeen sermons this point is urged again and again; now, as in the discourse on the 'Ministers of the New Testament,' by directing attention to the human, natural means taken by God to perpetuate the ministry of the High Priest; now, as in the closing lecture on 'St. John the Evangelist,' the most beautiful in the book, by manifesting the

ways, so winning and attractive to man, which the Creator adopted in the Incarnation to show His solicitude for creatures, and to win their affection in return.

Thoroughly in harmony with the present-day spirit of Catholicity, his Lordship's work, in its polemical aspects, is, in consequence, fully up to date and seasonable. Thus he singles out two great living foes of piety, and against them directs all his thought, thus unified:—Worldliness, the ever-increasing distraction which sensible things occasion; and Agnosticism, the denial of any interest or care felt by God for man. From Bethlehem he triumphantly disproves the latter, while in the God-man, and His visibly perpetuated love, he finds the victorious counter-attraction to the former.

It would be quite needless to speak of the author's well-known style, its elegance and lightness, and its delightful illustrations, drawn to such purpose from field and forest, sky and sea.

One other point only shall we touch, and we shall quote St. Thomas thereon, to prevent any suspicion of impertinence the criticism might occasion. His Lordship states, in the sermon on 'Life Everlasting' (p. 130), that the Infinite, *i.e.*, God, 'is as far out of our sight (intellectual), as the sounds of music are out of the ken of the eye of the body.' St. Thomas teaches (*Cont. Gent.*, l. 3, cap. 54): 'Divina substantia non sic est extra facultatem (intellectum) quasi aliquid omnino extraneum ab ipso, sicut non est sonus a visu . . . nam ipsa divina substantia est primum intelligibile.'

P. S.

THE ORANGE SOCIETY. By the Rev. W. H. Cleary. London: Catholic Truth Society, 69, Soutwark Bridge-road, S.E. 2s. 6d.

THE publication, in popular shape, of a new and revised edition of Father Cleary's comprehensive work on the history of the Orange Society in these countries and the colonies, is a decided boon, for which we are indebted to the enterprise and zeal of the Catholic Truth Society. Many of the chapters comprising the present volume were originally contributed to the pages of the *Melbourne Advocate*. Subsequently they were amplified, thrown into book form, and published. So great was the favour with which the book was received on its appearance, that within a few years six editions were exhausted. The fact,

then, that this is the seventh edition is ample evidence of the quality of the work.

In his own words the author's aim is to present an 'exposition' of the aims, methods, and tendency of a little known, but active secret society which has kept a portion of the north of Ireland in a state of unhealthy ferment for over half a century, and which, for the past few years, has been executing a forward movement in our midst. With a clear, bright, and vigorous style, Father Cleary takes us through the history of this inhuman and infamous organization, from its first inception and growth out of the 'Peep o' Day Boys,' in 1795, down to its suppression by Acts of Parliament in Ireland in 1825, and in England in 1836, and traces its subsequent chequered career to our own day. The path he treads is marked by the pillage and plunder, tortures and slaughters, of unoffending Catholics. The story he tells of the amenities in which the ascendancy party in the North were wont to indulge towards their Catholic fellow-countrymen is scarcely fit for civilized ears to hear. It forms one of the foulest blots that ever disgraced the history of the nation that looked with complacency at this scene of cruelty and carnage. If for the guillotine he substituted the picket, the pitch-cap, and those other instruments of torture devised by devilish cunning, and for the infuriated French mob the Orange yeomanry and volunteers, we think that the Sage of Chelsea would have found, nearer home, materials adequate enough for the portraying of a picture of human savagery and unbridled licence as revolting and blood-curdling as any that he has drawn of the Reign of Terror. These things are sad reading; but they are useful, if only to keep those responsible for them in mind of the great atonement that is due to us for our past oppression.

Father Cleary's book bears manifest evidence of prolonged and painstaking research. In every statement he makes he quotes his authority, and his severe indictments of the association he has put on trial are confirmed and corroborated by the testimony even of the most prejudiced and hostile of English historians. Though we know a good deal already about the malpractices of the Orange lodges, still there are some facts recorded by Father Cleary that, to many people will come as a perfect revelation. For instance, we are all accustomed to associate with Orangeism the most thorough loyalty and the most unqualified submission to the Crown. The shibboleth of the

party has been, as we understand it, devoted attachment to the person of the sovereign. What, then, will be the amazement of many unsuspecting persons to hear that in this ultra-loyal organization there were actually sown the seeds of a conspiracy that had for its object (towards the end of the preceding reign) the securing of the throne for Ernest, Duke of Cumberland, brother of William IV., and Imperial Grand Master of the Orange Lodges, to the exclusion of the then heir apparent and now rightful sovereign, Queen Victoria !

In an Appendix we have a review of the position of the Catholics of the North, as contrasted with the more favourable condition of the Protestants of the South ; there is an interesting account of the ritual and ceremonies of induction to the Orange degrees, and of the rules of the Loyal Orange Society of Victoria ; a very full list of authorities referred to in the book ; and an ample table of references.

ST. JOHN DAMASCENE ON HOLY IMAGES. Followed by
Three Sermons on the Assumption. Translated by
Mary H. Allies. London : Thomas Baker.

MISS ALLIES is already favourably known for her translations from others of the Greek fathers. In her present volume she purposes rendering accessible to English readers a selection from the finest writings of the last of the long line of Greek fathers. But upon many not quite innocent of Greek has she conferred a boon. Not every Greek scholar is so fortunate as to have Migne's monumental work at his elbow, and, even those whose sacred profession renders some acquaintance with the Patristic writings desirable, too often allow the breviary homilies (with the gleanings by the way in the ordinary course of dogma and Scripture) to represent the extent of their excursions into Patristic regions. Increased facilities for extending such acquaintance are, therefore, thoroughly welcome.

The selections from St. John Damascene's works are most opportune in view of the controversial interest recently centering around the question of image-worship. We have here translated into clear and readable English the Damascene's famous *Three Orations*, in which he shows how we 'are led through matter to the invisible God.' It is with pleased surprise one recognises, in turning over the pages of Miss Allies' translations, the arguments

and illustrations, the triumphant appeals to early tradition, the distinctions and explanations so familiar in modern treatises on the subject. Passing from those discourses to the Sermons on the Assumption, the change is very marked from the solid and argumentative dissertations on behalf of image-worship to the rushing torrent of warm eloquence in eulogy of the ever Virgin Mother of God, whom 'neither human tongue or angelic mind is able worthily to praise.' The thoughts and feelings and the mode of expression so much resemble our own to-day, that we could almost imagine ourselves reading a modern sermon on devotion to the Blessed Virgin—a powerful witness to the antiquity of this devotion. These sermons are, moreover, interesting for their account of the tradition of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin. Part of the second is read in the second Nocturn of the Office of the Feast of the Assumption in the Roman Breviary. We unreservedly commend Miss Allies for her judicious selection, and for the satisfactory manner in which she has executed the translation.

P. L.

THEOLOGIA MORALIS. Cura et Studio Joannis Morino, Congregationis Missionis. Taurini: Ex Typ. Salesiana.

'THE cry is, still they come.' Yet another all-round effort in the domain of moral theology, and a classic, of course. How on earth did those poor benighted priests get on who had to put their whole trust in 'small Gury,' with St. Alphonsus thrown in sometimes as consulting physician? Then, surely, Lehmkuhl is sufficiently up to date, though most of us would like him ever so much better if he would only let us more into his secrets. Besides, why it was only yesterday we heard the praises sung of the two Louvain lights, Genicot and Haine: usquequo?

Reverend Father, I have no desire to enter into controversy; a word of explanation will be quite sufficient for my purpose. Well, then, this is not exactly a new work, it is an *editio quinta, aucta et emendata*. Why it has been reserved for me to introduce it thus late in the day to the missionary priests of Ireland, an undue sense of modesty in the author, or a lack of commercial enterprise on the part of the publishers may, perhaps, best explain.

It is not a very ponderous work, this new arrival. It absolves the whole subject of moral theology, has a very convenient table

of contents at the end of each volume, for there are two volumes, and an alphabetical index at the end of the second volume, all within the compass of about 1,050 pages. The type is such as would tempt even the most fastidious vision, while the Latin could not give pause even to the veriest tyro. Lastly—best recommendation of all, perhaps, to those with whom the older ways of doing things are their own best advocate—from the beginning to end it swings in the good old catechetical fashion of question and answer.

Were this an entirely new work we should hesitate about bringing it under the notice of the readers of the I. E. RECORD, and were it not a commendable article we should be slower still to recommend it. But since both years and worth have agreed to stand its sponsors, we have great pleasure in entering into the partnership.

Father Morino, in his preface, makes the following statement: 'Novi siquidem et ego hoc opus a perfectione longe distare; attamen existimo multis perutile fore tam sibi ipsis quam animabus dirigendis.'

If perfection be taken in the more absolute sense, and the work be regarded as a scientific exposition of moral theology, we are not prepared to quarrel with the author's self-depreciation. considering perfection relatively, though that is looking at the book as a means to the end the writer has in view, as a handbook for missionary priests, and for those students of theology whose ambition is to get a grasp of everything needful without the addition of ballast which is merely ornamental, we must unhesitatingly eliminate the particle *longe*, before making the author's estimate the text of our criticism.

Imperfections there are, of course; but it would be ungracious not to confess that, in nearly every case, we had to look for them. We submit some of the results of our finding.

If a censure comes into actual existence at all, it follows necessarily in the wake of sin. This consideration we presume it was which induced Father Morino to treat the question of censures immediately after the section of sins, reserving, of course, till later on the subject of absolution from censures. We are not quite so sure that this method makes for convenience; personally, we should much prefer to have the whole question of censures treated at one sweep. At any rate, it would not be too much to expect some commentary on the censures

of the *Apostolicæ Sedis*; but the author seems to think otherwise, and just enumerates them at the end of the book, without note or comment.

That confused question of abstinence is handled so wonderfully well that we are all the more sorry the equally puzzling one of fast, as distinguished from abstinence, of quantity as opposed to quality, has received such scant recognition.

We do not consider we are hypercritical in finding fault with this definition of stealing: 'Occulta et injusta ablatio rei alienae, invito rationabiliter domino;' nor yet in joining issue with the following assertion: 'ad præscriptionem requiritur bona fides seu persuasio prudens et firma qua quis rem quam possidet judicat esse suam.'

Though there is no express declaration to the effect, still it is evidently implied that only sick persons can receive the 'Apostolic Benediction.' It has been decreed, however, that it can be administered as well to culprits condemned to death.

To give a complete catalogue of the virtues the work can lay claim to, would be to outrun the limits of an ordinary criticism. We have already referred to a few, which, though seemingly incidental, are not by any means to be overlooked as trivial. The substantial classification would spell thus: clearness, practical wisdom, and general practical helpfulness. Here is a cutting taken at random which must commend itself for clearness to everyone:—

'Q. *Extrema Unctio potest ne conferri sub conditione?*

'R. *Distinguo.*—Si dubium respicit ea quæ ad Sacramenti validitatem pertinent . . . tunc ad reverentiam Sacramenti præcavendam, certe conferendum est sub conditione.

'Si vero dubium respicit *dispositiones* poenitentis, tunc conferendum est *absolute*; ratio, quid hoc sacramentum, durante eodem periculo, nullatenus, vel sine scandalo iterari non potest. Quisque autem, nisi certe constet indispositum esse, dispositus præsumi potest. Quare si conferatur sub conditione *si est dispositus*, et suscipiens dispositus non est, Sacramentum non reviviscit amplius, etsi suscipiens postea dispositus sit; contra si conferatur *absolute*, etsi suscipiens tunc dispositus non sit, tamen si postea sit dispositus, et per attritionem obicem infusioni gratiæ tollat, Sacramentum reviviscit, et sic salutem æternam consequi potest.'

Father Morino, unlike a great many of our moral theologians, is not content with being a guide and a philosopher. He tries

to prove himself something more—a friend, taking you by the hand and leading you along the rough ways and the smooth, through the maze and in the open. To realize how this is brought about, and what it means, one must become acquainted with his work. Such an acquaintance we most heartily recommend.

D. D.

THE ACTS AND DECREES OF THE SYNOD OF JERUSALEM.

Translated from the Greek, with an Appendix containing Confession with the name of Cyril Lucar. By J. N. W. B. Robertson. London: Thomas Baker, Soho-square.

EVERYONE interested in developing from original documents the well-known theological argument from prescription will welcome this very readable translation. The name of Cyril Lucar, and his famous confession, are familiar to all students of the sacred sciences, and did not a little in their day to obscure the true nature of eastern beliefs. That they should have been gladly welcomed by the Reformers is evident from the appendix, where we see that in the eighteen articles and four questions contained in the document the then novel doctrines of Luther on Justification, the number of the Sacraments, Purgatory, &c., and of his followers on the Blessed Eucharist, were advanced as being those also of the Greek Church on the same point. More or less at the request of the French ambassador of the day, the Patriarch of Jerusalem, Dositheus, presiding at the Synod of Bethlehem, in 1672, had a document drawn up by the assembled fathers, some seventy in number, from different portions of the East, Russia, &c., proving (1) that Cyril never wrote the alleged confession; (2) that if he wrote it he did so without the sanction of the Eastern Church; (3) that, as a matter of fact, the document did not contain the real beliefs of the East; (4) that the Easterns so absorbed the confession, that although Cyril publicly denied its authenticity, and taught the opposite doctrines, he was condemned in two synods; and then in eighteen articles and four questions, setting forth their real faith. It is a very complete and convincing statement, and shows that those old Greeks of two centuries ago, while holding on all these points, save one, the doctrines of Rome, could expose a fraud as mercilessly as our nineteenth century critics. These latter eighteen articles, known by the name of Bethlehem articles, were published, with the

exception of some statement about 'accident' and 'substance,' in 1838 by the Holy Synod of Russia. The book is well worth reading, and Mr. Robertson has done a good work by rendering such useful and interesting matter so accessible to all.

P. S.

OFFERTORIA TOTIUS ANNI. Edited by F. Witt. Op. 15.
Ratisbon: Fr. Pustet.

THIS magnificent collection of Offertories for the whole year is the result of a gradual development. The scores of the various compositions were first published as supplements to Witt's church music periodicals, *Fliegende Blätter* and *Musica Sacra*. There was not, at first, any idea of issuing a complete collection. But when the publication of these supplements had gone on for a few years, the editor began to work out the plan of publishing a collection comprising the whole liturgical year. Later on the necessity of printing separate voice parts was felt, and in publishing these, some kind of order was observed, they being arranged more or less in accordance with the liturgical books. Finally, the scattered scores were republished in book form, following exactly the order of the voice parts. The whole collection is now complete in score and parts, some of the volumes of the voice parts having gone through a second edition. The whole work is in four volumes, the first comprising Nos. 1-53; the second, Nos. 54-99; the third, Nos. 100-143; and the fourth, 144-220. Besides the Offertories there is also an appendix containing several settings of the *Asperges*, *Vidi Aquam*, *Tantum Ergo*, *Veni Creator*, *Veni Sancte Spiritus*, and single settings of *Ecce Sacerdos*, *O Salutaris*, *Sacris Solemnis*, and *Te Deum*. The score is also published in one volume, and in this edition, to make up for the slight want of order in the collection, three indexes are given; the first containing the initial words of the texts in alphabetical order; the second giving the compositions in the order of the Roman Gradual or Missal; and the third being a list of composers.

The collection ought to be in the possession of every good choir.
H. B.

THIRTY LITURGICAL CHANTS. By J. Diebold, Op. 39.
Six Parts. Score and Separate Voice Parts. Düsseldorf:
L. Schwann.

THIS useful collection is intended for choirs of medium attainments. The compositions throughout are fairly easy, written

with a moderate amount of contrapuntal devices, effective, and dignified.

The first part contains five compositions for four mixed voices, *Asperges me*, *Vidi Aquam*, *Veni Creator*, *Veni Sancte Spiritus*, and *Ecce Sacerdos*. The second part similarly contains: *O Salutaris*, *O Sacrum Convivium*, *O Esca Viatorum*, *Ave Verum Corpus*, and *Pange Lingua*. The third part is for four male voices, and contains a *Veni Creator*, four *Pange Lingua* (in one of them, strangely, only the last stanza being printed), and a *Libera*. The remaining parts are again for four mixed voices. The fourth contains four Graduals: *Os Justi*, *Ecce Sacerdos*, *Audi Filia*, and *Dilexisti*; the fifth, four Offertories: *Veritas mea*, *Inveni David*, *Iustorum Animae*, *Afferentur Virgines*, together with a *Pater noster*; the sixth, the four Antiphons of the Blessed Virgin: *Alma Redemptoris*, *Ave Regina*, *Regina Coeli*, and *Salve Regina*, with an *Ave Maria* added.

H. B.

ANTIPHONAE MARIANAE. Pro Canto, Alto et Basso.

Auctore Ludovico Hoffmann. Ratisbon: Martin Cohen.

SALVE REGINA. IV vocum. Auctore Ludovico Hoffmann.

Ratisbon: Martin Cohen.

THE four Antiphons of the Blessed Virgin for Soprano, Alto, and Bass, and a *Salve Regina* for four mixed voices, are simple and easy, but very pleasing compositions. Within their scope, we think, they could hardly be excelled. Separate voice parts are printed for both publications.

H. R.

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